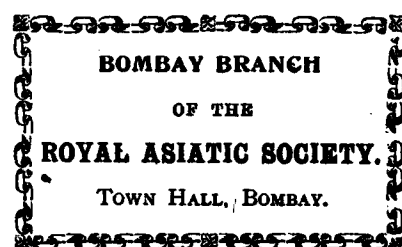




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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

VOL. VI.

FINAL REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

PART I. 110633

THE REPORT,

WITH ANNEXURES.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

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ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

FINAL REPORT.

SECTION I.

THE SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please Your Majesty, we the undersigned Commissioners appointed to inquire into matters connected with the cultivation of the poppy in India and the manufacture and sale of opium, desire humbly to submit to Your Majesty our Final Report upon the questions referred to us for investigation.

(2. The Resolution of the House of Commons, asking for the appointment of this Commission, is as follows :— Order of reference,

(Having regard to the strong objections urged, on moral grounds, to the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised, this House presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the production and sale of opium, and desires that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to report as to :—

- I. Whether the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and whether this prohibition could be extended to the Native States ;
- II. The nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated ;
- III. The effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium, taking into consideration (a) the compensation payable, (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures, (c) the loss of revenue ;
- IV. Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic, and for raising a revenue therefrom ;
- V. The consumption of opium by the different races and in the different districts in India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people ;
- VI. The disposition of the people of India in regard to (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes, and (b) their willingness to bear, in whole or in part, the cost of prohibitive measures.)

3. At the suggestion of the Government of India, we opened our inquiry, on the 8th of September 1893, by taking in London the evidence there available which the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade was desirous of placing before us. As it appeared that the majority of its witnesses referred chiefly to the subject in connexion with China, we thought it advisable to call for evidence from some of the persons present in England who have held responsible posts under the British Government in that country, and the opportunity was also taken of obtaining the views on the Indian aspect of the question of several witnesses of special experience, medical and administrative, who have retired from service abroad. (Looking also to the fact that the greater part of the Indian opium revenue depends upon the export trade in the drug, which is principally with China and the Straits, and that prohibition of the production of opium in India would involve destruction of that trade, we thought it impossible to form a complete judgment on the moral objections raised against the Indian opium revenue system without considering the effects of that trade abroad.) We decided, therefore, to request the Governors of the Straits and Hong Kong and Your Majesty's Minister in China to obtain the evidence of competent witnesses in the form of answers to

NOTE.—It has not been found possible to adhere consistently in the Minutes of Evidence and Appendices to the method of spelling sanctioned by the Government of India.

A glossary of Indian terms used in the Evidence and the Appendices has been added to our Proceedings. It is, however, desirable to explain in this place the Indian weights and measures :—

a maund	=	40 sers.	a masha	=	15 grains
a ser	=	2·057 lbs., or 16 chataks, or 80 tolas.	a rati	=	2 grains.
a tola	=	180 grains.			

The terms lakh and crore are frequently used in the Evidence and Appendices. A lakh is 100,000 and a crore 10,000,000. It is not uncommon in India to write these figures thus, 1,00,000, and 1,00,00,000.

interrogatories. Copies of the questions thus sent out under the authority of the Commission, with the answers received, are given in Vol. V. of our Proceedings.

4. Our sittings in London were concluded about the middle of September. We then adjourned to meet again, in Calcutta. We resumed the taking of evidence on the 18th of November 1893.

5. A large number of witnesses came before us at Calcutta. In their evidence they dealt with the opium question under many aspects, and their examination occupied our attention until nearly the end of the year. During this period a section of the Commission consisting of Sir J. Lyall, Sir W. Roberts, Mr. Mowbray, and Mr. Pease, was deputed to pursue the local inquiry in Burma, whilst their colleagues continued the hearing of evidence at Calcutta. These sittings were brought to a close shortly after the return of the members who had visited Burma, and the Commission was able to begin its tour through Upper India on the 2nd of January, 1894.

6. Your Commissioners commenced their journey with a visit to Patna, the headquarters of one of the two opium agencies under the Government of India. Leaving Patna, we proceeded successively to the cities of Benares, Lucknow, Ambala, Lahore, Delhi, and Agra. The evidence regarding the Native States in Rajputana was taken at Jeypore and Ajmer, and early in February a section of the Commission visited Indore, where a similar inquiry was held in reference to the Native States in Malwa and the rest of the Central India Agency. The other members of the Commission proceeded to Ahmedabad, as being the most convenient centre for the attendance of witnesses from the numerous States under the political control of the Bombay Government in Gujarat. The full Commission reassembled at Bombay, where, after taking further evidence, the inquiry in India was concluded on the 22nd of February. Public sittings were held on 70 of the 83 working days spent in India. After we left Patna, indeed, there were only two working days that were not thus occupied.

7. Before leaving India a special meeting of the Commission was held, in order that the general conclusions on the subjects of our inquiry might be discussed whilst the evidence was fresh in our minds, and in oral consultation with our colleagues the Maharaja of Darbhanga and Mr. Haridas Voharidas, who might probably be prevented from attending the sittings to be subsequently held in London. After full discussion, in which our Indian colleagues took an active part, we adopted certain draft resolutions, which form the basis of our Report. They are quoted at length in the concluding Section.

p. 95-97.

8. It is advisable to offer here a few general remarks on the nature and source of the evidence on which are based the conclusions at which we have arrived. Taking into view that India is a country of vast extent and varied climatic conditions, peopled with many races with distinctive customs, it was obviously imperative to hear the evidence of a multitude of witnesses. In forming our opinions we have endeavoured to appraise the testimony of each individual or class under the strictest limitations of social or territorial experience. We lay some stress on this point, because, in regard to at least one aspect of the question under investigation, the sentiment or disposition of the population at large, and not merely the existence of certain concrete facts, is directly in issue before us.

9. The necessity for expediting the work at each centre precluded us from hearing the evidence in a definite and uniform sequence of subjects, an arrangement which has its obvious convenience and which, accordingly, was recommended to us by the Government of India in framing the outline of proceedings. At the outset an endeavour was made to observe some system in this respect, but experience soon proved that it would be necessary to abandon the attempt, and to examine such witnesses as might from time to time be in attendance, irrespective of the purport of what they had to state before us.

10. In the course of our inquiry questions have been raised as to the amount and character of the evidence submitted to us, and as to the conduct of the Government of India in connexion with the production of evidence and the selection of witnesses. We think it due both to ourselves and to the Government of India to deal with this subject in some detail, and to give in decided terms the judgment we have formed.

11. The first intimation of the views of the Government of India with reference to the production of evidence is contained in a telegram of the 15th of August 1893, addressed to the Secretary of State, in reply to a telegram from the latter, on behalf of the Chairman of the Commission, assuming that the Government of India would arrange "the course of inquiry, places to be visited, and witnesses." In their reply the Government of India stated, "We shall be prepared to suggest non-official witnesses who will give independent evidence, but we cannot undertake to specially search for witnesses who will give evidence against opium. We presume this will be done by the Anti-Opium Society." V. p. 362.

12. In pursuance of this telegram and in order to meet the wishes of the Chairman, the Government of India, on the 8th of September 1893, prepared a sketch of the course which it was thought might be conveniently observed in conducting the inquiry, and a general outline of the route which the Commission might follow in the ordering of its tour throughout the Provinces of India. The Government of India, however, desired it to be understood, that in proposing a programme and itinerary they were merely putting forward suggestions for the consideration of the Commission, in the hope of thereby facilitating the completion of our labours. All questions connected with the course of inquiry, places to be visited, and witnesses to be examined, were to be finally decided by the Commission. V. p. 363.

13. The Resolution of the Government of India of the 8th of September 1893, with the proposed itinerary and course of inquiry, was forwarded with a covering despatch of the 20th of September 1893 to the Secretary of State, to be communicated to the Chairman of the Commission. It was also communicated to the Local Governments and Administrations of British India; to the Foreign Department for communication to the Agents of the Governor General in Rajputana and Central India, and to the Residents at Hyderabad and Baroda, and to the Adjutant General in India. V. p. 364.

14. The original itinerary proposed by the Government of India was of an extended character, which it would have been quite impossible for the Commission to have completed in the course of one winter. We were therefore compelled to contract its scope, and to omit from our four tracts in which, as, for instance, in Assam, an investigation on the spot had been specially recommended by the Government. In the final arrangements made after our arrival in Calcutta, the visits to Orissa, North-Eastern Bengal, Assam, the Central Provinces and Berar, Hyderabad and the Madras Presidency were abandoned, and the Government of India were requested to arrange for the attendance of witnesses from these places at Calcutta and Bombay. Many other centres of inquiry in the other provinces which had been suggested by the Government of India had to be abandoned owing to the limited time at the disposal of the Commission.

15. In the meanwhile the Government of India, in conformity with the wishes of the Commission, had made arrangements through the various local Governments and Administrations for the attendance of witnesses at Calcutta and at the other centres of inquiry decided on by the Commission. These witnesses may be roughly classified under the following heads:—

- (a.) Official witnesses, to give evidence regarding the extent of cultivation of the poppy, the manufacture and consumption of opium in India, the various systems of taxation in force, and the financial and administrative aspect of the question generally.
- (b.) Selected officers, both civil and military, with experience regarding the consumption of opium by different races and in different parts of India, police officers and others connected with the administration of the criminal law, and gentlemen of the medical profession, both in the service of the Government and private practitioners, who had had opportunities of observing the moral and physical effects of the consumption of opium.
- (c.) Non-official gentlemen of recognised standing, both native and European, who might present the case from different points of view, either in their individual capacities or as representing organised bodies of opinions.*

As regards the arrangements with Native States, the Government of India undertook to place before the Commission a full statement of all agreements now in force regarding the production of opium in such States, and its export from, and import into, them, and to give to the Commission every assistance in procuring a representation of

* With regard to the selection of witnesses of this class, we think it advisable to quote the actual instructions issued by the Government of India, which are given at page 365 of the 5th volume of our Proceedings (para. 7):—

"It is desirable that they should, if possible, be gentlemen of some social standing, of independence of character and good general intelligence, and so completely in touch with public feeling in their respective provinces as to command the respect and confidence alike of the people of India and of the members of the Commission."

the views of the Native Administrations whose interests were involved in the questions referred to the Commission.

16. In order to obtain evidence in addition to that of the witnesses put forward at our request by the Government of India, we thought it our duty to issue advertisements inviting any person who wished, to appear before us. The response to this invitation was limited, but the evidence of some of these volunteer witnesses was of much importance. We may remark that many of the witnesses nominated by the Government of India and the Anti-Opium Society had, in the first instance, voluntarily tendered themselves.

17. Besides those put forward by the Government of India and those voluntarily tendering themselves in answer to our general invitation, a large number of witnesses was produced before us by the representatives of the Anti-Opium Society. In no single case was the evidence of any witness tendered for examination by them declined by the Commission. On the contrary, we may unhesitatingly say that every effort was made on our part to give them the fullest opportunity of setting forth their views. Mr. J. G. Alexander, the secretary of the Society, who accompanied the Commission throughout the inquiry in India, ably and energetically represented its interests, and we wish to place on record our acknowledgments of his services.

18. But owing to pressure of time, and to the number of witnesses other than those put forward by the Anti-opium Society, we were obliged on several occasions to take upon ourselves the responsibility of cutting down the lists submitted to us by Provincial authorities. On some of the earlier occasions this work was done for us, at our request, by the officers of the Government, but as their selection of the witnesses to be omitted was objected to by one of our colleagues, we arranged on subsequent occasions to make the selection ourselves. Our action in such cases was governed by the view that a trustworthy witness to matters fully within his own knowledge did not require confirmation by additional evidence.

19. In order to economise the time of the Commission, and to facilitate the examination of witnesses, we made a rule, at the commencement of our proceedings in India, to require every witness to furnish beforehand an abstract of the evidence which he was prepared to give. In the case of witnesses put forward by the Government of India or Provincial Governments, these abstracts were made out after the witnesses had been selected. In accordance with the general instructions under which they were acting, the Provincial authorities were guided in their selection of officials by their general knowledge of their training and experience. The non-official witnesses were selected as specially fitted, either by position or by knowledge and judgment, to speak in a representative character on behalf of different classes of the community. In the later stages of our inquiry, we adopted, at the request of the Government of India, the plan of incorporating in our Appendices the above-mentioned abstracts in the case of all witnesses tendered on the part of the Government, who attended for examination, but whose examination was not taken owing to the want of time. We considered this plan to be fair, since we were omitting many of the witnesses put forward by the Government, whilst accepting every one of those brought up by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade.

V. p. 362. 20. It must be obvious that, in cases where the exigencies of time required the cutting down of lists originally submitted, the selection of witnesses after their abstracts had been sent in, by Government subordinates at the request of the Commission, necessarily gave room for some difference of opinion as to the inclusion or omission of particular names. Questions of this kind have been raised, and communications have passed between the Commission and the Government of India, which are set forth at length in the last Appendix to Volume V. of our Proceedings, to which we would refer for any detailed consideration. We wish to say, however, that in none of these cases did we find any ground for the imputation of partiality or unfairness in the selection or omission of names.

21. On the general subject of the evidence we desire to put on record our opinion, that the Government of India have consistently endeavoured to place the Commission in full possession of the actual facts of the case. We believe that the evidence, put forward by them, supplemented by that produced by the Anti-Opium Society, and that given by independent volunteer witnesses, forms a trustworthy ground for arriving at conclusions affecting vast provinces and enormous populations, exhibiting such distinctions in race, climate, and social and physical conditions as are rarely to be met with under the control of a single Government.

22. We are indebted to the Government of India not only for their assistance in regard to the presentation of witnesses, but also for the preparation of notes and memoranda describing in detail the systems under which the poppy is cultivated, and opium prepared and sold in that country. These documents are included in the volumes of our Proceedings, and have been found of the greatest use in elucidating the questions before us.

23. We wish to add an expression of our acknowledgments to Mr. R. M. Dane, of the India Civil Service, who was deputed by the Government of India to arrange for the attendance before the Commission of the witnesses nominated by them, and for the presentation of the documentary evidence, and also to supply any special information that might from time to time be required. Mr. Dane's arrangements throughout were most efficient, and on every occasion we received from him ready assistance.

24. We may conclude by stating that the number of witnesses examined was 723, of whom 466 were natives of India or China, and 257 Europeans. In the next Section of our Report we give a classified table of these witnesses.

SECTION II.

THE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN BRITISH PROVINCES.

25. (Of the special subjects on which your Commissioners are required to report, we propose first to consider the production and consumption of opium in the territories immediately under the administration of the Crown in India. We do not, however, include in our review the province of Burma.) The opium question has there assumed an aspect differing materially from that which it bears in the rest of the Indian Empire, and for this reason we propose to consider the arrangements regarding opium in the two divisions of Burma in a later section of our Report. For the present, we confine our remarks to the provinces of India properly so called, and, under that limitation, we propose to treat of the cultivation of the poppy, the regulation of the sale of opium and preparations from it, the extent to which it is consumed, the evidence given before us as to the benefits, on the one hand, and the evils on the other, which are attributed to its use.

26. (We may begin with citing the existing law on the subject. The production and sale of opium in British India are regulated by the General Opium Act of 1878, and the rules under it, in force throughout the territories administered either directly by the Government of India or by Local Governments and Administrations.) (We have included this enactment amongst the Appendices to the second volume of our Proceedings. Its general purport is to take power to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium except under conditions provided in the rules, and to regulate the sale, possession, and transport of opium. The cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium except on account of the Government, is prohibited throughout the whole of the old Bengal Residency by Act XIII. of 1857, and this, with its code of procedure and scale of penalties, we have thought it advisable to reproduce in our Proceedings for convenience of reference.

PRODUCTION.

27. With the exception of a limited quantity of opium produced for local use in the Panjab and in the small tract of Ajmer-Merwara, the whole of the supply produced in British India falls within what is known as the Bengal monopoly. Postponing the consideration of the production in these two special cases, we deal first with the subject of the monopoly.)

The Bengal monopoly.

28. A general account of this system is given at pages 319 and 344 of Volume II. of our Proceedings; and at page 371 of the same volume will be found a brief summary of the proposals made during the last 30 years for its modification. We may therefore restrict ourselves here to the broad lines of the subject. The general features of the monopoly system may be thus summarised: the cultivation of the poppy is at present restricted, under Act XIII. of 1857, to the tracts included in the two Opium agencies of Behar and Benares. Within these limits, the growth of the plant is only permitted under license from the local officials of the Opium Department. The licenses are granted to individual cultivators, but in parts of the Benares agency, and the whole of the Behar agency, it is usual to conduct the negotiations with the representatives of those who wish to grow poppy in a village or group of villages. The area to be put under poppy is specified in the license, and a proportionate cash advance is made either to the cultivator in person, or, more frequently, to his representative. The land sown is subsequently measured, and it is then ascertained how far the agreement as to area has been fulfilled. The whole of the opium extracted from the poppy has to be delivered at local centres where it is weighed and roughly tested, each man's contribution being paid for at the rate fixed by the Government according to the degree of consistency. The final test as to weight and consistency is conducted at the head factories, and determines the difference between the value as estimated at the local weighing, and that by which the year's account with the cultivator, including the advance, is adjusted. The opium is then prepared at the factories for the market; a portion is issued for consumption in India under the Excise regulations, but the bulk is sent to the Government stores in Calcutta, where it is sold as provision opium, for export only, at monthly auctions. A certain amount of this provision opium is kept in stock as a reserve, in order that, if the crop should fall short in future years, the quantity placed each year upon the market may be kept as far as possible uniform.

II. p. 321.

29. The objects which it is desired to attain under the system we have described are as follows:—First, that the area devoted to poppy should be kept under State

control ; secondly, that the cultivator should be furnished, if he agree to grow poppy, with the means of carrying out the season's operations ; thirdly, that the cultivator should fulfil his obligation by devoting the advance in full to the purpose for which it was made, and finally, that the cultivator should receive a price fixed irrespective of variations of season, and in return, should deliver to the State the whole of the produce without any adulteration.

30. The following return shows the area sown with poppy in the two Agencies under this system during the last 10 years, together with the number of cultivators who received licenses :—

Area under poppy in Bengal, &c. II. pp. 325, 344.

TABLE 1, showing EXTENT of CULTIVATION under the BENGAL MONOPOLY.

Year.	Acres Cultivated.			Number of Cultivators.		
	Behar.	Benares.	Total.	Behar.	Benares.	Total.
1883-84	249,699	256,144	505,843	719,195	626,720	1,345,915
1884-85	270,726	294,520	565,246	665,353	713,973	1,379,326
1885-86	283,446	311,475	594,921	695,784	788,079	1,483,863
1886-87	286,416	275,636	562,052	717,043	731,465	1,448,508
1887-88	279,849	256,758	536,607	707,483	701,036	1,408,519
1888-89	253,666	206,198	459,864	632,718	563,049	1,195,767
1889-90	248,893	233,664	482,557	657,358	617,229	1,274,587
1890-91	254,975	246,744	501,719	654,870	651,871	1,306,741
1891-92	231,741	228,923	460,664	639,798	601,413	1,241,211
1892-93	241,100	213,056	454,156	637,535	558,286	1,195,821

In the Seventh Section of our Report we discuss the considerations on which the Government of India determine the area to be placed under poppy. We there state, also, the conclusions at which we have arrived in regard to the Bengal monopoly, and the recommendations we have to make where we consider alteration desirable.

31. We now pass on to the consideration of the excise system or regulations under which opium reaches the consumer. Under the Moghal and other dynasties which have successively held power in various parts of India, there does not seem to have been any system of excise. It appears from the Note prepared for us by Mr. Dane, that in some towns, perhaps, the right to sell opium was subject to a local fee, in the same way that certain other articles of luxury were taxed. As a rule, however, in towns, and universally throughout the rural tracts, there was no regulation of consumption until some time after the British had been established in Bengal.

Excise regulations. VII. p. 32.

32. A monopoly of the purchase of opium from the cultivators had grown up in Behar under the Moghal Empire. In 1773 this monopoly was recognised by Warren Hastings and established as a State measure. At that time, however, importance was only attributed to the trade in opium to the Straits and China, and the consumption of opium in British territory attracted no special notice. But upon the prohibition in 1797 of the cultivation of the poppy in Bengal proper, and its consequent restriction to the Behar division of the province, the attention of the Government was drawn to the strong local demand for the drug, which was being met by systematic smuggling and clandestine production. The authorities, finding that they could not stop the consumption, decided to place it under regulation. At the same time, they distinctly declared that in taking this step they were desirous of countenancing only to the narrowest extent possible a habit which they found themselves unable to eradicate.

First essays in excise in Bengal.

VII. pp. 50-51.

33. Since 1813, when the first Bengal Regulation on the subject was passed, the Government of India has remained steadfast to the policy then set forth. There are modifications in detail, but the general lines of all the different systems now in force are identical, being designed to place the habit under restriction, and to raise, if we may adopt a phrase that has become popular in connexion with such topics, the maximum revenue from the minimum consumption.

General excise policy.

34. The excise systems of the various provinces have been described in the notes presented to us on behalf of the Government of India. These documents were prepared by the chief excise authority of each tract, and will be found amongst the Appendices to our Proceedings. It is not necessary here to enter into details of the existing arrangements. Our present subject requires no more than a broad outline of the system which, originating out of the Bengal monopoly, has been extended, with the successive accretions of territory, to the whole of British India, with the exception of the Panjab and the small *enclave* in Rajputana, known as Ajmer-Merwara.

Provincial systems. II. pp. 425, 456. IV. pp. 402, 432, 455, 511. V. pp. 83, 101.

General
features of
the excise
regulations.

35. The main features of this system are that only Bengal opium provided by the State, or Malwa opium which has paid pass duty, should be sold, and that the sale should be restricted to persons specially licensed for the purpose. The number of shops for the retail of opium in each district is fixed by the Government. The right to sell at these shops is disposed of either by auction, by selection from tenders, or on payment of a fixed fee for the licence. In some cases it is found convenient to dispose of each shop separately; in others all the shops sanctioned for a district or a subdivision of a district are included in a single farm. The term of the licence is usually a year, though in special cases it extends to three years. All the opium sold by the licensee has to be obtained, as we have already stated, under Government sanction, either direct from the State stores, or, where Bengal opium is not used, from the stock which has paid the State duty. The price at which Bengal opium is issued to retail vendors is made to vary according to the facilities for smuggling, but is always considerably above the cost price to the Government. Where the introduction of contraband opium is difficult the price is higher than where the process is easy. Under this system, accordingly, the cost of opium is enhanced several times before it reaches the consumer: first, in the case of Bengal opium, by the price at which it is issued by Government to the retailer, and in that of Malwa opium, by the pass duty and the imposts to which the drug is subjected in the States where it is produced; secondly, by the sums paid by the retail vendors or farmers for their monopoly; and finally, by the profit from the retail sale which the monopoly enables them to obtain.

Special
measures.

36. Various supplementary measures have been from time to time adopted in order to protect the revenue on the one hand and the consumer on the other. Amongst others, we may mention the plan of demanding a guarantee that the farmer should annually take a minimum quantity of taxed opium. The object of this system was to provide against the sale of cheap illicit opium by the vendors, which was then prevalent, and to give them an additional inducement to prevent the use of such opium within the area to which their licenses extend. This plan was in force for some time in Bombay and the North-West Provinces, and was believed to be successful, but has been recently abandoned. In the last-named province, certain subdivisional officials are allowed to sell opium by retail concurrently with the licensed vendor. The object of the arrangement is to protect the consumer against adulteration of the opium supplied by the vendors, and against the combination of the vendors to raise the price at which they retail their opium.

III. 13,686.
IV. 26,163-8.
V. p. 86.

Limitation
of quantity
saleable.

37. We may conclude this sketch of the main features of the general system by observing that in all provinces a limit is placed on the amount of opium, or preparations of opium, which may be sold to any individual, or of which a person may be legally in possession, at any one time. The actual quantity allowed differs mainly with reference to the character of the country, the accessibility of the licensed shop, and the habits of the people. The usual range is between 360 and 900 grains of the crude drug, as issued for consumption, but in the thinly populated tracts of Sindh, bordering on the desert, the limit is raised to 1,800 grains. The quantities now fixed are shown in the following table:—

TABLE 2, showing the PRICE at which OPIUM is issued, and the MAXIMUM AMOUNT saleable by RETAIL at one time.

Province.	Maximum Quantity allowed to be in the possession of any Individual at once.			Rate at which Crude Opium is issued per Ser. (2·057 lbs.)
	Crude Opium.	Preparations for Smoking.	Poppy Heads.	
	Grains.	Grains.	Lbs.	Rupees.
Bengal -	900	180	10·28	16 to 32
Assam -	900	180	—	37
N.W. Provinces and Oudh -	540	180	—	16 to 18
Punjab -	540	—	10·28	—†
Bombay -	360	360	—	—*
Madras -	540	180	10·28	—*
Central Provinces -	360	360	2·057	22
Berar -	900	—	—	—*

* Malwa opium being homeused, there is no issue by the Government.

† Both Malwa and local opium are used in the Punjab, this column cannot therefore be filled in.

38. In Bengal, Assam, the North-West Provinces and Oudh, the Central Provinces, and Burma, Bengal monopoly opium is obtained by the local governments and issued to licensed vendors. In Western and Southern India licensed vendors supply themselves with opium obtained from the Central India and Rajputana States under the Malwa or pass-duty system, which will be dealt with in the next Section of our Report.

Provision of
excise
opium.

39. In Ajmer-Merwara, which covers only some 2,700 square miles, no general restriction of the cultivation of the poppy has been attempted, owing to the fact that this, the British portion of Rajputana, is completely surrounded by States under Native rule, where absolute freedom as to cultivation exists and the use of opium is probably more widely spread than in any other part of India. Except in the four chief towns there is no restriction on consumption. A part of the produce is consumed locally; the remainder is exported to the adjacent Native territory.

Special
arrange-
ments in
Ajmer.
IV. p. 403.

40. In the Panjab, the system in force is somewhat different from that which prevails in the rest of the country; the essential difference, however, relates only to the manner in which the opium sold by the licensed dealers is procured; in regard to the limitation of the number of shops and the taxation of retail vend, the systems are practically identical. The greater part of the opium consumed has always been imported from the Protected States, by which the province is bordered on two sides, whilst a small quantity has been brought in from Afghanistan. This trade was formerly unrestricted. Within the Panjab itself no restriction was placed under the Sikh administration on the cultivation of the poppy, but the production was nowhere very considerable, and in most tracts the plant was grown merely for the capsule, an infusion of which called *post* was in popular demand. On the acquisition of the province by the British from the Sikhs it would have proved a highly unpopular measure to prohibit the cultivation altogether, and in some places the prohibition would have resulted in serious injury to the cultivators. Moreover, had such a measure been enforced, and Bengal opium only been issued for sale, it would have been most difficult to repress the competition of smuggled opium finding its way by customary routes from non-British territory. The cultivation was therefore allowed to continue, but on the condition that the opium produced should only be sold to licensed dealers, who paid for their monopoly of the trade. Subsequently, a duty of Rs. 2 per acre was imposed on the poppy crop. By these measures an excise revenue was raised on the home-grown article. In 1889 power was taken to enhance this duty up to Rs. 8 per acre. Of the imported opium, that from the Native Hill States within the province and from Kashmir and Afghanistan is subject to no pass duty. It is taxed through the sums paid for licenses by dealers, who alone are allowed to import it. The States of Rajputana on the southern frontier of the Panjab, are differently treated. Malwa opium, up to an annual quantity determined by the Government, is allowed to be imported from them, on payment of a low pass duty, by wholesale dealers licensed for the purpose. With this exception, imports of opium from these States are prohibited. A small quantity of Bengal opium is also consumed in the eastern portion of the province, obtained by retail vendors from the Government treasuries. The details of the licensing system are given at page 110 of the fifth volume of our Proceedings.

Special
system in
the Panjab.
V. pp. 101-4.
V. p. 120.

V. p. 110.

V. p. 103.

V. p. 105.

CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM.

41. The common mode of consuming opium in India is to take it in the shape of pills. In some parts of the country, and chiefly on social and ceremonial occasions, the opium is dissolved in water and drunk. In the Panjab and a few other tracts in Upper India an infusion of the capsule of the poppy, called *post*, is often drunk in the villages. The forms in which opium is smoked in India are known as *chandu* and *madak*. The use of *chandu*, or the Chinese preparation of opium for smoking, is one of comparatively recent introduction into India, and has not spread beyond the larger towns and military cantonments. The habit of smoking *madak* is of long standing in some of the eastern parts of the country. The details of the composition, and the process of preparation of *chandu* and *madak* are given in the Memorandum by our medical colleague, Sir William Roberts, appended to our Report.

Forms in
which opium
is consumed
in India.

V. p. 110.
V. p. 57.
III. 18,795,
16,902.
II. p. 426.

42. The most complete and trustworthy information on the subject of the consumption, so far as licit opium is concerned, is to be found in the official statistics of the quantity issued to the consumer in accordance with the regulations which have been described above. These have been presented to us by the Government of India or the Local Governments and Administrations. The results, taking the province as

General
extent of
consumption.

the unit, are summarised in the following table, which shows in a convenient form the diversity which exists in the different parts of the country :—

TABLE 3, showing CONSUMPTION of OPIUM in the various PROVINCES of BRITISH INDIA.

Province.	Area.	Population (1891).	In 1892-93.				To each Shop.		Annual Consumption of Opium per Head.
			Shops for sale of			Amount of Crude Opium issued.	Mean Area.	Mean Population.	
			Opium.	Smoking Prepara- tions only.	Poppy- heads only.				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
	S. Miles.					lbs.	S. Miles.		Grs.
Assam - -	45,504	5,433,199	866	16	—	109,741	52	6,160	141
Bengal - -	144,443	71,069,643	1,714†	334	47	159,171	69	33,923	15
Berar - -	17,718	2,897,491	478	—	—	37,876	37	6,062	91
Bombay - -	77,275	15,985,270	845	—	—	108,980	91	18,918	47
Sindh - -	47,789	2,871,774	300	—	—	18,052	159	9,572	44
Central Provinces	81,300*	10,046,546*	1,481‡	182§	—	52,248	49	6,041	34
Madras - -	141,189	35,630,440	906	98	30	74,984	136	34,459	14
N.W. Provinces -	83,286	34,254,254	839	14¶	—	119,470	97	40,157	24
Oudh - -	24,217	12,650,831	188	—	—	27,217	129	67,291	16
Panjab - -	110,667	20,860,913	1,780	—	—	125,292	62	11,158	42
Total -	773,388	211,700,361	9,397	644	77	833,031	76	20,923	27

* Excluding mediatised chieftainships. † Excluding 1,264 druggists' licenses. ‡ Including 508 temporary licenses at fairs and markets.
§ Including 10 temporary licenses. || Includes the sale of poppy-heads. ¶ To be closed on expiration of current licenses.

Ajmer, Coorg, and British Balochistan, which, though nominally provinces, are in point of population small districts, have not been included in the above table.

Proportion
of opium
shops to
area and
population.

43. It will be seen that in the area to which Table 3 refers, and this includes nearly the whole of British India, except Burma, each shop supplies an average area of 76 square miles, containing a population of, approximately, 21,000. This, however, is no more than a convenient arithmetical expression; the details show that the average area is approached in Bengal alone. Looking to other parts of India, the extremes are found in Berar, where there is a license to every 37 square miles, and in Sindh, in which thinly peopled tract the corresponding area is no less than 159 miles. The variation is still more strongly marked in respect to the average population served from each licensed establishment. In no individual case is the general figure typical of the actual local distribution. A shop in Oudh, for instance, suffices for more than 10 times the population served by one in the Central Provinces, Berar or Assam, and for double the population for which a shop is provided in the densely peopled province of Bengal.* In the above calculation shops for sale of poppy-heads only or of smoking preparations, where they exist, are included. But for this, the area served by each shop would be 82 square miles, with a population of 22,530. This is, perhaps, the more correct average, since the special shops are supplementary to the others, and serve but a small body of consumers.

Average
consumption
per head, in
provincial
detail.

44. The last column of the table shows the consumption of opium per head of population. For the whole area dealt with in the table the quantity averages 27 grains per head annually. The extremes are found in Madras, where the average consumption is but 14 grains, and Assam where it rises to 141. Below the general average, we find, in addition to Madras, the provinces containing the great opium-producing tracts, namely, Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and Oudh. Above the average come Assam, Berar, Bombay, the Panjab, and the Central Provinces. Some of the provinces manifest so great an internal diversity in population and physical characteristics that the figures for each, taken as a whole, are of little use in connexion with the present subject, though they serve to exhibit the variety that exists in India generally. We will comment, therefore, on those parts of the country in which discrimination on considerations such as are mentioned above appears to us to be especially desirable. It is important to remember that the figures of consumption are those of licit opium only, and that illicit opium is no doubt consumed in considerable quantities in parts of some provinces.

II. 3009.
V. p. 85.
III. 10,852,
11,548, 13,867.

* In the above calculation for Bengal, the 1,264 druggists' licenses are not taken into account.

45. In Bengal, the Orissa Division, which has many damp and malarious tracts, shows a mean consumption of 47 grains annually, or thrice the incidence of the province as a whole. At the other end of the scale are the seven districts of the Patna division of Behar, in all of which the cultivation of the poppy is permitted under the monopoly system. Here the consumption is shown as no more than 2 grains per head of a population of 16 millions. In these districts some opium is believed to be illegally retained by the growers for domestic consumption. Between these extremes we find the districts of the Dacca division, containing a population of nearly 10 millions, with an average consumption of 5 grains per head. The wilder portion of the province, on the hills and table-land of Chutia Nagpur, returns an average consumption of a grain above that in the east delta. The city of Calcutta stands by itself in the tables of Bengal. The population, including that of the suburbs, is shown as consuming no less than 276 grains per head.

Bengal.*
II. p. 34.

46. Assam is the next province we have to consider. Here the consumption of opium has fallen considerably since the introduction of the system of charging a fee for licenses. In 1873-74, the last year in which the permission to sell was granted free of payment, the amount of opium issued was 152,794 lbs. The price of opium and the license fees having been raised from time to time and other changes having been introduced, by 1877-78 the annual consumption had fallen to 140,480 lbs. In 1883, the present system of licensing individual shops was adopted, and by the year 1892-93 a further falling off had taken place, and the issues for that year were only 109,741 lbs. Under Burmese and the preceding Native, rule, the production of opium was subject to no restriction, and after the annexation by the British in 1826, the same liberty was allowed to continue until 1860. Even now a certain amount of poppy is grown in the surrounding hill tracts, beyond British influence. The details of the returns show that large consumption is confined principally to the Assam valley, along the damp and low-lying country bordering the Brahmaputra River on both sides. Here the general use of the drug which existed before the country came under British rule still widely prevails, and though the amount has decreased, the average annual consumption reaches 357 grains per head. The largest consumers are the Mikir tribe, of whom, according to the estimate of the Commissioner of Excise for the province, from 80 to 85 per cent. eat opium. Amongst the purely Assamese community the proportion is estimated by the same authority not to exceed 30 or 35 per cent. In the southern and western part of the province the average annual consumption is only about 12 grains per head, rising to 30 grains amongst the tribes of the hill tracts.

Assam.*
II. p. 455.
II. 5621,
9016, 9547,
9671.

II. p. 458.

47. In the North-West Provinces the average annual consumption is returned at 24 grains per head. In Oudh, during Native rule, which only ended in 1856, there was no restriction on cultivation or sale. The corresponding figure there falls to 15. It must be borne in mind, however, that the cultivation of the poppy is permitted under license in every district of Oudh, a fact which in some degree accounts for the small consumption of licit opium. The existence of a large city in which the traditions of a corrupt Musalman court have not yet been obliterated explains, probably, the high rate of consumption in the Lucknow district, where it is seven times as high as that in the rest of Oudh. The influence in this respect of a large town is not confined to Lucknow alone, since the consumption in the districts in which are situated the towns of Lucknow, Benares, and Cawnpore, in the vicinity of which poppy cultivation has been prohibited since 1877, amounts to 85 grains per head, or nearly five times that of the rest of the combined provinces, where only 18 grains per head are consumed. The increase in actual licit consumption from 125,806 lbs. in 1882-83 to 146,687 lbs. in 1892-3, is attributed chiefly to the more efficient measures taken of late years for the prevention of the use of contraband opium, whether retained by the producers or smuggled from Nipal and elsewhere.

North-West
Provinces
and Oudh.*
V. p. 86.
V. p. 93.

V. p. 86,
par. 16,
V. p. 90.
III. 19,102,
19,530.

48. Our observations in regard to increased consumption of opium in the North-West Provinces apply, with perhaps still greater force, to the increased consumption shown in the Panjab returns within the last nine years. During this period the persistent smuggling that went on along the comparatively unprotected Rajputana frontier has been gradually checked by capture of smugglers' trains, and by allowing a certain amount of Malwa opium to be lawfully imported on payment of duty. The average consumption during the past ten years was 112,394 lbs., but, whereas in the first six years of this period the average was only 95,527 lbs., since the reduction of the duty on Malwa opium in 1888-89, it has risen to 122,474 lbs. Between the years 1887-88

Panjab.*
V. p. 110.
V. p. 109.

* The average consumption given in this and the following paragraphs is calculated from the Tables included in the Notes on the excise systems of the different provinces given in our Appendices. The quantity of opium returned against each district, (at 7,000 grains = 1 lb.) is divided by the population.

and 1888-90, the returned consumption in the two important districts of Ludhiana and Ferozpur was nearly doubled, a rate of increase which is stated to be entirely due to the prevention of smuggling, and to the substitution of taxed for untaxed opium. We see no reason to doubt this explanation. The nominal increase represents, so far as we can judge, no extension of the habit of indulgence in the drug. In regard to the unequal distribution of the rate of consumption in this province, we must not omit to call attention to the influence of social or religious custom which is so strongly shown in the case of the Sikh community. Of the Sikhs about 80 per cent. are to be found in the seven districts marginally named. The total population of these districts constitutes only about 31 per cent. of the whole province, but the licit opium consumed within their limits bears a proportion of 66 per cent. to the total for the Panjab. Our Table 3 shows that the mean annual rate of consumption for the whole province is about 42 grains per head, but it falls to 23, if these seven districts be excluded. Within these, taken separately, it rises to 104 grains. In five of them the infusion of poppy heads, known as *post*, is also in common use. In connexion with this point, we may call attention to the fact that, whilst the total consumption of licit opium amongst the 20 millions of the British districts averages 112,394 lbs. annually, that of the Patiala State, with its population of 1,583,000, is returned at 98,736 lbs. The consumption per head in the latter is, therefore, more than 10 times that in the former. Similarly in the smaller Sikh States of Nabha and Jind, the incidence of consumption is 366 and 180 grains respectively, or considerably higher even than that of the British Sikh districts. The habit of smoking preparations of opium is of comparatively recent introduction into this province, and since the 1st of April 1890, no licenses for the sale of such preparations have been granted.

Ambala	-	68,449
Jalandhar	-	90,320
Ludhiana	-	127,143
Ferozpur	-	81,219
Lahore	-	125,591
Amritsar	-	216,337
Gurdaspur	-	72,395

V. p. 108-9.

III. 16,218,
16,280, 16,259.V. p. 110,
par. 22.
III. 15,713.Bombay
Presidency.

IV. p. 280.

III. 18,545.

IV. p. 479.

IV. p. 480.

49. In the Bombay Presidency almost as great a variety is found in the rate of consumption as in Bengal. It is true that in Bombay city the consumption does not equal that which we have noted above as prevailing in Calcutta, the western capital being credited with only 155 grains per head of its population, against the 276 of the metropolis. But, taking the other divisions of the province, we find the high rate of 94 grains in Gujarat, where a considerable Rajput population, is surrounded by lower classes with a marked habit of imitating Rajput customs. In the Deccan the rate decreases as the south is approached, and where the Karnatak, or Kanarese country, begins, the consumption of opium reaches its minimum of four grains. The Konkan, or strip of land along the coast from Malabar to Bombay, returns an average of five grains, but this rate is raised by the inclusion of the two northern districts, adjacent to Bombay, where it rises to 10 and 8 grains respectively. Sindh approaches the Deccan average, but it is probable that the actual consumption is much larger than that returned, as smuggling from Rajputana is very easy. The amount of opium returned as consumed in the Presidency as a whole varied but little during the last 10 years, considering the comparatively rapid growth of the population in Sindh and the Deccan. In 1883, the figure was 117,440 lbs., and in 1893, 127,010 lbs.

50. In connexion with the sudden apparent increase in the consumption that took place in Gujarat some 17 or 18 years ago, we may point out that the difference is only in the returns, licit opium having been substituted for contraband. Up to the year 1878 opium was smuggled so freely from Malwa, that the demand for duty-paid opium was insignificant. Efficient arrangements were then made to protect the frontier by conventions with the surrounding States, and the measure of making the licensed vendors take a minimum quantity of licit opium was adopted. The results are to be traced in the following table:—

TABLE 4, showing the QUANTITY of OPIUM issued to, or imported by LICENSED VENDORS in GUJARAT.

—				Average of 3 Years. 1874-77.	1877-78.	1878-79.	1879-80.	1892-93.
				lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
Ahmedabad	-	-	-	3,274	2,853	6,363	16,139	15,104
Kaira	-	-	-	167	140	2,683	8,262	10,104
Broach	-	-	-	233	210	2,898	6,448	8,672
Surat	-	-	-	816	865	1,445	2,326	3,102
Total, Gujarat*				4,490	4,068	13,417	36,352	40,413

* Including the Panch Mahals, for which figures are not available till 1878-79.

The substitution above mentioned is clearly established by the sudden rise notwithstanding an increase in the price, showing the demand already in existence. The evidence taken by us at Ahmedabad conclusively showed that before 1878-9 opium was cheaper and easier to get, and consumption greater than it has been since that date. Similar results followed the introduction of better preventive measures in Khandesh a few years later.

51. In the Central Provinces the consumption seems to have remained stationary for some years. In 1883, the amount was returned at 52,496 lbs. ; in 1893, at 52,248 lbs. The rate of consumption varies from 12 grains per head in the Damoh district to 71 in the Wardha district. There used to be much smuggling into these provinces from Central India, and it has not yet been possible to stop it. The real consumption is no doubt greater than is shown by these figures. Most of the districts in these provinces were not annexed until 1854, and the free cultivation of the poppy, allowed under Native rule, was not stopped till some time after annexation.

IV. 22,745,
22,768, 23,615,
23,757, 24,223,
24,240, 24,571
24,662.

Central
Provinces.

IV. p. 525.

IV. 28,257.

52. In Berar there is no special feature in the consumption requiring comment. The average rate is high, on the whole, and varies considerably from district to district. In Elichpur, for example, it reaches a rate of 154 grains per head, whilst in Basim it recedes to 35 grains.

Berar.

IV. p. 522.

53. In the Madras Presidency we find the consumption of opium at its lowest. Excluding the city of Madras, the district of Malabar, and the four north-eastern coast districts, the average annual consumption among 27 millions of people is only $2\frac{3}{4}$ grains per head. The highest rate is not found, as in most other parts of India, in the chief city, where it is only 26 grains per head, but in the four north-eastern districts adjoining Orissa, a tract subject to heavy rainfall, and comprising large areas under rice in the plains with a still more extensive area of forest-clad hill inland. Here the consumption of opium amounts to 84 per cent. of the quantity consumed in the whole Presidency, giving an average of 51 grains per head. We may note that up to 1880 no restriction was placed in the Madras Presidency on the importation, possession or sale of opium, and it was then generally considered that the local use of the drug was very small. This is no doubt true, as the above figures show, with regard to the greater part of the province. The inquiries, however, as to the extension to this Presidency of the Opium Act of 1878, brought to light the fact that the consumption in the north-east tracts was considerable. In 1883-4, the year in which the present system was introduced, the number of shops was 1,117, whereas it is now 1,034, and the consumption of opium has fallen from 77,676 lbs. to 74,984 lbs.

Madras
Presidency.

IV. 25,437,
25,477.

IV. 25,430,
25,471.

IV. p. 433,
25,461.

IV. pp. 440-1.

54. Before entering upon the subject of the character and effects of the opium habit, we may offer a few general observations in regard to the great variety in its territorial prevalence which has been described above. In some extensive tracts as, for instance, Southern India, and the Deccan, the use of opium appears to be inconsiderable. Elsewhere, as for instance in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, the rural tracts present a strong contrast in this respect to the larger towns, and it is by the higher consumption in the latter that the provincial average is materially raised. It is necessary to bear in mind that these returns deal with licit opium only, and that in towns, for various reasons, the real consumption is more confined to licit opium than in the rural tracts. On this supposition the distinction between town and country, though possibly considerable, is not actually as striking as it appears in the official returns. When we come to tracts like Orissa, the north-eastern districts of Madras, the Central Provinces, the Assam Valley, the Central Panjab, and the northern parts of the Bombay Presidency, the habit appears to be general and equally diffused amongst the town and the country population. As to the consumption of opium generally, we come to the conclusion, that whilst the use of this drug is more pronounced amongst certain classes and in certain localities than elsewhere, it is widely scattered over the length and breadth of India.

General
distribution
of consump-
tion of
opium.

THE EVIDENCE REGARDING THE USE OF OPIUM AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE CONSUMER.

55. We now proceed to deal with the evidence brought before us at the different centres visited by the Commission during its tour in India. In order to show the character and variety of the testimony on which our conclusions are based, we first give the classification of the witnesses, grouped under their main heads of occupation:—

Classification
of witnesses.

TABLE 5, showing the NUMBER, RACE, and OCCUPATION of WITNESSES.

Occupation.	No. of Witnesses.		
	Total.	European and American.	Indian and Chinese.
1. Officials at Head Quarters, Lieut.-Governors and Chief Commissioners.	14	14	—
2. „ Divisional and District - - - - -	51	31	20
3. „ Political (<i>i.e.</i> , employed in connexion with Native States)	6	5	1
4. „ Opium and Excise Departments - - - - -	14	11	3
5. „ Pensioned - - - - -	12	3	9
6. Military officers - - - - -	27	13	14
7. „ pensioners - - - - -	9	—	9
8. Chiefs and officials of Native States - - - - -	87	3	84
9. Landowners and tenants - - - - -	88	4	84
10. Planters - - - - -	12	10	2
11. Merchants and mill-owners - - - - -	83	14	69
12. Christian missionaries and catechists - - - - -	47	40	7
13. Professors and Schoolmasters - - - - -	8	—	8
14. Medical practitioners (under Government) - - - - -	81	65	16
15. „ „ (private and pensioned) - - - - -	65	13	52
16. „ missionaries - - - - -	15	15	—
17. Representatives of Associations* - - - - -	52	9	43
18. Religious teachers (other than Christian) - - - - -	5	—	5
19. Lawyers - - - - -	27	—	27
20. Journalists - - - - -	8	1	7
21. Miscellaneous:—			
(a.) Civil engineers - - - - -	2	2	—
(b.) Labour contractor - - - - -	1	—	1
(c.) Municipal commissioners - - - - -	2	—	2
(d.) Actuary - - - - -	1	1	—
(e.) Writer - - - - -	1	—	1
(f.) Students at college - - - - -	2	—	2
(g.) Without occupation - - - - -	3	3	—
TOTAL - - - - -	723	257	466

* This heading includes representatives of important bodies, such as the Chambers of Commerce, and the Millowners and Planters' Associations, as well as those of numerous small local societies.

VII. p. 228.

56. The above classification is necessarily imperfect. For example, the representatives of associations have in most cases more definite occupation, which will be found against their names in the Index. The two municipal commissioners are so described because they appeared before the Commission in that capacity only. The pensioned military officers were in almost all cases also landed proprietors, and the heading of private medical practitioners includes both the qualified and the unqualified members of that profession. On the whole, however, the summary fulfils the purpose for which it is immediately intended, and sufficiently indicates that the information obtained by us has been derived from all the main interests of the country, in so far as they can be represented by typical witnesses of sufficient education and experience to speak for their respective communities. We should add that the table includes the 34 witnesses heard in England, most of whom gave evidence regarding the opium question in China, and the 37 witnesses who spoke as to Burma only.

Classification of the Anti-opium witnesses.

57. We also think it desirable to give a separate classification of those witnesses included in Table 5, who were presented by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. It must be understood, however, that this list is only approximately correct, and that these are not the only witnesses who gave evidence adverse to the use of opium except for medical purposes.

These witnesses fall into three main groups: first, the 24 medical practitioners; secular and missionary; second, the 30 missionaries and catechists; and third, the Native witnesses, other than medical, including the minor officials, lawyers, journalists, and the representatives of various associations.

TABLE 6, showing the NUMBER and CLASSIFICATION of WITNESSES presented by the ANTI-OPIMUM SOCIETY.

Occupation.	Number and Race.		
	Total.	European and American.	Indian and Chinese.
1. Government officials	4	—	4
2. " ex-officials	8	—	8
3. Landowners and tenants	6	—	6
4. Merchants and shopkeepers	11	3	8
5. Lawyers	7	—	7
6. Journalists	4	—	4
7. Medical practitioners	14	4	10
8. " missionaries	13	13	—
9. Missionaries	39	34	5
10. Catechists and mission teachers	5	—	5
11. Preachers (other than Christian)	2	—	2
12. Representatives of Associations*	26	3	23
13. Professors and masters	2	—	2
14. Miscellaneous	11	3	8
TOTAL	152	60	92

* One of these witnesses represented a political association in Calcutta, and addressed the Commission on the system of poppy cultivation in Behar. Of the others, three appeared on behalf of the English Anti-Opium Society, eight represented the Brahma Somaj of Bengal, and the rest, societies for the promotion of abstinence from stimulants in Upper India and Bombay.

58. In dealing with the evidence as a whole, we desire to say that, in our opinion, both the disadvantages and the advantages attending the use of opium have been in many cases overstated. It was inevitable that in an inquiry of this nature there should be some exaggeration. Strong convictions have been held on either side, and witnesses have insensibly been led to dwell on what accorded with their convictions, and to leave out of sight what might tell in the opposite direction. In forming our conclusions, therefore, we have throughout endeavoured to make allowance for this. Apart from the necessity of giving weight to individual testimony, in accordance with the representative character of the witness and his opportunities for observation, we have felt it our duty to look particularly to fairness of mind and sobriety of judgment.

Appreciation of the evidence.

59. No part of the evidence deserves more attention than that of the medical witnesses.† A large and important section of these were members of the Indian Medical Service, and we naturally attach great weight to their testimony. We think it right, therefore, to state briefly how this branch of the public service in India is recruited, and what opportunities its members possess for observing the effect of the use of opium on the health and morality of the people of that country. Admission to the Indian Medical Service can only be gained by severe competition among those who have already qualified as medical men in the United Kingdom; and the selected candidates have to pass through a course of special training for Indian service. On their arrival in India they are required to do medical duty for a certain period with Native troops, and a great part of them pass subsequently into civil employ, as civil surgeons in charge of districts. In this capacity they are responsible for the medical administration of the district, including dispensaries, hospitals, and jails, and frequently have a large private practice among the upper classes of the Native community as well as among Europeans. By education, therefore, as well as by training and experience, they are well qualified to speak with authority as to the effects of the

General character and weight of medical evidence. II. p. 136. (Q. 5178-97).

† We think it necessary to make a few observations regarding a petition against the use of opium except for medical purposes presented to the House of Commons in 1892, purporting to be the expression of the views of 49 independent Native medical practitioners of the city of Bombay. Some weight was attached to this petition in England; and subsequently it attracted special attention in India, owing to the fact that almost all the signatories either disavowed the views contained in the petition or denied that they had signed it. The circumstances in which the petition was prepared were described at some length before us in Bombay by the local representatives of the Anti-Opium Society. We are satisfied that they acted with good faith in the matter, but it was admitted that the petition was drawn up without communication with any of the medical men who were asked to sign it, and that it was sent round for signature by the hands of a messenger. Not one of the signatories came before us to support the views which it contained, though one of those who gave evidence expressed opinions generally adverse to opium. Five others repudiated those views, stating either that they had not signed the petition, or that they had signed without any real knowledge of its contents. It is evident, therefore, that this petition, as an expression of independent medical opinion, is entitled to no weight.

IV. 27,380, 25,599, 25,609-15, 25,670, 25,686, 25,777-8, 25,780, 25,787, 25,790, 25,842, 25,846, 25,966, 25,97".

use of opium in India, and their professional standing is a guarantee of their independence of character.

General motives for taking opium.

60. Looking to the whole body of the evidence we find it proved beyond reasonable doubt that the prevalence of the use of opium is founded, first, on the universal tendency amongst mankind to take some form of stimulant with which to comfort or distract themselves, and, secondly, on the wide-spread popular belief in the medical or quasi-medical efficacy of the drug. It is important, however, to point out that many of the witnesses failed to draw any clear distinction between the medical use and that which cannot correctly be so described. It is constantly found that the opium habit dates from the time when the drug was taken for medical purposes. In some cases the chronic or recurrent character of the malady necessitates repeated doses; in others the exhilaration and general sense of comfort induced result in repetition of the dose long after the ailment for which it was originally taken has passed away. We have also to mention the special use of the drug in connexion with ceremonies and social usages which prevails chiefly amongst the Rajputs and those who copy their customs. This use is more particularly described in the next Section of our Report, treating of opium in the Protected States. The force of example and fashion must also be taken into account in describing the motives for taking opium.

Use of opium as a domestic remedy.

61. In every part of India with which we had to deal we found witness after witness testifying to the belief in opium as the common domestic medicine of the people. It is taken in cases of specific disorders, such as rheumatism, diabetes, chill, and diarrhoea. It is regularly administered to unweaned children. In malarial and damp tracts there is general faith in its virtue, either in warding off or in curing fever.

II. 2146-7, 4095.

The use of opium as a household remedy, has a special importance in a country like India. The mass of the population is beyond the reach of European medical aid, or even of the district dispensary system. The better class of Native practitioners, the Hakims and Vaid, who follow the Arabic or Hindu systems of medicine, are only to be found in towns, and are chiefly resorted to by persons in easy circumstances. The poorer sections of the community, therefore, and especially the agricultural classes, have to prescribe for their own ailments. They have also, in the absence of veterinary aid, to prescribe for the ailments of their cattle, and in some parts of India, this constitutes an additional reason for keeping opium in their houses.

V. App. XIV.

Use of opium in infancy.

62. As regards the administration of opium to infants, the custom is more prevalent in the north and west of India than in the east and south. Abul Fazl, in his "Institutes of Akbar," specially mentions it as being common in Malwa in the 16th century. Mothers in all ranks of life whilst nursing their children are in the habit of giving them minute doses of opium, and in India, where the children are weaned much later than in Europe, the practice is continued up to the age of $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 years. In some parts of the country *balagoli*, or "children's pills," containing a small amount of opium mixed with various carminatives, are used.* To account for this practice various reasons are advanced. Some assert the object to be the prevention of diarrhoea and other infantile ailments; others say that it is to correct certain properties in the milk; a third explanation, and the most common, is that by this means the child is kept quiet and the mother thus left at liberty to pursue undisturbed her domestic duties, whether in the house or field. A few witnesses, chiefly missionaries, stated before us that they believed this practice to be productive of great infant mortality. The whole of the evidence on this point has been analysed by Sir W. Roberts, and, with him, we conclude that long practice in this use of opium has resulted in the acquisition of a degree of skill in administering the drug which must materially minimise the risk of accident, so that evident injury or accidental poisoning, though not unknown, are comparatively rare. It is impossible to believe that this custom should have been handed down for many centuries amongst a people, whose general fondness for their children is well known, if it were as injurious as some witnesses seem to think.

VII. p. 32.
IV. 20,285,
19,979, 21,318,
24,697.

II. 2299, 2757,
4291.

III. 14,028,
14,628, 19,980,
21,298.

19,529.

Use of opium as a febrifuge.

e.g., 3185,
5644, 5597-8,
6069, 6198,
10,244, 19,542,
11,686, 13,027,
27,835, &c.
IV. p. 498.

63. In respect to the use of opium in connexion with malarial disease we have already pointed out that the relative consumption is higher in the moist and low-lying plains and valleys than in the drier and more open country. Most of the witnesses with experience of the rural tracts spoke to the popular belief in the efficacy of the drug in cases of fever, or as a protective against malarial influences.

* The question of the sale of *balagoli* by a licensed opium vendor was considered by the Government of Bombay, and after consulting medical authorities, it was decided that it might be continued. Such a sale is open to question, but we are of opinion that the objections to it are not sufficiently strong to justify interference.

This was confirmed by the great majority of the private medical practitioners, though many were adverse to the non-medical use of opium. On the other hand, a certain number of witnesses, generally townsfolk, denied that any such belief prevailed amongst the people. Quite apart from the merits of this belief, its existence, which is the only question now before us, has been, we consider, conclusively established by the mass of evidence of those most competent from experience and observation to represent public opinion on the subject.

e.g., 2259,
2595, 5911,
9324, 9439,
9961, 26,540,
&c.

64. Passing from the popular use of opium in cases of specific disorder, we have now to consider it in the more general character of a stimulant. We found that reliance upon the drug in cases of failing strength, after the age of 35 or 40 years, is widely prevalent in the parts of India where opium is commonly used. The representatives of large and influential classes, such as the merchants and landed proprietors, and a great majority of the Native medical practitioners, were unanimous in their view that though opium is not to be recommended to young men except in a strictly medical sense, or in special circumstances, it is properly used in moderation, with beneficial results, by those past middle age, who feel themselves in need of a stimulant of some sort, to serve, in the words of one of the witnesses, "as a prop to a falling house." A considerable number of these witnesses, we may add, informed us that their opinion was founded on personal experience, as they had themselves taken opium for periods varying from 15 to 50 years, and believed that they had derived benefit from the habit. Their appearance and vigour were enough to satisfy us that, at all events, they had experienced no perceptible harm from it, and this was true of many who admitted that they were in the habit of taking what are considered even in India to be excessive daily doses.

Use of opium
as a stimu-
lant and
restorative
after middle
age.

II. 3943, 5738.

III. 12,517,
15,914, 17,721.

23,980.

6006, 15,020,

15,888, 16,443,
16,484, 16,517,
17,837, 17,893.

65. The use of opium as a stimulant in physical emergencies seems to prevail more in the north of India, where the cold weather is comparatively severe, and in the tea-gardens and rice-growing tracts of the east, where the cultivator has to spend many consecutive hours exposed to wet and chill. The evidence from the Panjab showed that many who do not touch opium during three-fourths of the year habitually take a little during the winter months. In Assam, again, the evidence of planters showed that labourers from the hill country and settlers from Bengal take to the habit whilst resident in the Brahmaputra Valley. It was also proved before us by witnesses from various parts of India that opium is commonly taken to enable the consumer to undergo fatigue on journeys and on occasions when special exertion is required. This use of the drug was particularly mentioned by some of the military witnesses, the general purport of whose evidence is given in the next paragraph.

Use of opium
in cases of
fatigue and
exposure.

III. 15,882,
15,963, 16,991,
18,569, 18,691.

II. 10,056,
10,167.

II. 5596,
10,088, 13,886,
14,232, 16,467,
17,662, 17,884,
21,782, 22,665,
23,750, 24,727,
24,904, 26,996,
28,115.

66. As regards the use of opium in the Native army, we heard the evidence of a number of officers, European and Native, including some in medical charge of Panjab regiments. Their evidence goes to show that the proportion of habitual consumers amongst Native soldiers is small. It is not unlikely that the number was understated in some of the regiments; since, though the men do not themselves regard the habit as reprehensible or degrading, they are aware that it is unfavourably viewed by some of the European officers. But even after making allowance for the concealment which may have been practised, the true number of habitual consumers and of men who take opium throughout the year is probably not considerable. In the first place, the great majority of men on active service do not suffer from any of the chronic or recurrent diseases for which, as we have observed above, opium is a popular remedy, nor, again, are they of an age when recourse is commonly had to opium as a stimulant or as the restorative of declining physical power. The use is more general under certain conditions of specially arduous duty or of exposure to particularly severe or malarial climate, or, again, during the two or three months of winter in the Panjab. In such circumstances it has been estimated that from 50 to 80 per cent. of the Sikh soldiers take opium, though the habit is abandoned on the cessation of the special conditions which gave rise to it. The weight of the evidence which we have to guide us on this point distinctly supports the view that the number of soldiers who take opium to an extent which does them harm is quite insignificant; that the consumption of the drug in the Native army is not attended by any perceptibly injurious results, and is often beneficial, and that any attempt to limit the consumption, as, for instance, by requiring soldiers to register themselves as consumers, would be highly unpopular. A question was raised before us as to the issue of opium to Native soldiers as a free ration when the regiment is on field service. No system of this kind is in force. The men ordinarily make their own arrangements, but a supply of opium

Use of opium
in the Native
army.

III. 18,654,
18,713-4.

III. 12,910,
12,935, 14,117,
14,184, 15,753,
15,879, 16,443.

17,007, 17,029,
18,641, 17,595-
99.

III. 15,792,
16,946, 17,020,
17,045, 17,059,
17,096, 17,137,
17,571, 19,197.

16,960, 17,065,
17,090, 18,646,
18,706.

III. 14,222,
14,157, 17,084,
17,561, 19,164.

- II. 3406. is sometimes taken as a reserve in the regimental canteen and sold to consumers on the same footing as other luxuries or as extra provisions. The Commissariat, also, sometimes takes a supply on field service, upon which Commanding officers can indent up to a limited quantity on payment of a specially high rate. Occasionally opium is issued on the advice of a medical officer in special circumstances, as was the case when troops were employed in fighting and road-making amongst the snowy ranges of Sikkim. It has been issued, also, by State engineers to Pioneer regiments engaged in railway construction on the north-west frontier of India.

Use of opium
as an aphro-
disiac.
II. 2593, 2757,
8637, 9397,
and p. 314.
III. 14,687,
15,672, 19,903
-4.
3464, 3802,
20,286, 20,310,
25,951.
Use of
opium by
women.
8455, 8519.
10,038.
20,168, 20,278,
24,118.

67. Some witnesses stated before us that the most common reason with Natives of India for taking opium is the belief in its power as an aphrodisiac. Many drugs have this reputation with Oriental races, and opium, no doubt, is included amongst them; but the conclusion we have reached is that in India, as a whole, this motive for taking opium is exceptional, though it may be common in some large towns. The subject is examined at length by Sir W. Roberts in his Memorandum.

68. The evidence as to the extent of the consumption of opium by women was not very clear, and the special position of women in India, no doubt, renders it difficult to ascertain the real facts regarding their habits. There is reason to believe that the drug is taken, as a restorative, after middle age, among Muhammedan ladies in Oudh and Bengal, and also to some extent among the lower classes of society in various parts of the country. On the whole, however, the consumption of opium by women, except in connexion with medical needs may be said to be of a restricted character, the custom of the country being generally opposed to the use of any stimulant by them.

Effects of
the use of
opium.

II. 4286, 5832,
9321.
III. 13,090,
13,996, 14,517,
15,666, 16,775.
IV. 23,520,
24,238, 27,202,
27,339, 27,282.
II. 2363, 9157,
9541.
III. 15, 547,
16,718, 19,073.

III. 17,133,
16,515, 16,443,
16,483, 17,053,
17,710, 17,837-
40, 17,893,
18,912.

69. We have next to consider the physical and moral effects upon the consumers of the use of opium in the various ways already described. As to excessive consumption causing harm there is no difference of opinion. The material question, therefore, is how far moderation can be observed in practice. It was stated by some witnesses that little or no distinction can be drawn between moderation and excess; that excess necessarily follows the habitual use of opium, and that it is inevitably attended with injurious results, though they may be less apparent in the case of those who are able to afford what is considered by Natives of India to be a rich diet than in the case of consumers among the poorer classes. These witnesses also relied on certain terms of disparagement, literally translated by the word "opium-eater," as showing the popular estimation in which the habit is held. It appears, however, from the evidence of the bulk of the educated and representative witnesses, that these terms, in their ordinary acceptance, are applied only to those who take opium in excess. A parallel to this may be found in the use of the phrase "he drinks" in this country, as applied to persons who take alcohol in excess. Looking to the whole evidence, we find a marked preponderance on the side of the view that the common use of opium in India is a moderate use leading to no evident ill effects. This is the view generally expressed by Natives of the country holding responsible positions in life, and by the medical witnesses, and is confirmed by the statements of individual consumers, to which we have already referred. We had, for instance, Mahomedan and Rajput gentlemen from Northern and Central India, and numerous representatives of the Sikh landowners and peasantry, many of them far advanced in years and of fine manly bearing, coming forward, one after another, to testify to their habitual use of opium over long periods, and to the benefits which they believed themselves to derive from it. Among the Sikh community in particular, which is almost entirely agricultural, the habit of opium-eating is widely diffused. This community is distinguished for hard work, energy, and thrift, and these characteristics exist side by side with the opium habit. On this point we desire to quote the evidence of Dr. H. Martyn Clark, a medical missionary of the Church Missionary Society, who has had 13 years' experience at Amritsar, the head-quarters of the Sikh religion. Speaking of the effects of the habitual use of opium on the people of the Punjab, and especially on the Sikhs, Dr. Clark said:—

- III. 16,902. "In a certain proportion of cases the people begin to lose flesh and waste; they become dyspeptic. But in another, and I am bound to say conscientiously, the great majority of cases, no such results appear. While it does not do any good, it does not appear to do the slightest harm. The people who use it are hale and hearty, fit for work and exposure, and the habit seems to interfere neither with their longevity nor their health."

"In my experience, the effects of opium-eating on the mental and moral condition of the people are also curious. In some instances I have noted a decided deterioration when opium-eating was commenced. The

person seemed to become shift and unreliable. But in the vast majority of cases I have seen absolutely no prejudicial effects upon the mental or moral character of the person."

I have never noticed the train of moral evils that are referred to as a result of the opium habit by a certain section of people, such as neglect of home, of children, of business, ruin of families, and so forth. I believe practically such things are simply unknown in the Punjab. After the most careful inquiry I have been only able to hear of one case in which a man had brought his family to ruin through the torpor induced by excessive quantities of opium. You can have no set of peasantry hardier, thriftier, and more careful than our Punjab peasantry, . . . and yet among this class you will find an immense number of opium-eaters."

These views receive support from the statements of another medical missionary, the Rev. F. T. Newton, who has had long experience in the Ferozepur district, from those of several settlement officers who have been brought into specially close relations with the people of the rural tracts, and in short by the whole weight of the evidence in the Punjab. Only one Sikh witness expressed an opposite view to that of his fellows, and he was a small shopkeeper in Lahore and himself an opium-eater. Another section of the community among whom the habit of opium-eating is generally prevalent is that of the Marwaris, a class of traders. We had evidence from many parts of India to the effect that they are shrewd, enterprising, and successful in commerce, and that their use of opium does not cause any loss of intelligence or business capacity. One or two general observations should be added. Persons addicted to the opium-habit, except in the strictest moderation, are unable to continue their labours effectively without their periodical dose, and it is generally admitted that the habit, once acquired, is difficult to abandon if it has been carried to any excess.

17,153, 17,199-
201, 17,351-5,
17,996,
18,455-6.

I. 1112-14.
II. 2667-8,
3780-1,
6048-51.
III. 19,527,
19,898.
IV. 26,026,
27,567, 28,916.

70. As to the general prevalence of moderation, we have evidence of great weight in corroboration of that of the majority of Native witnesses from men of long experience in the country as employers of labour, or in responsible charge of establishments of Native subordinates. Such men are brought into close and direct contact with large numbers of Natives of various classes, both clerical and industrial. They are personally concerned with or responsible for the efficiency of their staff. It is impossible, therefore, that a habit fraught with the evil consequences attributed to it by the minority of our witnesses could escape notice, and, considering the abundance of material for recruitment, it is equally certain that discovery would be followed by dismissal. We have strong evidence accordingly in favour of the moderation of the consumer and of his general immunity from any evident ill-effects caused by the habit in the statement of many of the higher officials of the Government, that in a long service the effects of habitual indulgence in opium on the part of their subordinates had never come to their notice as a reason for dismissal or degradation, though the effects of alcohol had often forced themselves on their attention in this respect. Similar evidence is given by medical officers of experience, both regarding their own subordinates and the men examined by them on behalf of large railway companies and emigration agencies in Calcutta. In regard to this point we may remark that, as the whole of the lower and 97 per cent. of the upper grades of the public service are occupied by Natives of India,* the field of observation is wide enough for ample generalisation. To the evidence of officials we must add that of the important class of planters and mill-owners, to the general effect that they had never to dismiss a hand for excess in opium-taking, though some of them were aware that a proportion of their men indulged in the habit, and almost all of them spoke of alcoholic excess as a constant source of trouble. We may quote, in conclusion, the evidence of the actuary of the largest Insurance company in India doing business in Native and European lives, to the effect that after 20 years' experience, the company had decided that it was not necessary to impose any extra premium on the lives of moderate opium consumers.

Evidence of employers of labour, and of officials as to moderation.

II. 2054,
3183, 3264,
3528, 5174-5.
III. 10,782,
10,818, 13,684,
14,794-5,
15,737, 17,244,
18,144-5.

II. 3567,
5800-3, 6905,
7190, 7916.
III. 12,347,
13,979, 19,492-
508.
IV. 22,800,
25,134, 26,696.

IV. 24,662,
24,943.
II. 3810,
3,617.

71. Our conclusions, therefore, are that the use of opium among the people of India in British Provinces is, as a rule, a moderate use, and that excess is exceptional, and condemned by public opinion. Moderation, no doubt, is a relative term, and its limits may vary largely in the case of individual consumers. In some localities, also, and among certain classes of the community, there may be a tendency towards excess that is not found elsewhere. But, looking to broad results, we are satisfied that the general use of opium, which may properly be described as moderate, is not attended by injurious consequences. In many parts of the country the number of those who take opium constitutes a very small proportion of the entire population, and we have no hesitation in saying that no extended physical and moral degradation is caused by the habit.

Conclusions as to the effects of the use of opium.

* Public Service Commission Report (C. 5327 of 1888), p. 69. *

EVILS ALLEGED TO RESULT FROM THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF OPIUM SUPPLY.

72. In connexion with the general question of the effects of the consumption of opium, we have to consider certain special results which some of the witnesses attributed to the present system on which opium is procurable by the Indian public.

Suicide by
opium.

2605, 2680-7,
4368-75, 4293,
8,985, 11,468,
27,861, 13,114.

V. p. 132.

IV. p. 453,
5952, 13,663,
26,369.

Opium in
relation to
insanity.

Census
Reports,
India,
pp. 228-29.
England
and Wales,
pp. 76 and
90.
U.S.A.
Census Bul-
letin.
Austrian
Census Re-
port.

II. p. 407.

III. 13,886,
14,226,
19,235.

IV. 24,786.

II. 3486-88.
II. pp. 410-
421.

73. It is stated, for instance, that owing to the alleged ease with which the drug can be obtained, opium has come to be extensively used as a means of committing suicide. As a rule, the information on which this assertion is based appears to have been from vague report. One or two witnesses, however, quoted statistics in support of their opinion. We procured, accordingly, from the Government of India a return of the number of suicides due to opium, which is included in our Proceedings. This comprises all cases in which inquests have been held, and the law, as in England, prescribes a formal inquiry and report on the occurrence of any sudden or suspicious death. Other cases of suicide may occur, and, as was stated before us, may be hushed up, but these are necessarily insusceptible of proof; nor is there any reason to believe that the desire of concealment is stronger in the case of opium poisoning than where the more common methods of drowning, hanging, or use of arsenic, dhatura, or other easily procured poisons are adopted. In relation to the total population, the prevalence of suicide in India is not large compared with European countries, nor is there evidence that where opium is used for this purpose the ratio is higher than where other means are used. The subject has been discussed in greater detail by Sir W. Roberts in his Memorandum, and we only think it necessary to say that, so far as the evidence goes, we do not find that opium is to be credited with any special prominence in the history of these unfortunate occurrences.

74. It has been stated again that the use of opium is one of the causes of insanity in India. Regarding this point we have first to observe that one of the most noteworthy features in the last census of infirmities, which was taken in 1891, is the freedom of the population from insanity, as compared with the prevalence of mental disorder in European countries. In India we find three males and two females mentally unsound in 10,000 of each sex, whilst in England the corresponding figures were 32 and 35; in Scotland 38 and 37, and in Ireland, 47 and 43. In the United States of America the proportions in 1890 were 33 and 31; and in Austria 24 and 19. Then, again, the local distribution of this disorder in India shows that a very large proportion is attributable to the cretinism that seems to affect the inhabitants of some of the hill tracts and of the valleys of certain streams, as it is found to do in Switzerland and other countries. The serial order of the provinces in respect to the prevalence of insanity, to look at the question from another point of view, is by no means in correspondence with that in which they are ranged in relation to the average consumption of opium; nor, moreover, does the distribution by age or sex of the persons thus afflicted establish any link between insanity and the use of that drug. It is to be noted, first, that mental disease amongst males attains its maximum at the time when, according to the bulk of the evidence given before us, the habit of taking opium is only, as a rule, beginning. It is also found that the women who are of unsound mind bear a steadily increasing proportion to the men similarly afflicted, from middle life onwards. This rule obtains notwithstanding that the women do not, as a general practice, take opium. The case would certainly be reversed if opium were a predominating or influential cause of insanity. The statistics from the various lunatic asylums in India, and the evidence given by the medical officers in charge fully corroborate the view that the number of cases in which insanity is traceable to the use of opium is insignificant. In the chief asylum in Oudh, only eight out of 393 admissions were recorded in the five years preceding our inquiry. In Bareilly, again, only three had occurred in four years. In Agra, one case, and that a doubtful one, in eight years. The Superintendent of the Bombay Asylum found only three cases in 11 years. The most complete evidence on the subject is that given by Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Crombie, who quoted statistics of the Bengal asylums for 10 years, showing that during that period, of 2,202 admissions, only eight were opium-eaters. The same witness also presented a valuable paper prepared by him for the Calcutta Medical Society in May 1892, in which the subject is treated in some detail, the conclusions finally drawn being that the opium habit does not pre-dispose to insanity, and that in India the only product comparable with alcohol in its tendency to unhinge the mental faculties is one prepared from hemp (*ganja*). Some of the medical witnesses, indeed, stated that it is probable

that opium, by calming the nerves, tended in some cases to ward off mental unsoundness. Much of the evidence of other witnesses entitled to speak with some authority on the subject was to the same effect as Dr. Crombie's, and on the whole we see no reason to doubt that the conclusions above quoted are correct.

75. There was no substantial evidence of the use of opium leading to crime, except to petty pilfering by some indigent and excessive consumers in order to get the means of buying opium. The ordinary criminal statistics do not afford any direct information, as they contain no record of the motive for the crime or the influences under which it was committed. Indirectly, however, they tend to confirm the view held by the majority of the witnesses, that the opium-eater is, as a rule, a quiet, inoffensive man, not given to crime or violence as the spirit-drinker or *ganja*-smoker. For instance, in Assam the annual average admissions to gaol during the last five years were 2,696, of whom only 7 per cent. were opium-consumers. This fact has the more significance because the proportion of consumers amongst the general population in this province is abnormally high. In the North-West Provinces, again, where the towns contain an unusually large proportion of consumers, and where the population of many rural districts in which dopper cultivation is permitted, are believed to keep back a part of the produce for their own consumption, out of 26,270 prisoners at the end of October 1893 only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. were consumers. But the most weighty evidence presented before us on this subject, as, indeed, is to be expected, was that of the officials who have to deal with crime as experts, and who can speak, therefore, with authority as to the side of the question regarding which returns are silent, namely, the prevailing motives of crime and the classes amongst whom criminality is most developed. We refer to the record in our Proceedings of the evidence of men of such experience as Sir John Lambert, Commissioner of Police in Calcutta; Mr. Vincent, who holds the corresponding post in Bombay; Colonel Porteous, the Inspector-General of Police in Madras, and Messrs. Monro and Lyall, who have successively filled the same office in Bengal. It is the unanimous opinion of these witnesses that the habitual consumption of opium has no perceptible influence on any form of crime.

Opium as a cause of crime.

II. 2594, 5888, 8608, 9129, 9164, 9394, 9850, 9927, 10,496.
III. 11,684, 13,263.
II. p. 315 (c).
II. 9527.

III. 14,414, 19,749, 19,797.

II. 5080-2.
IV. 26,940.
25,583.

II. 3184, 5463.

76. We have finally to offer a few remarks upon an idea that has gained some currency, that the use of opium or the connexion of Government with its supply is a hindrance to the spread of the Christian religion in India. This view was advanced before us by several witnesses. It is, no doubt, true that in some churches there is a general rule against the admission of those who indulge in opium; in some others exclusion is practised, but at the discretion of the individual missionary; whilst in a third class no rule on the subject exists. The principal testimony in support of this view is found in the evidence given by the members of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, and in the remarks of Bishop Thoburn, the head of the American Methodist Episcopal Church in India. In the opinion of these witnesses, there is less susceptibility to moral and religious influence in those who consume opium, the habit being, as they think, inconsistent with a correct Christian life.

Opium as a hindrance to the spread of Christianity.

II. 2302-5, 14,026, 16,925, 21,493, 23,309, 23,329, 23,341, 23,489, 23,524, 26,349, 27,824, 27,833, 28,168.

77. We may now quote the words of some who are entitled to speak with special authority on this question, and who do not hold the opinion that opium is a hindrance to the spread of Christianity. Their views were set forth in memorials addressed to Your Commission. The Metropolitan of the Church of England in India, with the Clergy of that Church, including missionaries, in Calcutta wrote as follows:—

"While there are evils in the abuse of opium, they are not sufficiently great to justify us in restricting the liberty which all men should be permitted to exercise in such matters, medical testimony seeming to show that opium used in moderation is in this country harmless, and, under certain conditions of life, distinctly beneficial."

II. p. 438.

The testimony of the Bishop of Lucknow and the clergy of his diocese is to the same effect:—

"As persons who have some knowledge of missions in this country, we may add that, as far as our personal experience and our own inquiries have gone, we are of opinion that it cannot be truly said that the connexion of Government with opium has hindered the success of mission work in India. Under these circumstances we are disposed to think that a general prohibition of the use of opium in those parts of India of which we have any experience is uncalled for, and would produce greater evils than it was intended to remedy, and that Government can best serve the interests of morality, not by abolition, but by keeping a firm hand upon the production and distribution of the drug."

V. p. 138.

Dr. Goethals, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Calcutta, corroborated this view:—

"It has been urged by some that the use of opium is a serious obstacle to the success of missionary work; looking back with an experience of more than 15 years of missionary life, and having consulted

II. p. 438.

several priests of longer standing in the country, I have been forced to the conclusion, as far as Catholic missions are concerned, that facts do not tally with this assertion. As representing a Church that has lasted longer than any other in India, where it has made more converts and employs more missionaries than all the other Christian sects put together, I can conscientiously affirm that, to the best of my knowledge, not a single case has fallen under my observation in which the use of opium has stood in the way of conversion to Christianity. Further, I do not remember having ever heard complaints on that subject either from my colleagues in the Indian Episcopate, or from any of the numerous missionaries whom I have met since my arrival in India."

78. In addition to these collective addresses, we received some statements of individual opinion from missionaries, or those connected with missionary effort, to which we feel bound to direct especial attention. First among these witnesses we would refer to Mr. James Monro, C.B., formerly Inspector-General of Police and subsequently Commissioner in Bengal, and, finally, Chief Commissioner of Police in London. Mr. Monro has returned to India for missionary work. In his evidence he gives the following weighty testimony.

I. 5470.

"I have been for many years a member of the Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society, and I have come across a good many missionaries in that connexion. I have come across a good many more since I have been here at work, but I do not recall any missionary to whom I spoke about his missionary work who ever suggested that the opium trade and the Government connexion with it in Lower Bengal formed any obstacle to his work. Since I came here I have made a point of asking all the missionaries whom I have come across, especially in the district of Nuddea, (a district that has been held by the Church Missionary Society upwards of 60 years), and not one of these missionaries has ever experienced any obstacles in his missionary work on account of the opium traffic and its results. I have worked with missionaries in other districts in the same way, and I have not as yet come across any missionary who has expressed an opinion that the opium trade did form an obstacle, or who could show me any facts which warrant any such opinion, supposing he had expressed it. . . . As a missionary myself, in my own experience, going amongst the village districts where I am perfectly well known, and where the people would not have the slightest hesitation in talking to me, I have never heard an adverse opinion in regard to opium expressed."

The Rev. H. Lorbeer, a missionary of the German Lutheran Church, whose field of work lies at Ghazipur, one of the two head-quarters of the Opium Department states as follows, after 28 years' experience:—

III. 12,814.

"I do not consider that the use of opium impedes the progress of Christianity in India. All our converts were made from opium cultivators, and some of them cultivate it still occasionally when they are in pecuniary difficulties."

From the Sikh districts in the Panjab, where the opium habit is very prevalent, there is testimony to the same effect. Dr. McKee, of the United Presbyterian Church of America, now working at Sialkot, informed us as the outcome of his 23 years' experience, that the effects of opium had not been found to stand in the way of his spiritual work in India, adding:—

III. 17,252.

"The truth is, that up to the time that this subject began to be agitated in the papers, we knew little about it, because it did not affect our work at all, and the effect of it was not perceptible on the moral or physical condition of the people."

III. 17,154.

Dr. Newton, a medical missionary of the same Church, and of the same length of experience in the country, who is now at Ferozpur, confirms the above view.

Dr. Henry Martyn Clark, of the Church Missionary Society, residing at Amritsar, is in charge of one of the largest medical missions in the world. After giving in detail his professional experience of the effects of the opium habit, he said:—

III. 16,902.

"I should like, finally, to add, as a missionary, that opium in this country is absolutely no hindrance whatever to missionary work."

Impressed as we are with the views quoted above, we feel it our duty to express the opinion that neither the use of opium nor the Government connexion with it, is any material hindrance to missionary effort.

OPIUM-SMOKING.

Opium
smoking as
practised
in India.

e.g., 2322, 5825,
11,211, 16,544,
18,624, 14,852,
22,661.

79. We conclude this Section with a few observations on the habit of smoking preparations of opium, a habit which stands in India on a somewhat different plane from the ordinary custom of taking the drug in other forms, to which alone the preceding portion of the Section refers. There is no doubt that in Indian public opinion a broad line of distinction is drawn between the habit of eating and that of smoking opium.

80. In the early Bengal regulations referring to opium, the use of *madak* was forbidden. *Chandu* was not mentioned, and it seems certain that the use of this preparation was introduced into India at a later date from China. An interesting account of the growth of the habit in the North-West Provinces and Oudh, where the sale of *madak* was prohibited until 1863, will be found in our Proceedings. The process of preparation and the apparatus required, tend to restrict the habit to public saloons, and the

V. p. 87.

dislike of respectable Natives to such establishments has confined the practice for the most part to low and openly dissipated classes. Smoking is, in fact, little practised in comparison with other uses of opium, and is confined chiefly to the larger towns and military cantonments. A description of the process is given by Sir W. Roberts at the end of his Memorandum. On the medical aspect of the smoking habit his conclusion is that "it cannot be said to have been adequately proved" that moderate opium-smoking, taken by itself and apart from disease or semi-starvation, has any prejudicial effect on health." On the other hand, it was clearly shown before us that Native public opinion generally condemns the habit as disreputable, mainly, perhaps, from its associations, and this opinion is shared by the great majority of European witnesses, official and private, including the medical practitioners.

81. We consider it necessary, however, to point out that the relative objections to opium-smoking and opium-eating vary much in different places. The relative prevalence of the two habits seems to be a matter of national custom. In India it is the common habit to eat the drug, in China and the Far East to smoke it. The different views which may be taken of the two habits, due to local colouring, cannot be better illustrated than by the following extracts from a Despatch addressed in 1893 to Lord Ripon, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the Governor and the Colonial Engineer of the Straits Settlements. Sir Cecil Clementi Smith writes from Singapore :—

6. * * * "I am not yet satisfied that it is advisable (to raise the maximum price of opium). There is a prospect by so doing of driving the poorer class of Chinese to eating preparations of opium containing still more deleterious substances, and it would be deplorable if, as a result of Government action, any section of the community should be induced, in order to satisfy their craving for sedatives or stimulants, to adopt the most harmful practice of eating preparations of opium, in lieu of the comparatively harmless and often beneficial practice of smoking the same drug."

Major McCallum, R.E., the Colonial Engineer at the Straits Settlements writes :—

4. "I quite conceive that to many races in India the consumption of opium is an artificially acquired habit which is attended with serious evil, and which is a fair subject for philanthropic and legislative effort. It is the same in the Straits Settlements, where the indolent Malay cannot indulge in the habit of chandoo smoking without moral and physical deterioration. It is not for the Malay that I claim that opium is a harmless or even beneficial stimulant, but for the principal consumer in this part of the world, namely, the hard-working and thrifty Chinese coolie."

Lastly, Mr. O'Brien, acting Auditor-General of the same Colony, writes :—

3. "Opium-eating in all its forms (including the practice of morphia injection), when once established as a habit produces an invariable bodily and mental condition which imperatively calls for a constant, if graduated, increase of the drug used."

4. "Now this is not the case with opium-smoking, and puts the practice on an entirely different platform from the other forms of abuse of opium. Chinese are opium-smokers, not opium-eaters, with exceptions so few that they may be disregarded."

82. Referring to the recent withdrawal of licenses for consumption of preparations of opium on the shop premises, there is some difference of opinion as to whether the step has tended to the decrease of the habit. The measure has been in operation too short a time to enable us to come to a definite conclusion. People now meet together on private premises for the purpose of smoking, and thereby defeat the object with which the discontinuance of licensing the shops was ordered. Unless the owner of the room or an individual smoker can be proved to have sold *chandoo* or *madak*, or to be in possession of more of those preparations than the general regulations permit, no offence has been committed. Smoking on such premises is not an offence punishable under the existing law.

83. Questions have also been raised before us as to the effective carrying out of the orders issued by the Government of India between 1891 and 1893 for the prohibition of smoking on licensed premises. There may have been cases in which the holders of licenses for the sale of opium, whilst stopping consumption on their premises, have provided places in the immediate vicinity as private clubs or smoking rooms. We are of opinion, however, that having regard to the difficulty of legal proof in such cases, the Government have, to the best of their ability, enforced compliance with their orders.

84. We have now set forth the evidence taken by us in connexion with the important questions of the nature and extent of the use of opium by the population of India and its effects on the consumer. In the Sixth Section of our Report we state our conclusions on the general question of prohibition except for medical purposes.

I. 5983.

III. 13,764, 6,012, 18,536, 19,593.

IV. 27,572.

II. 2322.

View taken in the Straits of opium smoking.

No. 27 dated 27th Feb. 1893.

Enclosure 2 in the above-quoted Despatch.

Enclosure 4 in the above.

Recent action of the Government of India as regards opium smoking shops. II. 4944. IV. 24,814-17, e.g., 5008, 5471. III. 13,826, 19,568.

II. 2765-74.

III. 19,572-90.

II. 8948, 9373, 3072.

IV. pp. 295, 301.

SECTION III.

THE PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, AND EXPORT OF OPIUM AS AFFECTING THE PROTECTED STATES OF INDIA.

85. We have dealt in the preceding Section with the production and consumption of opium in British Provinces, and we now propose to consider the opium question as it affects the Protected States of India. These comprise an area of more than half a million square miles, with a population of 66 millions, as shown in the table below, being rather more than a third of the area and rather less than a fourth of the population of the whole of India. The interest of these States in the question differs materially. Those that are most vitally affected by the present inquiry are the States which produce what is known generically as Malwa opium, and which have a share in the export trade of that opium. In some other States, chiefly in the Punjab, production to a limited extent is carried on, while as regards consumption there are some marked variations, the opium habit being little known in the Protected States in the Madras Presidency. For the purposes of the present Section of our Report the Protected States will be divided into two groups, those that fall naturally under the Malwa opium system, and those which are not immediately connected with that system. Production, consumption, and export will be treated in order.

TABLE 7, showing the PROTECTED STATES in INDIA, with their AREA and POPULATION.

Name of Protected States.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.
Hyderabad - - - - -	82,698	11,537,040
Baroda - - - - -	8,226	2,415,396
Mysore - - - - -	27,936	4,943,604
Kashmir - - - - -	80,900	2,543,952
Native States in Rajputana - - - - -	130,268	12,016,102
Do. in Central India - - - - -	77,808	10,318,812
Native States under the Bombay Government :—		
(a.) In Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch - - - - -	50,515	5,361,141
(b.) In other parts of the Presidency - - - - -	18,530	2,698,157
Native States in Madras - - - - -	9,609	3,700,622
Do. in Bengal - - - - -	35,834	3,296,379
Do. in Central Provinces - - - - -	29,435	2,160,511
Do. in North-West Provinces - - - - -	5,109	792,491
Do. in Punjab - - - - -	38,299	4,263,280
	595,167	66,047,487

I.—Native States under the Malwa Opium System.

Introductory.

Meaning of
the term
Malwa.

21,867.

22,170.

22,174.

22,274.

86. The term Malwa has been used, in the evidence recorded by us, and in the various statements printed in the Appendices, with several different meanings, which require to be distinguished. (Geographically the name belongs to the fertile table-land of Central India, which is described by Sir John Malcolm as consisting “of the level elevated plain extending north and south from the Vindhya Mountains to the Chittore and Mohendra range, and east and west from Bhopal to Dohad.”*) Within this tract, of which the district round Indore may roughly be taken as the centre, lie the important opium-producing States of Central India, and it is to this tract, where the conditions of climate and soil are peculiarly favourable to the cultivation of the poppy, that the witnesses refer when they speak generally of the production or the consumption of opium in Malwa. (The name is used by some few witnesses in a more restricted sense, as meaning the Malwa Province of the Gwalior State, the dominions of the Maharaja Sindhia, in contra-distinction to the other Provinces of that State which are not situated in the larger region known as Malwa.) But in its general relation to opium, the term has acquired what is practically a trade signification as covering the opium which is brought into British territory, under the pass-duty system to be described further on, whether for local consumption within that territory, or for export to China and the far East. In this sense the term includes opium produced in any of the States of Central India, whether within or without the limits of Malwa proper, opium produced in the States of Rajputana, and also opium produced in the State of Baroda.

* P. 3, Vol. I. “A Memoir of Central India, including Malwa,” by Sir John Malcolm.

These, therefore, are the States which will be dealt with under this head, and also the States in Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch, under the political control of the Bombay Government, which, owing to their geographical position, have been closely connected with the history and development of the Malwa trade and system.)

87. The evidence regarding the Native States in Rajputana and Central India was recorded at Jeypore, Ajmere, and Indore, and we think it desirable to preface this section with a few remarks as to the course of the inquiry in those provinces. It has already been stated that the Government of India, at the request of the Commission, undertook to arrange generally for the production of evidence, and, in pursuance of this undertaking, the Native States in Rajputana and Central India were invited to express their views on the various questions affecting them, while a special officer in each province was entrusted with the duty of collecting and compiling information on the subject, so that it might be placed before us in a complete form. Each of these officers prepared and circulated to the various Native States in his province a series of general questions, which will be found in our Appendices, in order to ensure that the points on which information was required should be clearly understood, and that the whole ground which the inquiry was likely to occupy should be covered. In most of the States the methods of administration are still backward; inquiries of this nature are regarded with some jealousy and suspicion; and it was anticipated, from the experience of the past, that unless special measures were taken the subject might fail to receive adequate attention. The statistics supplied by the Native States in Rajputana were placed before us in the form of a separate summary for each State, while those from the States in Central India were compiled in several tabular statements; but the information in all cases is the information given by the States themselves, though in some instances the Central India figures have been modified by the officer charged with the compilation of the statistics, as explained by him in the introduction to the Appendix, in which they are printed. We were unable to take the evidence of all the persons offered for examination from the Native States either in support of these statistics, or as being entitled to speak with authority on various aspects of the opium question, but we recorded the statements of 64 witnesses in Rajputana, and of 41 in Central India, including those presented by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. Among the Rajputana witnesses were representatives from all the important States in that province, Native officials of high position and long experience, a number of Rajput nobles and landowners, and various members of the Mahajan or commercial class, which, both socially and by reason of its wealth and numbers, forms an important part of the community in Rajputana. In Central India we received direct communications from the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, from the Nawab Shah Jehan Begam of Bhopal, and from the Mahomedan Ruler of Jaora; we recorded the evidence of a group of witnesses from the Gwalior and Indore States, which have the largest stake in the opium trade, and of representatives of all the chief opium-producing States, with one or two exceptions. Many of these witnesses are highly educated men holding responsible offices in the States which they represent, while others speak with the knowledge of a lifetime on a subject of the gravest importance to these States. We are satisfied, therefore, that we have been placed in full possession of the views of the Protected States in Rajputana and Central India on the opium question, and that, subject to certain inevitable limitations, we have ascertained the material facts regarding the production, consumption, and export of Malwa opium. On the part of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade the evidence given before us in these provinces was of a limited character. In Rajputana four witnesses were produced at Jeypore, whom we cannot regard as being entitled to any weight, while at Ajmere we recorded the statements of a medical missionary, Dr. Huntly, who did not go so far as to advocate the prohibition of opium, except for medical purposes, by law, and of a lady Zenana missionary, both belonging to the United Presbyterian Mission, and also of two missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, an American body. It should be added, however, that the evidence of Dr. Valentine, the principal of the Medical Missionary College at Agra, which was given at that place, related mainly to his experience in Rajputana. In Central India a group of witnesses came before us at Indore from the Canadian Presbyterian Mission, including four missionaries, two medical missionaries, two schoolmasters, and two catechists. There was also a European shopkeeper from Mhow.

88. The evidence regarding Baroda and other Native States under the political control of the Bombay Government in Gujarat and Kathiawar was recorded at Ahmedabad, and two witnesses* who spoke with authority regarding Cutch appeared before us in

* IV., pp. 225-228; IV., pp. 292-294.

States in
Gujarat,
Kathiawar,
&c.

Bombay. The States in Gujarat and Kathiawar are very numerous, and most of them are grouped under Agencies as shown in the table below, the Kathiawar Agency, in particular, comprising a congeries of States, chiefly of Rajput origin, which vary very much in size and importance. Baroda was represented by two Native and by two English officials, the first of whom had been lent to the service of the State, while the second was in political charge of the Baroda districts in Kathiawar. Representatives of 16 Kathiawar States, including Bhaunagar, Morvi, Gondal, and the Mahomedan State of Junagadh were examined, and we have every reason to believe that we have obtained a genuine expression of the views of the Chiefs.

TABLE 8, showing the NATIVE STATES IN GUJARAT, KATHIAWAR, and CUTCH, with their AREA and POPULATION.

Name of State.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.
i. States in Gujarat :—		
(a.) Cambay - - - - -	350	89,722
(b.) States in the Palanpur Agency - - - - -	7,775	645,526
(c.) States in the Mahi Kantha Agency - - - - -	9,300	581,568
(d.) States in the Rewa Kantha Agency - - - - -	4,980	733,506
(e.) States in the Surat agency - - - - -	1,051	181,268
ii. States in Kathiawar - - - - -	20,559	2,752,404
iii. Cutch - - - - -	6,500	558,415
Total - - - - -	50,515	5,542,349

Historical Retrospect.

Connexion
of Mahome-
dians with
Malwa, and
early Native
trade in
Malwa
opium.

Pol
H.S.V.

VII.pp.30-2.

Connexion
of the
Portuguese
with the
Malwa
opium trade,
during the
16th, 17th,
and 18th
centuries.

(89. The first point in connexion with the Malwa opium trade to which our attention has been directed by Your Majesty is "the nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States with regard to the transit of opium through British territory." For the full understanding of these arrangements, a short historical account of this part of the subject appears to be necessary, and we, therefore, proceed to give this.)

(The tract of country called Malwa was first conquered by the Mahomedans at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and towards the end of the same century the Musalman Governor of this region threw off his allegiance to the central authority, and established an independent Kingdom of Malwa under the Ghorî dynasty. In 1526 this dynasty was overthrown by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, and for some few years Malwa formed a part of the Gujarat Kingdom. It subsequently became the scene of successive revolutions, until it was finally conquered by the Emperor Akbar, shortly before the Gujarat Kingdom was reduced to subjection by him in 1570. Malwa was then made a Province of the Delhi Empire. With the sixteenth century the Nations on the western sea-board of Europe entered the field of Eastern commerce in succession to Venice and the Mediterranean cities, and the accounts given by various European travellers and writers during this century clearly show that there was an established Native trade in opium from the West Coast of India with China, Malacca, and other places as early as the beginning of the century.) Extracts from their writings are given at some length in a special note appended to our Report, and it will be seen that they speak of opium as coming chiefly from Cambay or the Kingdom of Cambay, and as being a regular article of trade at the port of Cambay. For the greater part of this period Cambay was included in the Kingdom of Gujarat to which these writers, no doubt, refer, and it seems certain that the opium spoken of was actually produced in Malwa, which geographically and by the course of its history was closely associated with the Gujarat Kingdom, and for some years had formed an integral part of it. As already stated, Malwa was incorporated in the Delhi Empire about 1570, and in the Ain-i-Akbari, or Institutes of Akbar, compiled by Abul Fazl in 1590, opium is recorded as a staple product of the Malwa Province,* and one that had attained special excellence in that region.)

(90. The special position occupied by the Portuguese in the history of the Malwa opium trade deserves separate mention. Early in the sixteenth century they acquired Goa,† and some few years later they planted fortified settlements on the upper line of

* The Malwa Province of the Moghul Empire included a part of Rajputana, and also the territory, outside Malwa proper, now comprised within the Central India Agency.

† Goa was finally captured by Albuquerque in 1510, while Daman was conquered in 1530 and Diu obtained in 1535. See pages 211, 400, and 417, Vol. I., "The Portuguese in India," by F. C. Danvers, 1894.

the West Coast of India, at Daman, about 100 miles north of Bombay, and at Diu, an island at the southern extremity of the Kathiawar peninsula, two ports which may be said to face each other across the entrance to the Gulf of Cambay. During the greater part of this century the Portuguese held a marked supremacy in Eastern commerce, a supremacy which, according to the writers already mentioned, was fully recognised at Cambay. From an early date they acquired a large share in the opium trade from the West of India to the far East, where they established themselves at Malacca, and later at Macao, situated on an island in the estuary of the Canton River. Towards the end of the century they were losing the predominance in Eastern commerce, to which, during the seventeenth century, the Dutch succeeded for a time; but they appear to have always maintained their connexion with the Malwa opium trade to the far East; and Daman and Diu, on account of their situation with reference to Malwa, played an important part in this trade well into the present century.) (Of the actual extent of the trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not much is known, but that it was by no means confined to the Portuguese and Dutch was established by the inquiry made by the Government of India at the beginning of the present century, which will be dealt with in the next paragraph.) (The only other matter that requires notice before passing on to the results of this inquiry is that, on the breaking up of the Delhi Empire, which began towards the end of the seventeenth century, Malwa passed into the possession of the Marathas.)

(91. At the beginning of the present century the attention of the Government of India was directed to the trade in opium from the West of India, of which little or nothing then seemed to be known at Calcutta. The Bombay Government was therefore requested to have a full inquiry made into the origin, circumstances, and course of this trade, as there was reason to fear that it would injuriously affect the revenue derived from the monopoly of opium in Bengal. The inquiry showed that in the Company's own territories, and also in the Native States, in the Bombay Presidency, a considerable internal and external trade was being carried on in opium coming from Malwa. As to the origin of this trade nothing very definite was ascertained, but as to its antiquity the evidence from all sources was unanimous. The Bombay Customs Master reported, in a letter dated the 22nd November 1803, that it was a generally received opinion among the Native merchants that the trade had existed for centuries back, while the Collector of Surat, writing in September of the same year, stated that from information obtained from the oldest and most respectable merchants of that city as well as from the Custom House records it appeared that "opium has been an article of traffic ever since Surat has been a place of trade from time immemorial." The Malwa opium was said to be exported by sea to Arabia and Persia from the ports of Kathiawar, and to the Malay Coast and China, as well as to Malabar and other places in India, from the Company's port of Surat, while Cambay, Jambusar, and Broach were also mentioned as places to which opium was sent for export from the interior. The inquiry further made it clear that the habit of consuming opium was widely prevalent, especially in Gujarat, including Baroda and other Native States, as well as British territory, though the actual cultivation of the poppy in this part of the country was reported to be very limited in extent.)

Result of inquiries into Malwa opium trade at beginning of present century.

VII. pp. 46, 47, and 48.

(92. With a view to prevent injury to the revenue derived from the Bengal monopoly, the cultivation of the poppy was prohibited in 1803 throughout the Company's territories in the Bombay Presidency. These were at that time very limited in extent, and the importation into them of opium, other than Bengal opium, was forbidden. Orders were also issued, which were finally clothed with legislative sanction by Bombay Regulation I., of 1805, prohibiting the shipment at British or foreign ports in India of any opium except Bengal opium, in vessels sailing under the British flag. At the same time it was arranged, with the acquiescence of the Gaekwar of Baroda, that the cultivation of the poppy in his State should be forbidden, but this arrangement was modified at the end of 1805. The Court of Directors appear to have understood from the papers on the subject that the opium actually consumed within the Company's territories in the Bombay Presidency was produced locally, and they, therefore, expressed an opinion that in view of the general diffusion of the opium habit, the prohibition of poppy cultivation would be a harsh measure. In the result, the prohibition already issued throughout the Company's territories was allowed to remain in force, but as regards the Baroda State the cultivation of the poppy was not actually interfered with. The main policy, however, appears to have been to prevent the Malwa opium from reaching the sea by arrangements with the intervening Native States, and with

Measures taken to prevent competition of Malwa opium with Bengal opium.

VII. pp. 48, 49.

this object in view special engagements were entered into with the Chiefs of the Mahi Kantha Agency in Gujarat, in 1812, and a few years later with the Gaekwar.

(For some years the export of Malwa opium appears to have been considerably checked. This was due, in the first place to the exhausted condition of Malwa after the Maratha civil war in that country at the end of the 18th century. It was also due in part to the measures already described and in part to the acquisition by the Company in 1804 of a belt of territory along the Gujarat coast, which enabled a more direct control to be maintained over the passage of opium from Malwa to the sea, and over its introduction into the Portuguese ports of Daman and Diu. There are also grounds for believing that the Portuguese themselves, who were receiving British assistance in Europe for the defence of their liberty against the French, prohibited for a time the export of Malwa opium from their Indian ports as the result of arrangements made with their Viceroy of Goa by the Marquis Wellesley.)

VII. p. 49.
Policy of purchasing Malwa opium for the China market and its failure.

(93. As early as 1815, however, it became apparent that Malwa opium was again being exported in considerable quantities. Several circumstances contributed to this result. The demand for opium in China was increasing, while the supply from Bengal was kept low. The arrangements with the Portuguese proved to be of only temporary efficacy, and indeed their commercial interests in the East were so largely bound up with the opium trade that it was not to be expected that they should long forego their share in this traffic. The Malwa produce, therefore, found its way to Daman and Diu partly by smuggling through Gujarat and partly by circuitous routes, the chief of which was through Marwar, Jaisalmir and Sind to the port of Karachi, from which place it was shipped to Daman. It should be added that British supremacy was established in Malwa at the close of the Pindari war in 1818, and the pacification of the country was naturally followed, under the conditions which have been described, by a large increase in the production of opium. When, therefore, in that year the Government of India was first brought into direct political relations with the Native States of Malwa, they found it necessary to take into serious consideration the rivalry of the Malwa opium with the Bengal product. Being still bent on securing a monopoly of the sale of the whole of the Indian opium for the export trade, mainly with the object of maintaining the price of the Bengal opium, they decided, though not without some hesitation, on purchasing yearly in Malwa a limited quantity of opium, fixed with reference to the existing China demand at 4,000 chests, in order to enable them to control the China market.)

VII. p. 53.

(It was thought that, with the advantage of a direct and comparatively cheap transit to Bombay, a Government agent would be in a better position than any other purchaser, and so able to secure the greater part of the Malwa produce. Arrangements were, therefore, made for the regular purchase of opium in Malwa, and in 1821 an opium agent, with head-quarters at Indore, was appointed for this purpose. The system, however, did not prove a success. At first purchases were made recklessly, as the agent seems to have thought that he must outbid private traders, and the result of his attempting to do this in a free market was the payment of extravagant prices, and also a temporary stimulation* of the production of opium. These proceedings were not approved by the Government, and it was realised that the control of the China market could not be secured in this way.)

Treaty arrangements for direct restriction of production of Malwa opium.

VII. pp. 55-6.

94. (A change in system was then decided on in July 1823 with a view to place direct restriction on the production of opium in Malwa and the adjoining country. The Government of India undertook to purchase yearly from the opium-producing States in Rajputana and Central India a specified quantity of the drug at a stated price, on their agreeing to confine the cultivation of the poppy within an area calculated to produce this quantity of opium with a certain additional amount for the consumption of their own subjects, and on their undertaking to prevent, to the best of their ability, the export of opium from their territories. Accordingly in 1824 and the following years a number† of Treaties, containing provisions of this nature, were negotiated with various States in Rajputana and Central India, but the Maharaja Sindhia, Jeypore, Kishengarh, and Bhopal were unwilling to enter into any such engagements. In pursuance of the same policy Treaties were negotiated with Udaipur, through which lay the direct route to the West Coast, and with several other States in Rajputana for the

* Evidence of Mr. Swinton before the Select Committee of the House of Lords upon the affairs of the East India Company, 1830.

† One of these Treaties is given at pages 56 and 57 of App. B. of Vol. VII. of our Report, from Aitchison's Treaties, 3rd edition, Vol. IV., pages 174-176.

prevention of the transit of opium through their limits. This system remained in force until 1829. From the first it was most unpopular, and it was found that any real limitation in the area of poppy cultivation was impracticable. Accordingly, a large clandestine trade in smuggled opium grew up. Smuggling by the more direct routes to the West Coast was kept in some check by the command of the immediate littoral acquired by the Company in 1804, by the arrangements made with Baroda and the other Native States of Gujarat, and by the establishment in 1820 of British supremacy in Kathiawar and Cutch. But Sind was still an independent kingdom, and large quantities of opium were conveyed by the indirect route already established from Malwa, through Pali in Marwar and Jaisalmer, to the Port of Karachi in Sind, and thence shipped to Diu and Daman. The extent to which this route was used at this time may be gathered from the fact that Sir John Malcolm estimated that 10,000 chests of smuggled opium reached Daman in one year,* while Mr. Stark, chief of the Revenue Department in the India Board, stated in evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which reported in 1832 on the affairs of the East India Company, that the opium smuggled from Malwa to Daman amounted in one year to 9,000 or 10,000 chests.)

(95. It was, therefore, determined by the Government of India that the restrictive system should be abandoned, and we think it desirable that the reasons for this determination, as given at the time by the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, in Council, should be quoted here at length:—)

Reasons for abandonment of direct restriction of production in Malwa.

(† “Although some difference of opinion exists among the authorities employed in Malwa and Rajputana regarding the practical effect of the opium Treaties upon the prosperity of the country at large and the feelings with which they are viewed by the Native Princes; the general tenor of the evidence now before Government leads irresistibly to the inference that evils of a very serious nature are inflicted by our monopoly system in Central India on all who fall within the sphere of its operation. It has been found altogether unpracticable to enforce that part of the original scheme which contemplated a positive reduction of the quantity of the poppy cultivation, and we have therefore determined to abstain from any direct interference with the production of the article and have instructed the local authorities accordingly.

“Nearly all our agents concur in representing that our measures for controlling the transit and exportation of Malwa opium are vexatious and oppressive to the people, unpalatable and offensive to their rulers; whilst we have abundant proof of their imperfect efficacy in the continually increasing prevalence of smuggling, and the yearly augmentation of the export of the drug from Diu and Daman to the China market. The intervention of Sindia's scattered and extensive possessions, which it has been found impossible to include in the general arrangement, would alone defeat our hopes of preventing the escape of contraband opium in considerable quantities from Central India. And further the temptations to smuggling are so powerful, the pursuit of the illicit traffic is so congenial to the tastes and habits of the wild tribes and dissolute adventurers who abound in Malwa, and the public sentiment is necessarily so hostile to our monopoly that it may reasonably be doubted whether the Native States, however well disposed to co-operate and anxious to fulfil their engagements, are strong enough to carry the system into complete effect either with or without the constant and minute interference of our local agents. In the meantime there is reason to fear that the repeated and desperate efforts made to pass the opium beyond the limits of our restrictions by large armed bands of smugglers, and their open systematic defiance of the local authorities whilst engaged in the enterprise, are operating to demoralise and disorganise the country, and to revive the ferocious and turbulent habits of the Meenahs and other uncivilised tribes in a degree which demands the most serious consideration Impressed with this view of the subject, and being quite unable to devise any middle course of procedure which affords the promise of satisfactory results, his Lordship in Council cannot avoid the conclusion that we are bound by paramount considerations of justice and good faith to withdraw altogether from interference with the growth and transit of opium throughout Central India, confining our restrictions upon exportation to our own territories and to Gujarat, Kattywar (Kathiawar), and Cutch, where the prohibition should still be maintained by the Bombay Government, as it appears from the communications of the Honourable the Governor in Council that no injury and discontent are produced by our arrangements, which have been in force for many years in that quarter.”)

(96. Finally in July 1830 the Government of India decided on formally recognising the Malwa opium trade, and on allowing the direct passage of Malwa opium to Bombay for export by sea under a system of passes and on payment of a fee or duty. This was the origin of the pass duty, or Malwa, system, which is in force at the present time. The object at first in view in assessing the duty was to secure that the cost of the opium as put down in Bombay by the direct route through British territory should not exceed the cost involved in its conveyance to the coast by the cheapest of the more circuitous routes through Native State territory, and the duty was fixed at Rs. 175 a chest. Five years later the duty was reduced to Rs. 120 a chest, because the opium

Recognition of the Malwa export trade and introduction of the pass duty, or Malwa, system.

* Paragraph 5 of Letter from the Governor General in Council in Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated the 21st September 1830, in Appendix IV. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated the 11th October 1831.

† Resolution of the Governor-General in Council in the Political Department, dated the 12th June 1829, in Appendix IV. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated the 11th October 1831.

- IV. p. 456. shipments from Bombay in 1834 had largely fallen off, while those from Daman had increased. But in 1843 Sind was conquered, and the chief route by which Malwa opium reached Daman was thus closed. The duty was then raised to Rs. 200 a chest, and since that date has been raised on various occasions until it reached Rs. 700 a chest in 1879. In 1883 the duty was reduced to Rs. 650 a chest, and at the time of our inquiry stood at Rs. 600 a chest.* This opium cannot legally be brought into British territory, whether for consumption in British India or for export to China, except on payment of the duty in force for the time being, and by certain fixed routes. For the levy of this duty scales have been established, in the charge of Government officials, at convenient centres, and the opium, after being weighed, is allowed to be forwarded under cover of a pass and with special precautions by one of the prescribed routes. According to the old-established custom of the trade the chest of Malwa opium contains 140 lbs. in weight, to which an allowance of 4 oz. is added for leaf and dust, making a total of 140½ lbs., and for convenience of carriage the manufactured drug is usually packed in half chests containing 70½ lbs. The existing scales are at Ajmer, under the management of the Commissioner of Ajmer and Merwara, at Indore and the eight other places named in the margin, under the administrative control of the Agent to the Governor-General
- II. p. 317. Rutlam. Dhar. Ujjain. Udaipur. Chittore. Jaora. Bhopal. Mandesaur.
- IV. p. 456. Central India, and at Ahmedabad under that of the Government of Bombay. At the present time the Ajmer scales are only used for the weighment of the opium that goes to the Punjab for local consumption there, while the Ahmedabad scales are chiefly used for Baroda-grown opium when sent to Bombay for foreign export. Under this system, therefore, the Government of India has nothing to do with the production of Malwa opium, and has no direct concern with the export trade.)
- IV. p. 404. (97. On the introduction of the pass-duty system the various engagements in force with the protected States in Rajputana and Central India were abrogated, and, so far as they are concerned, there has been no change in the position of affairs since that time. The only subsequent agreements with these States, relating in any way to opium, are certain agreements entered into in 1878-79 with five Rajputana and three Central India States, on the occasion of the abolition of what was known as the Customs line or hedge. The salt duty, before 1878, was higher in Bengal than in Western and Southern India, and the main object of this line, which was regularly patrolled, was to prevent the smuggling of salt into Upper India. In that year, however, the salt tax was equalised throughout the country, and the agreements with the States in question, which bordered on British territory, were intended to secure that opium should not be exported by any of the routes, or in any of the directions that had previously been barred by the Customs line.)

II. p. 359.

Whether Government policy has led to extension of poppy cultivation in Native States.

I. p. 162.

II. 2398.

II. 2495 to 2501.

IV. 21,811.

* 98. It will be convenient, therefore, at this place to deal with a statement, concerning the Malwa trade, which will be found in the eighth paragraph of a Memorial presented to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Kimberley, in November 1892, by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, which was placed before us as containing, in brief, the case of that Society against the opium trade. It is asserted in that paragraph that "the present wide extension of poppy cultivation in the Native States is due to the policy of the British Government itself," and, in support of this assertion, a statement made in 1829 by Mr. St. George Tucker, who was at that time a Director of the East India Company, is relied upon, to the effect that the Government of India "contracted burdensome Treaties with the Rajput States to introduce and extend the cultivation of the poppy." This statement is undoubtedly erroneous. It can only have been intended to apply to the Rajput States in Rajputana and Central India, and the examination of the early relations with those States has made it clear that no such Treaties were ever concluded with them, nor, for that matter, were any Treaties, with the object mentioned, ever contracted with any Rajput States. So far, therefore, as the assertion in this Memorial is based upon Mr. St. George Tucker's statement, it is based upon a misapprehension of the facts. It is true that, while the system of free purchase of Malwa opium was in force, disproportionate prices, as also stated by Mr. Tucker, were paid for the produce, but this system did not survive for quite two years (1821-23), and the payment of these prices was the individual act of the opium agent, and entirely opposed to the intention of the Government of India. The subsequent

* The duty was raised in December 1894 to Rs. 650 a chest (Government of India Resolution in the Finance Department, No. 6064, dated the 11th December 1894).

system, which was maintained from 1823 to 1829, and is described in paragraph 93 of our Report, was essentially restrictive in character.

99. As regards Baroda, the present arrangements with that State, though founded on an early convention, are the outcome of comparatively recent negotiations. It has already been stated that in 1803 the Gaekwar, who at that time was dependent on the British Government for his political existence, acquiesced in the prohibition of poppy cultivation, which was then of a very limited character, within his territories, though it seems doubtful how far even temporary effect was given to this arrangement. In 1820 he entered into a formal convention with the British Government, which is still in force. The main object was to prevent the smuggling of Malwa and Baroda-grown opium to the coast. Under the terms of this agreement, the Gaekwar's Government undertook to buy up the opium locally produced and arrange for its sale to the merchants and individual consumers within its territory, at the prices in force in the adjoining British districts. It was provided that if more opium were required for local consumption it should be procured from British territory, or, if necessary, from Malwa under special passes. There was no recognised export of Baroda opium at that time, and none was contemplated by the agreement. The State control of production and sale, however, was not introduced, and as time went on, the poppy cultivation appears to have increased, and the Baroda traders began to take a part in the foreign trade. Before 1857 the Baroda-grown produce was sent to Ratlam to be manufactured, and in this way entered into the general Malwa export. Special circumstances led to the discontinuance of this practice, and the Baroda traders having procured from Malwa the services of men who were skilled in the preparation of opium for the China market, arranged for the local manufacture of their own produce. In 1857 scales were established at Ahmedabad, to meet the emergency arising from the disturbed state of the country on account of the mutinies. From 1858 onwards Baroda grown opium was allowed to be weighed at these scales, and so far the direct export by sea of this opium was recognised. In 1878, however, further arrangements were made with Baroda with a view to give practical effect to the provisions of the convention of 1820 which had become inoperative, the necessity for this measure having been forced on the attention of the Bombay Government by the growth of a large smuggling trade in Baroda grown opium into or through British territory. In accordance with these arrangements the Baroda State has definitely established an opium monopoly, of its own, on the model of the Bengal monopoly, and is allowed to export its home-grown opium by sea on payment of the full pass duty. It is further required to limit its production to the actual requirements for the licit consumption within the State and for the export trade. By a subsequent understanding, arrived at in 1886, the minimum retail price within the State is to be the same as in adjacent British territory.

Present arrangements with the Baroda State.

II. p. 357.

IV. 22,604.

IV. 22,610.

IV. p. 456.

II. p. 358.

IV. 22,420-422, 22,616.

II. p. 358.

100. As in the case of Baroda, so in the case of the Native States in Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch the opium arrangements now in force have taken their present form during recent years, but the special position of the Paramount Power towards these States, in regard to these arrangements, has grown up from the beginning of their political relations with the Government of India. British supremacy, as already stated, was established in Kathiawar and Cutch in 1820, and engagements, which will be found in our Appendices, were entered into by the Kathiawar States in 1821, by which they undertook to stop the import into their territories of any opium not covered by a British pass, the main object at that time being to prevent the passage of Malwa opium to the Kathiawar ports for export. They also undertook to obtain such opium as was required for local consumption from the British depôts. The right to prohibit poppy cultivation in these States is not mentioned in express terms in the agreements of 1821; but we have it in evidence that this right has been asserted and exercised for many years by the British Government. Similar engagements were executed about the same time by the States in Gujarat, and appear to have been made applicable, at a subsequent date, to Cutch, and when it was decided, in 1829, to withdraw from the attempt to limit the production of opium in Malwa it was expressly provided that the restrictions then in force in the Gujarat and Kathiawar States and in Cutch should be maintained. With the lapse of time, however, these engagements were largely lost sight of, and it was brought to the notice of the Bombay Government in 1869 and subsequent years that the greater part of the opium consumed in these States and in British districts was smuggled from Malwa and from Baroda. It was mainly the necessity of putting a stop to this illicit traffic, in the fiscal interests of the Government that, so far as the Bombay Presidency was concerned, led to the introduction of the Opium Act of 1878, and of the system of minimum guaranteed vend.

Present arrangements with States in Gujarat and Kathiawar, &c.

II. p. 360-1.

II. p. 356.

IV. p. 480.

101. On the passing of the Indian Opium Act and the promulgation of the Bombay opium rules under its provisions, fresh arrangements were made, of which a summary is given below. They have been accepted by all the States in Gujrat and Kathiawar, and have been in force for some years past, though formal engagements have not been entered into in all cases. Some of the agreements that have actually been executed will be found in our Appendices.

- II. p. 362-5.
- IV. p. 356.
- (1.) The cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium are prohibited.
 - (2.) The Indian Opium Act and the rules framed thereunder by the Bombay Government are enforced throughout each State, as far as local conditions allow.
 - (3.) The Chief of each State is required to prevent export from, import into, or transport through his State of any opium, except that which is covered by a British pass and has paid the duty prescribed by the British Government.
 - (4.) Opium required for home consumption in each State must be procured either direct from Malwa, or by purchase in Bombay, or at a Government depôt, under pass as above.
 - (5.) Retail sale within each State is regulated according to the rules for retail sale in force in the adjoining British districts.
 - (6.) Opium must not be issued to licensed vendors at a price lower than that at which it is issued to licensed vendors in the adjoining British districts; and, similarly, the licensed vendors may not sell by retail to the public at a lower price than that which prevails in such British districts.
 - (7.) In consideration of the fulfilment of the above obligations, the British Government has agreed:—
 - (a.) To pay to certain of the States a fixed annual sum as compensation for the loss of revenue on account of transit dues and cesses on the manufacture of opium; and,
 - (b.) To allow each State to import as much opium as it requires for its own home consumption, either from Malwa or from Bombay or from a British depôt, either duty free or at a reduced rate of duty. It is understood that the difference between such reduced rate of duty, if any, and the full British rate will be levied and received by the State.

Nature of arrangements as to transit of Malwa opium through British territory.

102. We are now in a position, at the close of the historical retrospect contained in the preceding paragraphs, to state clearly the full nature of the existing arrangements for the transit of Malwa opium through British territory for export beyond the sea. These arrangements rest primarily on the geographical position of the opium-producing States, none of which have access to the sea. At the beginning of the present century, when the Malwa export trade first came prominently to notice on account of its competition with the Bengal opium, the British possessions on the west coast of India were limited to Bombay, Surat, and one or two other places of subordinate importance.* But by the end of the first quarter of the century, owing to the acquisition of fresh territory, and the establishment of an absolute suzerainty over Kathiawar and Cutch, the Company had dominated the upper line of the west coast; and with the conquest of Sind in 1843, the complete command of the littoral from Bombay to Baluchistan was secured. Since that date, therefore, the Government of India have been possessed of plenary power to regulate and tax the through trade in Malwa opium in virtue of their holding the whole of the intervening territory between these States and the seaboard. The right of transit, in the case of Baroda, is guaranteed under the convention or agreement of 1878, but in the case of the States in Rajputana and Central India it depends on long prescription and use. The right in their case was recognised as early as 1830, and has never been questioned since then, though the Government of India have been enabled to follow a different policy as to fixing the rate of the pass-duty from the time the entire command of the coast line was assured. That policy, of late years, may be briefly described as a policy of taking the highest duty that the trade can legitimately bear, the duty being assessed with direct reference to the prices realised for the Bengal opium at the Calcutta sales.

Production of Opium.

Production of opium in the States of Rajputana.

103. There are nineteen States in all in Rajputana, in five of which, according to the evidence placed before us, no opium is produced, while in six or seven others the production is relatively unimportant. The chief producing States are Meywar, Jhallawar, Kotah, Tonk, and Pertabgarh. Tonk has districts actually within Malwa, and the other States are contiguous to what has been called the table-land of Central India, and, in a greater or less measure, share its advantages in the way of climate and soil. Accurate statistics regarding the area under poppy cultivation and the yield of crude opium are not obtainable, but according to the figures specially prepared for the Commission, which may, no doubt, be accepted as approximately correct, the total area under poppy, on the average of the last five years, was about 134,000 acres, and the annual yield, which appears to have been over-estimated by several Native States, amounts to about †19,000 chests of manufactured opium. Details will be found in the table given below.

20,411.
IV. p. 391
(par. 6).

* A clear presentment of the position at the beginning of the century, and after 1804, will be found in the maps facing pages 204 and 278 of "The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India." 3rd enlarged edition, 1894 by Sir Alfred Lyall.

IV. 20,411.

† The out-turn is given as 37,524 maunds, and the figures in the body of the Report have been arrived at by allowing 160 lbs. (or two maunds) of crude opium for each chest of manufactured opium.

TABLE 9, showing the AREA, POPULATION, and APPROXIMATE AMOUNT of POPPY CULTIVATION in the different NATIVE STATES in RAJPUTANA.

Name of State.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Percentage of Rajputs.	Approximate Acreage under Poppy Cultivation.
Jeypore - - - -	15,349	2,832,276	4.5	3,000
Meywar - - - -	12,861	1,862,478	7.4	50,000
Pertabgarh - - - -	959	87,875	Not known	8,383
Jhallawar - - - -	3,043	343,601	2.4	28,625
Kotah - - - -	3,803	526,276	3	22,765
Bundi - - - -	2,225	295,675	3.4	1,871
Tonk - - - -	1,415	198,314	5.6	14,010
Karauli - - - -	1,229	156,587	5.6	1,180
Banswara - - - -	1,505	180,916	7	950
Kishengarh - - - -	874	125,516	5.3	173
Dungarpore - - - -	1,440	156,000	6.7	2,285
Dholpur - - - -	1,156	279,890	9.6	268
Shahpura - - - -	406	63,646	3.5	570
Bhartpore - - - -	1,961	640,303	—	—
Bikanir - - - -	23,090	831,955	8	Nil.
Jaisalmir - - - -	16,039	115,701	24.5	Nil.
Marwar - - - -	34,963	2,521,727	9.7	Nil.
Sirohi - - - -	1,966	188,977	8.7	Nil.
Ulwar - - - -	30,512	767,786	3.6	Nil.
Total - - - -	130,268	12,016,102	—	134,080

104. In the opium-producing States poppy cultivation is entirely free, and the cultivators are at liberty to dispose of the produce as they may think fit. As a general practice, however, the crude opium, collected by them from the poppy plants, which is locally termed "chik," is purchased by village money lenders, known as Bohras and Manotidars, who are in the habit of advancing money on the crop. These village money lenders sell the crude opium to traders who arrange for its manufacture, and who, in some cases, themselves deal direct with the cultivators. The opium is manufactured in the form in which it is sent to the China market at various places in Rajputana, the most important of which are Kotah, Patan in the Jhallawar State, and Udaipur in Meywar, but the greater part of the Tonk opium goes to Indore for manufacture. When the time for export arrives, the chests are despatched to the nearest scales; the Meywar opium, for instance, goes to Chittore, the Jhallawar opium to Ujjain in Central India, and the Pertabgarh opium to Mandsaur, also in that Province. The chests are then forwarded direct to Bombay. The amount of poppy cultivation in the opium-producing States, apart from ordinary fluctuations, varies with the rainfall. The tendency in most of these States has been to put as much of the irrigated area as possible under poppy, but the extent of this area varies with the amount of water in the wells, tanks, or streams used for irrigation purposes, and this depends on the character of the rainfall. The amount of poppy cultivation is also affected by marked fluctuations in the China market. The price paid to the cultivators, which is a matter of arrangement between them and the village money lenders, depends on the prices ultimately realised for the manufactured article in China, though the opium is not, as a rule, exported until it is two years old, and of late these prices have been consistently low. This has had the effect of increasing the stocks of manufactured opium in the hands of traders, who have held back in the hope of a rise, and has also had the effect, according to the statements of the representatives of several of the opium-producing States, of restricting, to some extent, the area of cultivation, the poppy crop having been given up on irrigated land of inferior quality. With the fall in prices the profit to the cultivators, as well as to the merchants and others engaged in the trade, has necessarily been reduced, but there is a large body of evidence to show that, notwithstanding this, the poppy is still the most valuable crop that can be grown on good irrigated land. The light in which it is regarded by the cultivators themselves depends not only on the pecuniary value of the crop, but also on the fact that opium represents to them ready cash, enabling them to pay off their loans and obtain fresh advances—a matter of no small importance in a country where the agricultural classes are, as a rule, constantly in the hands of the money-lender.

System of production and manufacture of opium in Rajputana.

IV. 27,035.

105. Under the Central India Agency there are numerous States, some of which are entirely independent, subject only to the suzerainty of the British Government, while

Production of opium in

the States of
Central
India.

IV. App. XI.

IV. 22,068.

IV. App. XI.
21,869.

others have a less degree of independence. There are also numerous estates, as they are termed, which, in most cases, are under the control of one of the independent States. For the purposes of this inquiry, these States and estates have been arranged in three groups, in the first two of which are included all those that are situated within the limits of Malwa, 45 in number. For practical purposes, however, the 14 States which constitute the first group, may be said to comprise all the chief opium-producing States in Central India that have a substantial interest in the export trade. The area actually under poppy cultivation can only be given approximately, but the figures specially prepared by the States themselves to be placed before the Commission, are said to be more trustworthy than any information previously supplied by them. No restriction whatever is placed on the cultivation of the poppy, and all irrigated land capable of producing opium is assessed to land revenue on the assumption that this crop will be grown. In the more important States a fixed settlement of land revenue, for some term of years, is in force, so far as the land held direct from the State is concerned; but no record is maintained of the crops actually grown from year to year, and a large part of the total area consists, in almost all cases, of Jagir estates,* with regard to which the States themselves possess no accurate information. According to the approximate figures furnished to us, the total area under poppy cultivation may be put down at 292,000 acres, in round numbers, on an average of the last five years, and the yearly out-turn of manufactured opium at about 35,000 chests. Of this total area, 283,000 acres were in the 14 States already spoken of as the chief opium-producing States, and statistics regarding them will be found in the table below.

TABLE 10, showing the AREA, POPULATION, and APPROXIMATE AMOUNT OF POPPY CULTIVATION in the chief OPIUM-PRODUCING STATES in CENTRAL INDIA.

Name of State.	Area in Square Miles.	Population.	Approximate Acreage under Poppy.
Gwalior	29,047	3,378,774	113,711
Indore	8,400	1,099,990	76,254
Bhopal	6,784	952,486	21,753
Jaora	581	117,650	10,847
Ratlam	729	89,160	9,051
Dhar	1,739	169,474	9,377
Estates subordinate to Dhar	720	117,280	11,038
Narsingarh	642	119,489	9,174
Rajghar	350	33,307	3,076
Sitaman	134	69,684	5,639
Dewas (junior branch)	155	82,359	5,658
Dewas (senior branch)	123	31,512	3,315
Sailana	204	36,302	3,104
Khilchipur	60	12,792	1,446
Piploda			
	49,668	6,319,775	283,439

System of
production
and manu-
facture in
Central
India.

IV. 22,203.

106. The system under which the poppy is cultivated and opium manufactured is practically the same as in Rajputana. The opium juice, as extracted by the cultivators, is usually sold to a middleman or money-lender, who has often advanced money on the crop, and he, in turn, disposes of it to an opium trader, who, in some cases, may himself be the exporter. The manufacture is carried out locally, and, according to the custom of the trade, the opium for the foreign market is made up in balls of the weight of 1 lb., which are, therefore, less than half the size of those into which the Bengal opium is made up at the Government factories. The chief centres of the manufacture are at Indore, where, it is stated, some 6,000 chests are annually prepared from crude opium not produced within the limits of that State, and at Ujjain in Gwalior territory. Opium is manufactured also at Bhopal, Dhar, Jaora, and Ratlam, at each of which places scales have been established, and at some other towns. In a number of States, however, there is no manufacture of opium for the export trade, the produce being taken away in its crude or unmanufactured state, to one or other of these centres. The fall in prices of late years in the China market has had the same

* Jagir estates are estates with regard to which the right to receive land revenue has been wholly or partly assigned by the State to individuals, on conditions of military aid or service.

effect in Central India, as in Rajputana, in the way of curtailing the area under poppy cultivation in some of the States, and has also led to a steady increase in the stocks of manufactured opium held in Malwa. The general reduction, however, in the margin of profit is said, on the whole, not to have deprived the poppy crop of the special place which it holds, in virtue of its various advantages, as a very remunerative one to the cultivator. Opium was a staple crop in Malwa in the 16th century, and must, therefore, have been cultivated long before that period, the climate and soil are specially adapted to its production, and the experience of centuries has proved its value, and firmly established its popularity in the agricultural mind, always peculiarly tenacious of tradition in such matters. Throughout the opium-producing States, poppy is grown as a second crop in the year in succession to maize, and in this respect is said to occupy a unique position, while, apart from the price realised for the crude opium, the disposal of the poppy seeds and heads brings in money, and, during the growth of the plants, the young leaves that are thinned off are used as a vegetable. The value of the poppy to the cultivator is further enhanced by the fact that the opium, as extracted by him, commands an immediate cash price, and the crop is, therefore, regarded as a good security for the advance of money.

107. As already stated, an opium monopoly was introduced in the Baroda State in 1878, on the lines of what is known as the Bengal monopoly. Under this system the cultivation of the poppy, mainly with a view to secure proper control over it, is confined to the northern or Kari division of the State, which had from the first been the chief seat of production, and is only permitted under license. The cultivators are required to make over the whole produce to the State authorities, and the crude opium is stored and manufactured at the town of Siddhpur. No statistics can be obtained as to the extent of the poppy cultivation, before the introduction of the present system, but it was, no doubt, considerable, as two or three thousand chests of Baroda-grown opium are said to have been exported annually. Of late years, however, there has been no foreign export because, with the State management of the trade, the pass-duty has been thought to be prohibitive. The area under poppy for the production of opium for local consumption is about 5,000 acres.

Production of opium in the Baroda State.
22,499-502.

22, 513.
IV. App.
XIV. p. 424.

CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM.

108. As regards the consumption of opium in Rajputana, little or no statistical information is to be obtained. In the States in which opium is produced, the cultivators are at liberty to dispose of the produce as they please, and to keep back as much as they think fit, and though various frontier customs and other duties are levied in different States, in none of them can an effectual system of excise be said to be in force. Of the nineteen States in Rajputana, sixteen are ruled by Rajput families; two, Bhartpore and Dholpur, by Jat families, and Tonk by a Mahomedan family. The total population at the last census in 1891 was twelve millions, of which the Rajputs, who are most largely represented in Jaisalmer and the Western States, constitute about 6 per cent. In point of numbers Brahmins and Jats, each caste exceeding a million, occupy the first place, and then follow Mahomedans and the Mahajan or commercial class, while the Bhil population is nearly the same as that of the Rajputs. No complete or satisfactory information has been obtained as to the extent of the consumption of opium among the different classes and castes of Rajputana, though many of the witnesses have given general per-centages of the opium consumers in the different States. Our experience, however, throughout this inquiry has been that very little reliance can be placed on per-centages of this kind, though the statements of witnesses regarding their own castes are probably entitled to some weight. Moreover, the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy evidence as to the personal habits of Natives of India, has been strongly felt in the case of the Native States. Dr. Hendley, who has been for twenty years in Jeypore and has placed before the Commission the results of a valuable statistical inquiry into the opium habit made by him in 1893, has particularly drawn our attention to the jealousy and suspicion that was aroused by this inquiry; and one of the Pertabgarh witnesses mentioned that, even on the occasion of the last census, the Bhil population in that State could not be enumerated, for fear of giving rise to serious misunderstandings. This will serve as an illustration of the practical impossibility of ascertaining, with any certainty, the habits of the forest tribes in the matter of taking opium. The chief consumers of opium are the Rajputs, the ruling race of the country, and more particularly the Rajput nobles or Thakurs, and the castes that are closely allied to the Rajputs, such as Charans and Bhats, the hereditary bards of Rajputana, who, however, are not a very important class numerically. As to the extent to which the opium habit prevails among them, the statements of the witnesses

General character of opium consumption in Rajputana.

IV. 20,627.
V. 380.
IV. App. I.

IV. 20,604.

- IV. 20,649. differ, and there is, no doubt, some diversity of practice in different parts of the country. One Rajput landowner of the Bhati clan informed us that it would be quite the exception to find anyone in his caste who did not take opium; Dr. Valentine, III. 19,899. the principal of the medical missionary college at Agra, who had had long experience in Jeypore up to 11 years ago, stated that 90 per cent. of the adult males, among the Rajputs, took opium in his time, a statement that received some confirmation as regards IV. 20,268. the Rajputs of the Shekhawati districts of Jeypore; and a number of witnesses from other States placed the per-centage of Rajput opium consumers at figures varying IV. 20,982. from 40 to 75 per cent. of the adult male population. On the other hand, Rajput witnesses from Ulwar and Marwar speak of consumers in their caste as not exceeding 10 or 15 per cent. What seems to be clearly established is, that the great majority of middle-aged men among the Rajputs habitually take opium, beginning the practice rather earlier in life than other classes of the population, and that a substantial per-centage of the younger men also acquire the habit. There are, undoubtedly, cases of immoderate use among the wealthier Rajputs, but they are said to be exceptional, and less in number than they were some few years ago. This is attributed to IV. 20,176. the growth of enlightenment and education, and it has been specially mentioned that the training of young Rajput chiefs and nobles at the Mayo College has had, and IV. 21,023. is likely to have, a decided effect in preventing them from acquiring the habit. Passing now to the use of opium among the general population of Rajputana, we have first to deal with the middle classes. The most important of these are the Mahajans or Banias, the banking and trading class, rather more than half of whom are by religion orthodox Hindus, while the remainder are Jains. Members of this class from Rajputana are to be found in many parts of India, engaged in trade, and they are commonly known by the generic name of Marwaris, men of Marwar, though they may not have come actually from that State. In Calcutta and other places we have had evidence to the effect that the habitual use of opium in moderation is prevalent among these Marwaris without affecting their well-known shrewdness and business capacity, but the results of the inquiry in Rajputana itself can hardly be taken as conclusive on this point. In some States the Mahajans are said to be less addicted to opium than other castes, while in others they are placed next in order after the Rajputs and allied castes in the matter of opium consumption. It is also stated 20,268. that those who are Jains by religion are in the habit of taking bhang, the hemp drug, rather than opium. As a general use opium is consumed by the members of this class as a restorative or stimulant after middle age, and a similar use prevails, more or less, among other castes, such as the Brahmins, which may also be included under the middle classes of the country. As to the consumption by the poorer sections of the population, witnesses from several States have spoken of opium being largely consumed by the Forest tribes, such as Bhils, but the evidence is of a very general character, while among the agricultural and labouring classes the habitual use is also as a restorative after the age when strength begins to decline, and rheumatism and other ailments, common to those who live a life of exposure, tend to become chronic. Among these classes an occasional use of opium, during the cold weather and at times of special fatigue and exposure, is well established, especially in the case of men who, like camel drivers, have to work in the Rajputana desert, with its great extremes of heat and cold. As regards all these classes the number of opium consumers who carry the habit to excess is 20,180. said on all sides to be very small. As to the forms in which opium is consumed 20,150. there is practical agreement that smoking is little known in Rajputana. In the 21,665. Jeypore and Dholpore States the selling of smoking preparations is nominally penal, 21,664. and a Rajput representative from the Kotah State said that in his part of the country 21,668. any Rajput who smoked opium would be put out of caste. The drug is usually 21,689. taken in the shape of pills, which among the rich are frequently mixed with spices. IV. 20,698. It is also largely drunk in a solution of water, especially on ceremonial and social occasions. This liquid form is generally known as *Amal pani*, opium water, or *Kasumbha*, though other local names are mentioned. The term *Kasumbha* is said IV. 22,57 to be derived from *Kasum*, the name of the safflower (*carthamus tinctorius*), and owes its derivation to the colour of the liquid. It should be added that *post*, or a drink prepared from an infusion of poppy heads in water is much resorted to by the poorer classes, as being cheaper than opium.

Ceremonial
and social
uses of
opium in
Rajputana.
20,221.

109. Opium, also, occupies a special position in Rajputana in connexion with ceremonies and social usages. It is considered obligatory with the Rajputs as a matter of ancient custom to consume opium on the anniversaries of certain religious festivals, such as the Holi, the Dasera, and the Aksha Tij or Hindu new year, a festival peculiar to Rajputana, and also at the important epochs of family life,—

betrothals, marriages, the birth of sons, periods of mourning, and other occasions.* In the case of betrothals the use of opium has acquired a quasi-religious sanction. "This ceremony," we were informed by the representative of the Pertabgarh State, "has come to be called the *Amal ka dastur*, or opium ceremony, from the fact that it is not held to be complete unless the bridegroom or his father or guardian has partaken of the opium offered by the bride's father. In fact opium taking is as essential a part of a betrothal as the *phera*, or seven perambulations round the sacred fire, are for the marriage ceremony." The use of opium, again, is indispensable when feuds are settled and quarrels made up, and on these occasions it is regarded as the seal of the reconciliation. These ceremonial uses, primarily a Rajput custom, have been adopted by other castes, though the extent to which they are actually obligatory upon them is open to some doubt, and the line of distinction between obligation and habit may not always be easy to trace. The obligation is unquestionable in the case of Charans and Bhats, and of some few other castes closely allied to the Rajputs, and is said to extend to the Jats, the most important agricultural class in Rajputana, while several of the Marwar witnesses speak of the use of opium in the case of reconciliation and of the more important epochs in family life, as being binding on all castes with the exception of some sects of the Brahmins and Mahajans and of the Mahomedans. There is also evidence to show that among the Bhils opium plays an important part at solemn reconciliations, and is provided at certain ceremonies. Whether it is incumbent on the guests actually to take opium when it is offered on ceremonial occasions is a further question on which the evidence is to some extent conflicting. The practice probably differs among different castes, and even among different clans of Rajputs, but on the whole it appears to be true that a nominal compliance on the part of those who are not accustomed to take opium is sufficient at the present time to satisfy the custom. In social life opium is the mark of hospitality and good fellowship among the Rajputs, is provided at entertainments, and offered to guests on their arrival and departure, and in this respect, also, the custom of the ruling class has been followed by other castes. It should be added that several Native witnesses mention the fact that it is usual among the higher classes in Rajputana to begin letters with a complimentary formula, asking their correspondents to take a double allowance of opium, the Rajputana equivalent of wishing "a double health," as showing how closely the use of opium is bound up with the personal life of the people. We have already spoken of the influences at work in the direction of checking individual excess, and we find that there is a growing tendency to restrict the lavish use of opium, which in the past was considered essential to a character for hospitality, on these ceremonial occasions. This is part of a general social reform that is gaining ground with the object of preventing reckless and ostentatious expenditure, especially on the part of the Rajputs, and a good deal, no doubt, must be attributed to the greater necessity for economy caused by the higher price that has had to be paid for opium of late years in many States. It is also stated that the consumption of opium, at some of the less important epochs of family life, is being given up, particularly in towns, among the better educated classes of the community.

110. One other use of opium, the use during infancy, requires special mention. Many of the Native witnesses from the different States described the practice of giving opium to infants and young children as being an ordinary part of the domestic life of the country. In some instances their evidence was of general application, while in others they spoke more particularly as to the custom of the caste to which they belonged; but the whole tenor of the evidence makes it certain that the practice is common to all classes and castes in Rajputana, though it may be more universally followed among the Rajputs and Charans, for instance, than among other sections of the community. This is confirmed by the independent observation of British medical men with experience in this province, and by statistics regarding a hundred cases of infant life furnished by Dr. Hendley of Jeypore. The drug is given in minute doses, which are variously described by Native witnesses as being of the size of a millet seed, or a mustard seed, from the time the child is a few weeks old until it is weaned. The age at which the practice is discontinued is placed by most of them at the third year,

* The following is a list of these occasions as given by Thakur Bulidana, a Rajput landowner of the Jaisalmer State:—

"The occasions on which it is obligatory to partake of opium are:—1. Betrothals. 2. Weddings. 3. Visit of a son-in-law to his father-in-law. 4. Birth of a male child. 5. First shaving of a male child's head, among Rajputs and Charanas. 6. Shaving the parting of a beard, by Rajputs and Charans. 7. For 12 days after a death, among Rajputs and Charans, and for the same or a lesser time among other castes. 8. The Akhatij festival. 9. At reconciliations. It is also customary at other festivals, at temples on certain days, and at friendly gatherings."—IV. 21,150.

IV. 20,285.
20,992.
21,073.
21,555.

though in some parts of Rajputana, and among certain castes, the administering of these doses is carried on up to a later age. The objects with which the opium is given are said to be to ward off infantile disorders, such as colds and diarrhoea, to prevent pain and crying at the time of teething, and above all, especially in the case of the cultivating and labouring classes, to keep the child quiet, so that the mother may be free to discharge her household duties or undertake her share of work abroad. This practice is discussed in the Memorandum by Sir William Roberts attached to this Report, but we have thought it necessary to mention the matter specially here, because the evidence shows that the custom is more universal in Rajputana than elsewhere in India, and that it is one to which the people are firmly wedded.

Consumption of opium in the States of Central India.

IV. 21945.
21,963-65.

21,870.
21,877.
22,171.
22,278.

IV. 408.
22,084.
22,085.
23,061.

Consumption of opium in Baroda and the Native States of Gujarat Kathiawar, &c.
IV. p. 117,

111. The consumption of opium in the States of Central India need not be treated at length, as in various respects it is similar to the consumption, already described, in Rajputana. In Malwa, or, in other words, throughout the real opium-producing region of Central India, there is no limit as to the possession of opium, and the cultivators can do what they like with the produce of their poppy fields, while, except in a few large towns, the States themselves make no attempt to realise revenue from the retail vend of opium. Outside Malwa proper, in the northern and north-eastern districts of the Gwalior State, and in the tracts known as Bandelkhand and Baghelkhand, an excise system is in force, the right to retail opium being sold by auction; but even as regards these districts and tracts no statistics can be supplied as to the quantities actually sold by the contractors. The general character, therefore, and the extent of the opium consumption can only be gathered from the statements of the witnesses who have appeared before us. The population of Central India is about 10 millions, of which the agricultural classes represent $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, the forest and hill tribes $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, the military and dominant classes rather more than a million, and Brahmans nearly a million. The Rajputs form as large a part of the entire population as they do in Rajputana, and are chiefly to be found in Malwa where there are several Rajput States, and a number of Rajput landowners or Thakurs occupying a more or less independent position. The proportion of the Rajputs in Central India who are habituated to opium is as high as in Rajputana, and the special uses of the drug in connexion with ceremonies and social occasions, which have been described at some length in a former paragraph, are equally in vogue among them. Some of the Thakurs are described as using *Amal pani*, or the liquid form of opium, for regular drinking parties, and this custom is said to lead to cases of excess. Among the general population the practice of giving opium to infants, a practice mentioned in the Institutes of Akbar as being in force in Malwa during the sixteenth century, is followed by all classes except the Bohras, a Shia sect of Mahomedans, though it would seem not to be quite so universal as in Rajputana. In the case of the adult population opium is mainly used as a restorative and stimulant after middle age, especially among the labouring and agricultural classes, who are constantly liable to exposure and fatigue. These uses are more common in Malwa than in the rest of Central India, and the moisture of the climate in that region is very generally assigned as a reason for the prevalence of the opium habit. What proportion of the population is represented by the opium consumers is a question on which different views have been expressed, but by general consent they constitute a considerable per-centage of the adult males in Malwa, a per-centage that is placed as high as 20 to 30 per cent. by various witnesses, and the proportion is still higher in States where the Rajputs enter largely into the population. Everywhere moderation is said to be the rule and excess exceptional. Opium smoking is extremely rare, though one shop is licensed for the purpose at Jaora and another at Ratlam. This method of consumption is treated as a criminal offence in one of the divisions of the Gwalior State outside Malwa and in the cities of Gwalior and Indore, while *chandu* smoking is said to be punished with a small fine in the petty State of Diwas. Ordinarily, opium is consumed in the form of pills or in a solution of water, the latter being chiefly used among the Rajputs and those who follow their customs, while the poorer classes, as in Rajputana, drink a decoction made from poppy heads.

112. The consumption of opium in Baroda and in the Native States of Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch, can appropriately be dealt with in one place. Part of the Baroda territory is situated in Kathiawar; Rajput influence may be said to be dominant in all these States, and the general uses of opium among their populations are characteristically the same. Baroda has an area of 8,226 square miles, and a population of nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and is in a position to give statistical information regarding the consumption of opium, as a regular system of retail sale is in force under State control. There are 428 shops licensed for the sale of opium, or one shop to every 20 square miles and 3,632 inhabitants, but consumption on the premises is not

allowed. The total amount consumed yearly was 63,040 lbs., or 288 grains per head of population, on an average of the last five years, but these figures must be accepted with some caution. The Baroda manufactured opium is held locally in high esteem, and is stated to have displaced the Malwa opium from the position of favour which it previously occupied. As a result of this, the inhabitants of the surrounding British districts and Native States are in the habit of resorting to the nearest Baroda shops for their supplies of the drug, and some allowance must be made on this account before the actual Baroda consumption can be fairly estimated. Statistics regarding the other Native States cannot generally be obtained, but the amount of opium imported from Malwa into the different agencies is known, and in some instances the number of consumers and the amount taken per head of population have been estimated. Throughout these States the consumption is, in almost all respects, similar to the consumption which has been already described in the case of Rajputana and Central India. Opium is a common domestic remedy among the people; the practice of giving it to infants is followed by most classes and castes, while the use, as a rule, among the adult population is after middle life. The largest consumers are the Rajputs and the castes allied to the Rajputs, the Kathis, a special caste chiefly to be found in Kathiawar, and certain Mahomedan communities. Among these classes, with the exception of the Mahomedans, opium occupies the same position in connexion with festivals, ceremonies, social gatherings, and reconciliations, as it does in Rajputana, and their customs have been adopted by other Hindu castes, especially by the well-to-do Kanbis. The proportion of opium consumers to the entire population is said to be small, on the whole, in Baroda, but in some of the Gujarat and Kathiawar States it has been placed as high as 25 and 30 per cent. of the adult males. Cases of individual excess are unusual, and there is a general concurrence of testimony that the consumption of opium, particularly on ceremonial and social occasions, has been declining of late years. This is due, in large measure, to the higher price of the drug since the introduction of the arrangements of 1878, and it has been pointed out that some of the classes who recognise the social obligation to provide opium on these occasions have been glad of an excuse for escaping a serious tax on their incomes. Other influences also must be taken into consideration. That part of the younger generation which growing up with an English education is said, as a matter of fashion, to prefer alcohol to opium, and various associations, the most important of which is the Swami Narain sect, are working in the direction of promoting entire abstinence from all stimulants, including opium. As to the prevalent mode of consumption, opium is usually taken in the form of pills or of *kasumbha*; but *post*, or the drink made by steeping poppy-heads in water, seems to be little used. Smoking opium has been a criminal offence in the Baroda State since 1861, and is said to be quite unknown there. In the other States the practice is rare, though it is mentioned that in Junagadh five small shops, which appear to be chiefly intended for religious mendicants, are allowed for the purpose of smoking *chandu*.

IV. 22,619.

24,573.

24,574.

24,599, &c.

Export of Malwa Opium. ✓

(113. At the present time the opium for export from Bombay to China and the far East, is drawn entirely from the opium-producing States of Rajputana and Central India, as for several years past Baroda has taken no part in the foreign trade. When the opium is ready for export it has to be weighed, as already explained, at one of the various scales under the management of Government officials, and accurate statistics can be obtained as to the amount weighed for export, and actually exported from Bombay. A small quantity of opium, about 80 chests a year, from the petty State of Dungarpur in Rajputana, is weighed at Ahmedabad, but, with this exception, the whole of the Malwa opium for the China market passes the scales at Indore, or one of the eight other places, under the administrative control of the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India. According to the statistics presented to us in that province, which will be found among our appendices, the annual number of chests that passed these scales for export to China was 35,000 on an average of the last 15 years. No details are recorded at the scales to show from which State the opium is actually derived, but all the opium weighed at Chittore and Udaipur, which amounts to 5,000 chests annually, comes from Rajputana, and the opium sent by Jhallawar, Kotah, Tonk, and other Rajputana States to the scales at Ujjain, Mandsaur, and Indore is known, from local information, to amount to another 5,000 chests annually. The total contribution, therefore, to the annual foreign trade from the Rajputana States is 10,000 chests, and the remaining 25,000 chests represent the annual exports from the States in Central India. The average outturn for the year in manufactured opium is estimated at between 18,000

Export of
Malwa
opium to
China and
the far East.

IV. App. XI.

IV. 22,090.
22,091.

and 19,000 chests in the case of Rajputana, and at 35,000 chests in the case of Central India. More than half the produce, therefore, of the opium-growing States in the first-named province and two-thirds of their produce in the second case is sent to China.* This, however, does not represent the whole interest of these States in the foreign trade. Malwa opium is said to improve with keeping, and large stocks, which has been steadily increasing of late years, are held by local traders with a view to eventual export. These stocks in Central India are put down at 55,000 chests, of which number 48,000 are held in the Indore and Gwalior States. All the chief producing States in Central India, included in the first group, have a substantial interest in the export trade, whether they are manufacturing states or not, and as an illustration of the antiquity of this trade it may be mentioned that among the Gwalior witnesses was an opium-trader of Ujjain with the patronymic of Jahazwala, or shipowner, due to the fact that his great grandfather had exported opium to the far East from Broach in his own ship. As regards the Rajputana States, the representatives of Jhallawar and Tonk made it clear that for years past their production had been almost entirely for the foreign market. The manufacture of Malwa opium is carried on at a number of different places in Rajputana and Central India by various traders and small manufacturers; and though the requirements of the China market are, no doubt, well understood, the trade having been in existence for centuries, it is impossible, with this system, that the outturn should possess a uniform quality and consistence like the Bengal opium, which is manufactured with much care and under scientific supervision at two Government factories. The pass duty is the same in all cases, and only the best opium, therefore, is exported, but there are recognised distinctions in the trade between the produce of various districts, and, as a matter of fact, a good deal of difference exists in the quality of the exported opium, the price in China being said to vary by as much as Rs. 150 a chest. The opium is tested at the local centres of manufacture by agents of the exporting firms, and also at Bombay, where there are regular rooms for the purpose at the Government warehouse, and the price which it commands in the China market depends on the commercial reputation and position of the exporter. The trade has always been a speculative one, and liable to fluctuations, but of late years the exports have fallen off to a considerable extent. The average number of chests sent to China during the five years ending with 1892-93 was 29,000,† while the average number for the preceding five years was 38,000. This diminution of exports is due to the fall in prices consequent on the decline of the demand for Malwa opium in China, which is attributed to the increasing production and use of the Native-grown opium. The fluctuations, also, of late years in the value of silver have, no doubt, affected the trade, and the disturbance in exchange, with a country like China possessing a silver standard, caused by the closing of the Mints in India at the beginning of 1893-94, appears to have had a temporary effect in the same direction. The question of the rate of pass-duty which the trade can bear, must obviously depend upon the price ultimately realised in the eastern market, but it is clear, from the history of the Malwa trade, and from the nature of the political relations with these States, that the duty was never intended to operate as an indirect means of extinguishing a trade that was formally recognised as far back as 1830.

Export of Malwa opium for consumption in British territory, &c. II. p. 347. ✓ 114. Some amount of opium, also, is exported from the producing States in Rajputana and Central India for consumption in British territory, and certain Native States. This opium has to be weighed at one of the established scales, paying the pass duty in the same way as the opium intended for export by sea; but a special rate of duty is chargeable, which, at the present time, is fixed at Rs. 725 a chest for opium weighed at Ajmer, and at Rs. 700 a chest for opium passing the scales at any other place. Bombay, Madras, the Hyderabad assigned districts, or Berar, and Coorg obtain their entire supply, and the Punjab part of its supply, for local consumption in this way, while the Native States using Malwa opium are Hyderabad, Mysore and the States under the political control of the Bombay and Madras Governments. The opium for the Punjab, on which, however, the full special rate of Rs. 725 a chest is not charged, passes the scales at Ajmer, and is said to be drawn from the Karauli State of Rajputana, and from Central India. The amount required by the British Provinces and Native States, mentioned above, is weighed at one or other of the scales under the Central India Agency, though three-fifths of the whole comes from Indore. Part of

IV. p. 404,
IV. App.
VIII.

* Practically the whole of the Malwa foreign export goes to China, so far as the statistics of exports from Bombay show. See table on page 289, Vol. II.

† The figures here given in round numbers are taken from the table at page 347, of Vol. II.

this opium is weighed expressly for local consumption in the territories already described, and part, after having been weighed and passed for export by sea, is diverted to this purpose at Bombay on payment of the difference between the ordinary and special rates of pass duty. The whole of this supply amounts, on an average of the last 10 years, to about 3,000 chests annually. II. p. 317.

115. This opium trade, which, as we have seen, is one of very old standing, plays an important part in the agricultural and commercial economy of the opium-producing States, and is a valuable source of revenue to the States themselves, and, in a less degree, to the subordinate Chiefs and to the landowners. The advantages of the poppy crop to the cultivating classes have already been dwelt upon in the paragraphs dealing with the production of opium, which was described by the Minister of Gwalior as the black gold of Malwa. The money-lending and trading classes, also, have large interests in the whole trade, with which the prosperity of many towns in Malwa, and of places like Jhalrapatan in Rajputana is said to be closely bound up. Approximate estimates of the compensation that might be claimed on account of these various interests, should the cultivation of the poppy be prohibited, have been placed before us by the States, and a considerable amount of evidence has been recorded on the subject. It is clear, however, that the States are not willing to accept compensation, and the Maharaja Holkar has expressly said that he does not admit the right of the Paramount Power to require him to prohibit the growth of the poppy within his territories, a matter that will be discussed later. These claims involve questions of extreme difficulty and of infinite complexity of detail, and we found it quite impossible, with the time at our command in India, to make any adequate examination on the spot of the figures and statistics presented to us. The matter would only become one of practical importance should it be decided to enforce, throughout these States, such restriction as would involve the extinction of the export trade. We think it necessary, however, to offer a few observations of a general character upon these estimates. The claims may be classified under three main heads—compensation to the States themselves, the petty Chiefs and landowners; compensation to cultivators; and compensation to money-lenders, traders and others engaged in the opium trade. The compensation to the States is on account of the direct loss of land revenue, and of the income at present derived from various duties and imposts on the manufacture of opium, or on the import or export of the crude or manufactured product, and similar losses, on a smaller scale, would be incurred by petty chiefs and landowners, though these have not been included in the estimates by all States. Some indirect losses also would have to be taken into consideration. The Indore authorities, for instance, have represented that they expended large sums on irrigation works mainly with a view to protect poppy cultivation from drought, and that the prohibition of this crop would alter the conditions on which the capital had been invested and materially affect the return. The loss in customs revenue is capable of being ascertained with more or less accuracy, but the loss of land revenue opens up a wide field of inquiry. The poppy is everywhere regarded as the most valuable crop that can be grown on irrigated land, but is not assessed to land revenue in the same way in all cases. In some States specially high rates are charged on the actual crop, while in others, including the chief States of Malwa, the general rates on irrigated land have been fixed higher than they would otherwise have been fixed on the understanding that poppy will be grown, as a general rule, on all land capable of producing it. Everywhere, therefore, a reduction of land-revenue rates, with the incidental expense of a revision of assessments in some instances, is considered inevitable should the production of opium be forbidden. The extent of this reduction in each case depends mainly on the question of the crop that could be substituted for the poppy. This crop, according to the great majority of the witnesses, would necessarily be wheat. Such a change would involve a material reduction of the land-revenue rates; but no final conclusion on this point could be arrived at without the most careful consideration of a number of variable circumstances, such as the local peculiarities of soil, the period for which wells and tanks can ordinarily be used for purposes of irrigation, the existence of markets for the substituted crops, and, perhaps above all, the acquired knowledge and hereditary predilection of the cultivating classes. On such questions an opinion could only be pronounced by a body of experts thoroughly conversant with the conditions of Indian agriculture after a minute and protracted inquiry in each State. What we do feel justified in saying is that the sudden and complete prohibition of the production of opium would disorganise the finances of a number of the States, and necessitate a change in the system of agriculture in the opium-producing districts, which would deprive the cultivators of a very valuable

Importance of export trade to the States of Rajputana and Central India, and question of compensation.

IV. 22,167. 20,658.

IV. 20,791-92.

IV. p. 102. 22,214, 21,873.

involvement of direct and indirect losses.

IV. 22,209.

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crop and seriously affect their credit, a point on which most of the witnesses have laid great stress. The claims on behalf of the money-lending and trading classes include compensation for advances made on the security of a special crop that would no longer be permitted; for the value of the stocks of opium now held by them, and for the loss of capital and ruin of their business. On this part of the subject, also, it would be impossible to speak with any confidence without a far-reaching inquiry in each State, but in saying this we wish it to be understood that we do not express any opinion as to the admissibility of the claims put forward by some of Rajputana States under this head. It should be added that the Rajputana claim on behalf of consumers is not, in our opinion, in any sense tenable.

TABLE 11, showing CLASSIFICATION and approximate AMOUNT of COMPENSATION claimed by the PROTECTED STATES in RAJPUTANA and CENTRAL INDIA.

Name of States.	Classification of Claims.	Amount.
Rajputana States (See page 18, Vol. IV.)	Direct loss to States, petty Chiefs, and Jagirdars	Rx. 329,603
	Loss to cultivators	449,338
	Loss to money lenders, traders, and others	2,142,301
	Loss to consumers	56,547
	Total	Rx. 2,977,789
Central India States (See pages 89 and 90, Vol. IV.)	Direct loss to States	708,125
	Loss to cultivators	663,808
	Loss to money lenders, traders, and others	230,436
	Total	Rx. 1,602,369
	Grand total	Rx. 4,580,158

If a policy of prohibition were to be carried out, as a matter of arrangement with the ruling States, on the basis of payment of full and equitable compensation, the negotiations would, obviously, have to be conducted in no illiberal spirit, and we are satisfied that the award that would finally have to be accepted would be a very substantial sum. The actual figures of the roughly prepared estimates, placed before us on the part of the States, are given in the table above, and a large part of the total sum is claimed as an annual payment.

Whether existing arrangements for transit of Malwa opium to the sea can with justice be terminated.

116. We are now able to come to a conclusion on the second question referred to us by Your Majesty, regarding the Malwa export trade, namely, on what terms, if any, the existing arrangements for the transit of this opium through British territory can, with justice, be terminated. The situation appears to us to be practically the same as it was in 1830. We are of opinion that by paramount considerations of fair dealing and good faith—considerations that have acquired additional cogency from more than sixty years of uninterrupted usage—the Government of India is precluded from withdrawing the right of transit, except with the free consent of the Protected States. It seems probable that the more important States would not be prepared to accede to a measure of this kind. In any case, however, it is clear that any agreement that might be arrived at could only be arranged on payment of large pecuniary compensation, and would involve a heavy loss of public revenue to the Government of India. We are aware that it has been suggested that the present arrangements for the transit of Malwa opium to the sea might be ended, without direct interference on the part of the Government of India, by an enhancement of the pass duty up to a point that would be found prohibitive; but we consider it sufficient to say that the considerations on which our general conclusion is founded would, in our opinion, be equally valid against any such indirect method of extinguishing the export trade.

II.—Native States not connected with the Malwa System.

Introductory.

Course of the present inquiry regarding the remaining

117. We have now to consider the opium arrangements in the other Protected States of India, which cannot be said to have any direct connexion with the Malwa export trade, or close association with its history. Some of these States are quite unimportant and only require a passing reference here. In the Manipur State on the borders of

Assam, in the Himalayan State of Tehri Garhwal, and in the Sindh State of Khairpur Protected States, opium is produced for local consumption, but the outturn is insignificant. In the case of the small State of Koch Behar, under the Government of Bengal, the cultivation of the poppy was prohibited during the minority of the Chief in accordance with the policy that dictated the same course in the surrounding British districts many years before, and the prohibition was continued by him on his succession. Poppy cultivation has also been forbidden in the small Mahomedan State of Rampur under the Government of the North-West Provinces, under special arrangements which provide for a limited amount of Excise opium being supplied from one of the neighbouring British districts at a comparatively low rate to be issued to the licensed vendors at a comparatively high rate. For the purposes of our Report, the States under the political control of the Bombay Government have been divided into two groups. The arrangements in force in the first group, which falls under the Malwa system, have already been described in paragraph 101, and these arrangements are equally applicable to the second group of States,* with a population of 2,698,157, which have to be referred to here. The only States, therefore, with which the arrangements require to be described are the following: Kashmir and the States under the political control of the Punjab Government, which may be conveniently dealt with together; the Hyderabad State; Mysore, and certain States in the Madras Presidency. We have mentioned in the introductory Section of our Report that opportunity was found for holding sittings at places conveniently situated for the attendance of the representatives of the Punjab Native States. The Commission was unable to visit Hyderabad, but the general views of the Nizam's Government were stated in a communication from the Minister, and the whole subject of opium as affecting that State was fully described by the senior member of the Board of Revenue, an English official in the employment of the Nizam. The opium question is not in any way prominent in Mysore and the Madras Native States, so that the omission to include them in the scope of our local inquiry does not affect the general conclusions at which we have been able to arrive.

IV. p. 499.
IV. pp. 359-
60, 500-504.

Arrangements for Provision of Opium.

118. In Kashmir, the poppy is grown in Jammu, the southern province of the State, cultivation being free, and the average area under this crop is roughly estimated at 1,700 acres a year. About one-fifth of the opium produced is said to be consumed within Kashmir, and the remainder is exported to the Punjab. The cultivators are required to sell their produce either to State contractors, or to licensed dealers from the Punjab, and half the price realised by them is said to be claimed by the State. A system of licenses for retail vend is also in force, and the annual income derived from these two sources is placed at Rs. 47,000. It appears that under Sikh rule no attempt was made to limit the production or consumption of opium, either in Kashmir, or in the Punjab, and when British rule was established in the latter province, it was not considered advisable to place any restriction on the import of opium from Jammu into British territory, nor was it considered possible to prevent the cultivation of the poppy in the Native States under the political control of the Punjab Government. The individual circumstances of these States differ widely, but for the purposes of this inquiry they may be grouped broadly into two classes; those in which opium is produced in excess of local requirements, and those in which production is comparatively small, and the import for local consumption considerable. In the first group the total area under poppy is believed to be not more than 6,000 acres, and the chief cultivation is to be found in the Hill States, especially in those under the Simla Agency. The amount of opium produced cannot be said to be large, in any of these States, but the poppy cultivation is important to them, as their revenues are small, and no import duty is charged on the opium imported into British territory, either from them, or from Kashmir. In the second group the Sikh States, especially Patiala, Jind, and Nabha, are the principal importers of opium. They draw their supplies partly from the Hill States, partly from the British districts where opium is produced, and partly from Malwa. The opium from the last-named source is allowed to be imported in specified quantities, on payment at the Ajmer scales of a specially reduced rate of pass duty, the whole of which is refunded to the States. The reason for this arrangement will be found in the geographical position of the outlying districts of these States in relation to Northern Rajputana, offering as it does great facilities for

Arrange-
ments with
Kashmir and
other Native
States in the
Punjab.
V. p. 126.

V. p. 104.

* The principal States in this group are Kolhapur, Sawantwadi, Janjira, Akalkot, and the Southern Maratha and Satara Jagirs.

smuggling Malwa opium, and making it necessary to give them a direct interest, and so to secure their co-operation in stopping this illicit trade.

Arrange-
ments in
force with
the Hyder-
abad State.
IV., p. 500.

IV., p. 511.

II., p. 370.

27,903.

Arrange-
ments in
force with
Mysore and
Madras
States.

II., p. 370.

119. We have next, to examine the opium arrangements with the State of Hyderabad, the great Deccan offshoot of the Delhi Empire. Up to the year 1879-80 this State had paid but little attention to the subject. The consumption of the drug was considerable, and the supply was obtained partly from cultivation of the poppy within the State, and partly by import from Malwa, no pass duty being paid on the amount so imported. As the revenue derived by the State from this source was insignificant, the difference between the price at which opium could be sold in Hyderabad territory and the surrounding British districts respectively was considerable, and this fostered a brisk contraband trade between the two tracts. This fact was brought prominently into notice during the inquiries instituted in the districts having a common frontier with Hyderabad, in connexion with the introduction of the provisions of the Opium Act of 1878. It was then found that the bulk of the opium consumed in the Madras Presidency, where it was till that date untaxed, had been introduced by way of the Nizam's dominions, the frontier of which was too long to be guarded effectively without an excessively numerous and costly preventive force. As no opium was produced in the Southern Presidency, and the cultivation of the poppy had just been prohibited in Berar and the Central Provinces, Hyderabad was cut off from any imported supply except from Malwa, and this supply could be controlled, because the drug was not mentioned in the subsisting agreement with the Nizam's Government providing for reciprocal freedom of transit between British and Hyderabad territory. Negotiations, therefore, were set on foot, which resulted in the prohibition of poppy cultivation in that State, and in the agreement that all opium required for licit consumption by the Nizam's subjects should be obtained from Malwa. This was on the understanding that the British pass duty, as levied at the scales, should be credited to the Hyderabad State, and it was expressly stipulated that the amount of this duty should not be less than Rs. 600 a chest, except as a matter of future agreement. This arrangement has led to a marked increase in the revenue derived from opium by the Nizam's Government, and to a material enhancement of the retail price in that State. Either of the parties to the agreement is at liberty to withdraw from it on giving twelve months notice of this intention, and it has been stated on behalf of the Hyderabad State, that should the Government of India prohibit opium within British territory, and cancel the existing arrangement, the Nizam would claim the right to re-introduce poppy cultivation in his own dominions.

120. The large State of Mysore was administered as a British Province for about half a century, during which period the small cultivation of the poppy, previously in existence in a few special tracts was discontinued. The opium required for use in the State was imported from Malwa, and, after 1879, the whole arrangements were conducted in accordance with the general provisions of the Opium Act, 1878. In the instrument of rendition, executed in 1881, a special provision was inserted, under which the Chief binds himself to comply with the wishes of the Governor-General in Council in the matter of the production and distribution of the drug, and the system in force up to that date has accordingly been maintained. The small States connected with the Madras Government do not produce opium, but are supplied from Malwa. There is this difference, however, between the arrangement in their case and that with regard to Mysore, that the duty, less cost price is credited in the former case to the Government of India, and in the latter, to the importing State.

Consumption of Opium.

The con-
sumption of
opium in
these Native
States.

II. p. 356.

V. p. 126.

III. 16,218,
16,272,
16,280.

121. The character and extent of the opium consumption varies very much in the different States with which we have just dealt. In the States under the political control of the Madras Government there can hardly be said to be any custom of taking opium. The use of opium is also limited in Mysore, and in the second group of the States under the Bombay Government referred to in paragraph 117. As regards Kashmir the total amount said to be consumed is small, and only the Dogras and Sikhs and others from the Punjab are believed to take opium, while in the Punjab hill States it is estimated that from 5 to 8 per cent. of the inhabitants are consumers. The case, however, is different in the Sikh States and Hyderabad. The annual rate of consumption in Patiala is 426 grains, or, if Sikhs only be taken, about 946 grains per head, 160 grains in Jind, and 366 grains in Nabha. These rates, moreover, are founded on the returns of taxed opium, and it would probably be unsafe to assume that this represents the whole amount con-

sumed. In Hyderabad the average yearly consumption is returned at 31 grains per head for the whole population, but in the city the rate is about 124 grains. Opium is generally taken in the form of pills, but the custom of drinking *Kasumbha* is not followed, either in the Sikh States or in Hyderabad, though in the former the decoction made by steeping poppyheads in water is used to some extent. The smoking of preparations of the drug is little known. The practice is authoritatively forbidden in the Patiala State, and the keeping of shops for this purpose is said to be prohibited by law in the Nizam's dominions, though it is admitted that in practice the police do not interfere with *Madak* shops, of which there are a large number, in the Hyderabad city.

IV. p. 502.

V. p. 125.

IV. p. 501.

27,904.

III.—General Conclusions regarding the Protected States.

122. It remains for us to summarise our general conclusions regarding the use of opium in the Protected States. In some of these States, especially in the South of India, the opium habit has practically no existence, and these conclusions, therefore, are mainly applicable to the Sikh States in the Punjab; to the Rajputana and Central India States; to Baroda and the States in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch, and to Hyderabad. It may be said broadly that in these States opium occupies the same place as in British India. It is used as a domestic remedy, as a protection, so far as the belief of the people goes, against fever and chills, as a stimulant in the case of exhaustion from fatigue and exposure, and as a restorative in the declining years of life. It is also used as an aphrodisiac. The practice of administering opium during infancy is common throughout these States, and in Rajputana and Central India, is more widely prevalent, and probably of greater antiquity, than in other parts of the country; while in the same region, and in the group of States where Rajput influence is dominant, the customary use of opium at ceremonies and in social life has its strongest sanction. We think that it must be recognised that the social obligation to offer opium on these occasions is weaker than it was, owing to the operation of various causes which have been already discussed, but the evidence has shown beyond doubt that these customs still possess a very real hold on important classes of the population. The taking of opium by young men is regarded with disfavour, though this feeling is less marked among the Rajputs than among other classes, and smoking preparations of the drug is not only popularly condemned, but has been made the subject of prohibitory legislation or regulations in a number of States, though it may be doubtful how far the prohibition is really operative, except perhaps in Baroda. We are satisfied that these popular uses of opium, whether judged by the character and scope of the evidence given before us, or by the broad lessons to be learnt from the growth of population, cannot be said to cause any general deterioration, moral or physical, and we say this in full knowledge of the fact that among some of the higher classes of the community cases of excess, though never common, are probably more frequent in Native States than in British India. The Foreign Minister of Patiala, the chief Sikh State, speaks of the practice of taking opium as being moderate and reasonable, while excess is "extremely limited." The Minister of Hyderabad has stated emphatically that the use of opium does not constitute a public evil in that State, and the view expressed by the Maharaja Holkar, with reference to Indore, that the consumption of opium is, as a rule, moderate, and that a moderate use is not prejudicial in any way, has received the fullest support and confirmation from the evidence regarding the other Native States in that part of India. We consider, moreover, that the remarks on this subject made by Mr. Crosthwaite, the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, deserve special weight. Mr. Crosthwaite is not prepared himself to say that the use of opium is either necessary or beneficial to health, though he speaks with confidence as to this view being held by a large proportion of the Native population. He points out, however, that if the use of opium necessarily or even generally led to excess, and so to the degradation of the consumers, these results would certainly be traceable in the statistics of population and in the decline of the village communities of Malwa, where opium consumption is relatively widespread and is known to have been in existence for centuries. But, in reality, no such decline is to be found, and the figures of the Census of 1891 show an increase of 3 per cent. in the population of these States during the preceding ten years. As to the general disposition of the people of the Protected States and their rulers there can be no question whatever. A large majority of the population look upon the use of opium in the ways already described, as an ordinary incident of their daily life, not open, at any rate, to objection. Interference with their personal habits and social customs would assuredly arouse feelings of resentment and discontent, which would be intensified in the case of the States where the pecuniary interests of the cultivators

General conclusions as to the use of opium in the Protected States of India.

III. 16,219-20.

IV. p. 499, para. 3.

IV. p. 102.

21,817.

21,812.

III. 16,816. and other classes are vitally affected. The Chiefs of the Sikh State of Nabha and of
 IV. 24,622. the petty State of Malia in Kathiawar are opposed to any use of opium, so far as their
 personal views go, and would be prepared to accept a policy of prohibition, if adopted
 by the Government of India, but these views are quite exceptional. The Native repre-
 III. 16,225, sentatives of the more important States, as well as Government officials, who speak
 16,263, from large experience and intimate knowledge of the people, have given weighty
 16,331, expression to their apprehensions of the embarrassment and danger that would be
 20,435, caused by an attempt to enforce a policy which would inevitably be regarded as harsh
 20,604, and unjust. We have elsewhere stated our conviction that it would be impracticable
 20,772, to limit the consumption of opium in British India to medical purposes, strictly so
 21,655, called, and we are strongly of opinion that such a measure would be even more clearly
 21,814, impracticable in the case of the Protected States. It could only be enforced, so far as
 21,873, any real enforcement might be possible, by the employment of an army of spies and
 22,217, informers, and by a constant intrusion into the domestic concerns of the people; and
 IV. p. 102, it seems to us impossible to contemplate the results of this action with indifference.
 27,916, We are deliberately of opinion, and we speak with a serious sense of our own responsi-
 27,949-50, bility in the matter, that no Government, situated as the Government of India is situated,
 IV. p. 499, can afford to disregard the representations that have been made on this subject.
 pars. 10 and
 11.

Right of
 interference
 to prohibit
 the use of
 opium in
 Protected
 States.
 II. 2523.

IV. 20, 782,
 21,858.

IV. P. 110,
 para. 7.

123. Finally, we consider it incumbent upon us to express an opinion as to the right of the Government of India to require the Protected States to carry into effect a policy of prohibition. This seems especially called for, because some of those who advocate this policy are apparently prepared to recommend recourse to compulsion, if necessary. We do this, however, with some reserve, as we fully recognise that the question is one of great delicacy. It has been mainly discussed in our Proceedings, in relation to the Rajputana and Central India States, and the matter, of course, has special importance in the case of the States that have a share in the export trade, though so far as the consumption of opium is concerned, all the independent States are interested in it. The enforcement of a policy of this character necessarily means an interference in the internal administration of these States, and it seems to be placed beyond question that the right on the part of the Paramount Power to exercise such interference is limited, by Treaty obligations and well-understood usage, to the single case of intolerable mis-government. It is, no doubt, true that the Government of India has on various occasions exerted its influence by way of advice and remonstrance, which must always carry more or less authority, with the object of putting an end to offences against public morality within the territories of Protected States. These, however, have been offences universally admitted to be such by the civilised opinion of the world, and we feel bound to accept the views expressed by the Agents to the Governor-General both in Rajputana and Central India, that in the history of the relations of the Government with these States there has been no precedent for any such interference as the prohibition of the use of opium, except for medical purposes, and the stoppage of the opium trade would constitute.

124. The case of suttee, has been particularly urged upon our attention as being a justification for the contemplated interference in the matter of the opium consumption and trade, and we have thought it right to ascertain the nature of the action taken by the Government of India in that case. Lord William Bentinck made suttee a criminal offence within the limits of British India in December 1829, but there was no attempt to force the reform at once upon the Protected States. It was left to the political officers associated with these States to induce them, by encouragement and guidance, to follow the example that had been set by the Government of India. Six years after the introduction of the regulation making suttee penal in British India, the widow of a Bombay Chief in Mahi Kantha was burnt alive, notwithstanding the protests of British officers; and even in 1861, or 32 years later, the Government of India found it necessary, owing to the not infrequent occurrences of suttee in Rajputana, to issue* orders that the Native Chiefs should be informed that neglect on

* "It should be plainly stated to the Chiefs that, although as regards the occurrence of sati (suttee), the past year admits of a favourable comparison with preceding years, yet that of late years the Governor-General in Council has reason to know that in some Native States the chief authorities have not used that diligence to repress and punish the crime which the Governor-General in Council has a right to expect from them.

"It should also be stated that punishment by fine be resorted to, and that whenever local means of imprisonment are not available, the imprisonment should take place in a British gaol when the law admits of it.

"Further, it should be stated to the Chiefs that in any case in which the Government of a Native State shall neglect to exert itself to stop the perpetration of a sati, or to bring the offenders to punishment, the Governor-General in Council will consider the propriety of reducing the number of guns with which the Chief of the State is saluted, in order that it may be made plain to all India that the Queen's Government view such neglect with grave displeasure, and hold those who are chargeable with it in diminished honour":—*Letter from the Foreign Dept. Govt. of India to the Agent Governor-General, Rajputana, Nov. 12, dated the 20th December 1861.*

their part to exert themselves to prevent the perpetration of this crime would be viewed with grave displeasure, and made a ground for reducing their salutes to show that they were held in diminished honour.

We are of opinion, however, that the case of suttee can be distinguished, by the clearest line of cleavage, from the habit of taking opium. The prohibition of suttee was based on broad ethical grounds. The burning alive of widows, whether under the sanction of religion or not, was repugnant to civilised humanity, and, it may well be inferred, opposed to the real instincts of the people of India as being inhuman. The practice, moreover, at any rate in modern India, was a strictly aristocratic and sacerdotal practice, never really prevalent among the population, and there is good reason for believing that Lord William Bentinck's action was strongly supported, if not suggested, by enlightened public opinion in India. It would obviously be impossible to place the habit of taking opium in the category of crimes like suttee, and we have had convincing evidence not only that the habit is not opposed to the popular sentiment in the Protected States, but that any attempt to suppress it would be in complete opposition to the wishes of the mass of the people, as well as to those of the Chiefs, with one or two exceptions. It seems to us, therefore, that if the Government of India were to impose on these States the obligation to prohibit the use of opium, it would be going beyond the line of interference marked out by Treaty obligations and public pledges, and abandoning the attitude which they have adopted even in the case of reforms carrying behind them the weight of civilized opinion. Nor do we think the argument a sound one that, because suttee and other practices, closely associated with the Hindu religion, could be repressed without causing general discontent, the apprehensions expressed by numerous witnesses as to the result of prohibiting the consumption of opium may safely be regarded as having no real foundation. These practices never touched the home life of the people, but the opium habit, quite apart from the question of justification for interference, stands on ground of its own as being intimately bound up with the personal and domestic customs of the general population, and the effect of prohibition would, therefore, be proportionately far reaching.

SECTION IV.

THE EXPORT OF INDIAN OPIUM TO CHINA AND THE STRAITS.

125. We have now to deal briefly with the question of the production of opium in India as affected by the moral and political considerations arising out of the connexion of the opium trade of India with China. The question of China was not explicitly referred to us by Your Majesty, but it is obvious that our inquiry would have been incomplete had we not devoted some considerable attention to it.

Comparative bulk of exported and excise opium.

II. p. 345.

* A maund = 82.28 lbs.

126. Of the Bengal opium manufactured at the Government factories of Patna and Ghazipur, that which is intended for export is technically known as "provision opium," and that reserved for consumption in India is called "excise opium." The relative amounts of the two manufactured in the year 1892-3 were 40,506 chests of provision opium, as against 2,109 chests of excise opium. Taking the average of the last 10 years, the respective quantities were 52,419 chests of provision opium, as against 4,023 chests of excise opium.* Of Malwa opium, the figures for 1892-3 are 27,268 chests passed for export by sea, as against 3,348 chests passed for consumption in India. Taking the average of the last 10 years, 33,758 chests were passed for export, against 3,093 chests passed for consumption in India.

II. p. 347.

127. The quantity of both Bengal and Malwa opium exported to China and the Far East is thus far larger than that consumed in India, to which it bears the proportion of about 12 to 1. It is plain, therefore, that the financial interests of India are far more deeply concerned in the export trade than in the home consumption of opium. The financial aspects of the question are discussed in the next Section of our Report, together with the effect of the stoppage of the export trade upon the question of exchange.

Quantity of opium exported from India.

II. p. 389.

128. The following table, which is based on the return presented to us by the Government of India, gives the number of chests (of about 140 lbs. each) exported to different countries during the last 10 years. Of the total number of chests exported from India during the year 1892-3, 59,771, valued at Rx. 7,317,577, were despatched to China direct.

TABLE 12, showing the Number of Chests (of about 140 lbs.) exported.

Country to which exported.	1883-4.	1884-5.	1885-6.	1886-7.	1887-8.	1888-9.	1889-90.	1890-1.	1891-2.	1892-3.
China - - -	83,728	75,391	76,115	83,124	76,815	72,891	70,102	70,855	70,805	59,771
Straits Settlement - -	7,320	10,134	10,728	11,896	12,368	13,995	13,749	13,915	15,035	12,609
Cochin China, &c. - -	771	910	1,000	1,150	670	725	1,050	480	880	2,170
Java - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	125	450
Philippines - - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	280	470	170
Ceylon - - -	83	167	77	94	102	90	119	103	113	127
Mauritius - - -	44	25	19	38	67	5	60	55	53	53
Réunion - - -	3	4	7	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
East Africa - - -	11	7	7	16	19	18	16	17	6	10
Natal - - -	3	—	2	1	1	13	2	1	6	5
United Kingdom - -	—	—	—	19	54	51	48	47	61	17
Other countries - -	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	4	1
Total exported -	91,963	86,578	87,956	95,839	90,096	87,789	85,166	85,753	87,558	75,384

II. 5427, 5346, 5375, 5392.

129. We may point out that according to information before us the amount of opium here returned against the Straits Settlements is far too large, and that against Java too small.† Opium is shipped from India to the former for distribution to Siam,

* The figures of excise opium are given by the Government of India in maunds. For the purpose of comparison, they have been reduced to provision chests at 1.70 maunds per chest.

† The totals in the above table are no doubt accurate, but the exporters do not appear in some cases to give the details of distinction correctly. The French and Siamese Governments have State monopolies of the import and sale of opium. The former Government imports to Saigon direct from Calcutta. The latter takes from 1,000 to 1,200 chests annually from Singapore. There is a large consumption of opium not only in Java, but also in the Dutch possessions in Sumatra, Borneo, the Celebes, and the Moluccas. In some of these tracts the Dutch Government, reserving to itself the right of import, brings opium from India and the Levant and supplies both kinds to the licensed vendors. In other tracts the licensed vendors are allowed to procure their own opium, which they appear to get mainly from Singapore. The total amount of opium legitimately imported in these ways into Dutch possessions in 1893 seems to have been equal to about 3,800 chests. In addition, the amount smuggled is admitted to be large. Some Dutch writers estimate it to be equal to the licit supply.

II. 5369-72.

V. p. 160.

V. p. 146.

V. App.

XXVII.

V. p. 344.

Friend of

China, XII.,

p. 61,260.

Tonking, and the Malay Archipelago. Witnesses informed us in Calcutta that the great bulk of the recorded imports into Singapore probably left the Colony again for other ports. In the Dutch possessions the drug is a State monopoly. The French Government in Tonking and Cochin China, again, has established a State monopoly of the manufacture of the smoking preparation mentioned under the title of *Chandu* in the Second Section of this Report and described in Sir William Roberts' Memorandum. The opium used in this manufacture is obtained from Calcutta.

V. pp. 146-7
V. pp. 344-5

130. We now proceed to discuss the moral and political aspects of the question as affecting China. In considering this branch of our subject it is obviously impossible for us to arrive at so definite and conclusive a judgment with regard to China as with regard to India. The moral and physical results of the use of opium in China must be gathered from the evidence of witnesses, and with few exceptions we had no opportunity of seeing these witnesses and of cross-examining them upon their statements. The political aspect of the question must depend largely on the view taken of some much-controverted events in history. Subject to these necessary limitations, we proceed to give a brief summary of the results of our inquiry.

Scope of the inquiry as regards China.

131. Prior to our departure from London, we took the evidence of 17 missionaries, representing various Societies, who had been resident in China for longer or shorter periods, and of Mr. B. Broomhall, the general Secretary of the China Inland Mission. The evidence of these witnesses was practically unanimous as to the evil effects of opium-smoking upon the Chinese, though that of Dr. W. Lockhart, a medical missionary of the London Missionary Society, was less pronounced than that of the others. We also took the evidence of one medical man who had been in private practice for 18 years in Canton and Hong Kong, and of a retired Government medical officer, who had been in the Straits Settlements for 25 years. The evidence of these two witnesses was considerably less adverse to the practice of opium smoking than that of the missionaries. We heard, also, the testimony of four gentlemen connected with commerce, of whom two were strongly adverse to opium, and two took a more favourable view of the practice. The other witnesses, with regard to China and the Far East, were Sir Thomas Wade and Mr. Lay, who gave evidence principally with regard to the negotiation of the Treaty of Tientsin and the Convention of Chefoo. Mr. S. Lockhart, the Protector of Chinese in Hong Kong, also gave evidence, stating that in his opinion it would be no more possible to enforce the prohibition of opium in Hong Kong than that of drink in the United Kingdom. We received, also, communications in writing from Sir G. Des Vœux, late Governor of Hong Kong, Sir Hugh Low, formerly Administrator of Perak, both of whom were opposed to any further interference, and from Mr. Duff, a merchant in China of 30 years' standing, whose opinion is—

Evidence taken in England.

I. 1668.

I. 1772.

I. 790, 1751, 1618, 2012.

I. 1394.

V. p. 143.

I. p. 111.

“that in the circumstances of their living, food, climate, and habitations, opium has no deleterious effects upon the Chinese; indeed, quite the contrary, for it is a positive need, and they could not do without it.”

A Note on the history of opium and the poppy in China, by Dr. Edkins, formerly a missionary, and now in the China Customs Service, at Shanghai, will be found in the Appendices to our Report. The author shows that the poppy (*papaver somniferum*) was cultivated in China as early as the 8th century.

I. p. 146.

132. We subsequently addressed circular letters of interrogatories to the Governments of the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong and to Your Majesty's Minister in China, the replies to which are given in the fifth volume of our Proceedings. We may briefly summarise the results of these inquiries.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

133. From the Straits Settlements reports were forwarded to us from several medical officers. The majority hold that opium, taken in moderate quantities, is not deleterious. If taken in excess the effects are degrading. The list of witnesses so reporting, includes Mr. Haviland, M.B., the curator of the Raffles Museum; Dr. W. C. Brown, J.P., private practitioner, Penang; Mr. T. S. Kerr, M.B., principal civil medical officer; Mr. W. Gilmore Ellis, M.D., M.R.C.S., superintendent of the lunatic asylum; Mr. J. C. Mugliston, colonial surgeon, Singapore; and Surgeon-Major D. O'Sullivan, stationed at Penang.

Summary of opinions as to moral and physical effects of opium.

V. pp. 146-184.

134. Two missionaries, the Rev. A. Lamont, of the English Presbyterian Church, and Mr. Shellabear, late R.E., working in connexion with the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, agree in the view that the effects of the opium habit are degrading. They strongly condemn the habitual use. The reports from officials of the Government

V. p. 148. of the Straits Settlements as to the effects of the use of opium in moderate quantities are mainly favourable. Mr. Maxwell, the Colonial Secretary, in summing up the replies which he has transmitted to us, agrees with those who think that opium-smoking does no harm to the Chinese, if practised in moderation, observing that moderation is the rule amongst the Chinese in that colony. In the case of Malays the injurious effects, physical and moral, are by general consent more evident. Following Dr. Brown, the oldest private medical practitioner in Penang, Mr. Maxwell, estimates that, of the Chinese adult males, about one-half are consumers. Three per cent. are slaves to the habit.

V. p. 173. 135. We may, in conclusion, quote from a communication received from Mr. John Anderson, J.P., merchant, Consul for Siam, and 32 years resident in the Straits, dealing with the habit of smoking opium. He writes as follows:—

“If its use be abused by excessive indulgence, the effects morally, physically, and socially, must decidedly be prejudicial to the consumer. Its use in moderation, as a stimulant to the system of men who engage in constant hard and trying physical labour, in my opinion, helps to the maintenance of the working powers.”

* * * * *

“Some of the best and most capable Chinese artisans at the dock and machine-shop works and foundries in Singapore (blacksmiths, boiler-makers, riveters, &c.) are opium users.”

* * * * *

“If it were desired, and if it were possible, to stamp out the use or abuse either of alcohol or of opium, I should certainly urge the stamping out first of the use or abuse of alcohol. Of the two, the latter, in my opinion, is productive of the greater harm and misery.”

We may add that in this last observation the majority of the witnesses from the Straits Settlements concur.

HONG KONG.

Summary of opinions as to moral and physical effects of opium. V. p. 184-212. 136. The interrogatories addressed to Hong Kong elicited replies almost identical with those received from the Straits Settlements. The Rev. John Chalmers, of the London Missionary Society, Ho Kai, a Chinese non-official doctor, and Tong Sing, a Director of the Tung Wa Hospital, strongly condemned the opium habit. The official opinion was favourable to the moderate use, and the list of such witnesses was long. It included men whose position should certainly ensure independent and honest judgment. The names are given in the foot-note below.*

V. p. 143. 137. Sir George Des Vœux, late Governor of Hong Kong, gave his opinion on the favourable side.

“For the consideration of the opium question the Colony of Hong Kong furnishes an object lesson the value of which could hardly be surpassed. Of its 220,000 inhabitants some 200,000 are Chinese, and wages, as compared with those of the mainland, being high, they are thus enabled to indulge more freely in the habit of opium-smoking, and they certainly do not fail to avail themselves of this ability. . . . All things considered it is probable that the population of Hong Kong smokes more opium than any other of equal number in the world, and yet relatively to the conditions of its existence, it is extraordinarily healthy, while for activity and industry it could scarcely be surpassed.”

V. p. 192. 138. We may also quote the following extract from a communication received from Mr. Wodehouse, police magistrate at Hong Kong:—

“The social effects are more domestic than social, and are not characterised by any of the peculiarities which make a drunkard a nuisance to society at large as well as to his own domestic circle. They lie in the direction of impoverishment of the family, neglect of household duties, and other such tendencies. The general effects one notices in the *morale* of an individual given to the use of opium, are a general shiftiness of character, secretiveness, capricious memory, nervelessness, want of energy, and incapacity in the discharge of his avocations. The physical effects are in keeping with these symptoms, hollow drawn features, emaciated form, vacant looking eyes. All these characteristics however that I have mentioned are found noticeably only in the confirmed smoker, and if existing in the germ in the moderate consumer are not necessarily apparent, nor are they of necessity developed by a continuance of moderate consumption. Taking the Chinese population of Hong Kong in its entirety, although it is probable that the great majority of the male adults are consumers of opium, and although they have as much opium at their command as they may desire, there is nevertheless an entire absence of any general appearance of either moral or physical deterioration. The appearances are those of a busy, thriving, cheerful, well-to-do population, without a trace of any of the characteristics that one would find in a community debilitated by some known cause such as scarcity of food, epidemic of sickness, and so forth.”

CHINA.

Summary of opinions as to moral and physical effects of opium. V. p. 214. 139. The replies we received from China, like the evidence tendered to us in London, were of a conflicting character. By the majority of the missionaries of every Christian communion in China the use of opium is strongly condemned. Other missionaries take a less decided view. Of these last two may be quoted. The Rev. W. Ashmore, of the

* J. Clarke, Chief Justice. Edward Ackroyd, Puisne Judge, Supreme Court. H. G. Mitchell-Innes, Treasurer, Hong Kong. (“Effect of moderate smoking, nil.”) R. Murray, Rumsey, R.N., harbour master. (“Physical effects not apparent to ordinary observer.”) PH. B. C. Ayres, C.M.G., colonial surgeon, as above. W. Stanton, police inspector, as above. Alexander Turnbull, M.D., R.N., Deputy Inspector-General, as above. G. O. Preston, M.B. Surgeon Col., as above. James Cantlies, M.A., M.B., F.R.C.P., Department Public Health, as above. J. M. Atkinson, Government Civil Hospital, as above.

American Baptist Mission, 43 years a missionary in China, states that some men will use opium for years and not show marked results. The Rev. A. Bone, an English Protestant missionary, says:—

“The effects of opium vary, but it appears to me, that the ordinary Chinese have but a poorly developed moral sense on many matters, in regard to which the Christian nations of Europe hold decided opinions. The effects of opium, also physically, cover a wide range of experience. Many who smoke but twice or thrice a day do not appear to suffer any physical weakness. I question frequently men who tell me they have smoked for years, and no marks of physical deterioration are very manifest.” V. p. 218.

140. In the British Consular service in China the prevailing opinion is that opium-smoking in moderation is not harmful, and that moderation is the rule. The evil effects of excess do not thrust themselves prominently on the notice. A minority of the Consular service condemn the use of opium in any form as essentially bad. The medical opinions were in general accord with those of the Consular body. We may quote, for instance the statement of Dr. Rennie, referring to the Island of Formosa, where he resided for seven years; he writes that—

“By a high principled Chinaman, the use of opium would be pronounced degrading; but I do not think such is at all the general opinion. * * * A new arrival usually finds that his ideas, moulded on statements current at home, are immensely exaggerated; he seldom comes across that type of the degraded opium victim with the description of whom we have in our earlier days been so familiar. Still, after more mature experience and looking into the question with an unbiassed mind, he must admit that the habit is an evil. But what race has no pleasant vice? Opium is a solace to the wretched and luckless, and a stimulant to the hard-working and poorly-fed breadwinner, too often handicapped by malaria in the struggle for existence. As with most of nature's gifts to suffering humanity, abuse often converts the blessing into a curse. But look at the matter how we will, whether or not in its use or abuse it is a danger to the individual, to society, or to the State; we most unhesitatingly declare that the opium habit is in every respect a lesser evil than the consumption of alcohol.” V. p. 218.

We may also quote the following from Dr. Matthews, a medical missionary:—

“It occurs to me to add in connexion with the above answers that, upon my arrival in China, I was naturally prejudiced with regard to the opium habit, and that it is only on conviction that I now speak. To emphasise my position it is right to add that, apart from the interest I have taken in this matter for some years past and the constant desire to avail myself of all practical information, is the fact that as editor of the only medical journal in China, I have had more extended facilities for examining into the question than ordinarily falls to the individual medical man. Such being the case, I, though in all diffidence, state that it is my firm conviction that the evils of the opium habit, though they are many and great, have been exaggerated, and the good derived from it but little recognised. With regard to contrasting opium and alcohol, it seems to me but the conflicting of essential requirements of the eastern and western worlds.” V. p. 331.

We may also refer particularly to the answers of Dr. Myers, who, like Dr. Matthews, has made the effects of the opium habit the subject of special observation and inquiry, V. p. 324.

141. On a review of the whole evidence in regard to opium-smoking among the Chinese, we conclude that the habit is generally practised in moderation, and that when so practised, the injurious effects are not apparent; but that when the habit is carried to excess, disastrous consequences, both moral and physical, inevitably follow. Assuming this conclusion to be well founded, we may fairly compare the effects of opium-smoking among the Chinese population to those of alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom. General conclusions as to the effects of the opium habit on the Chinese.

142. We now turn to the political aspect of the question. References to past history are a prominent topic in the speeches and pamphlets of those who are working for the prohibition of the export of opium from India to China. We do not feel that we are called upon, as a Commission, to pass a judgment on the disputed facts of history, nor are we qualified to do so. This aspect of the question has been dealt with in a Memorandum by our colleague, Sir James Lyall, supplemented by Notes prepared for us by Mr. Dane, of the India Civil Service, which are appended to our Report. We wish to express our general concurrence in the conclusions at which our colleague has arrived, that opium was exported from India to China before European nations appeared in the Indian seas; that opium-smoking was a habit in existence in China before British rule began in India, and at a time when British merchants took little or no part in the opium trade, and that to speak of opium as having been forced upon the Chinese is, to say the least, an exaggeration. Political and historical considerations. VII. p. 64. See infra, p. 120.

143. It is less necessary, however, to review the history of the past, because the present relations of the trade between India and China are regulated by the Chefoo Convention, which was ratified as recently as the year 1885. Opium had been legalised as an article of import into China by the Regulations supplementary to the Treaty of Tientsin in 1858, the duty of 30 taels* per chest, which was then imposed upon the Present position of Chinese Government in respect to imported opium.

* A tael is a piece of silver weighing 1½ oz.

China 3 of
1882, C.
3395, p. 45.

Do., p. 56.

China 3 of
1886, C.
4735, p. 5.

China 3 of
1882 (C.
3395), p. 16.

VII. App. D.

Additional
Article, Cl. 7 (3 of
1886), p. 6).
Treaty, Cl. xxvii.
Elgin Corres.,
1859, p. 381.
Regulations,
Cl. 3 and 4,
Elgin Corres.,
n. 432, Hansard,
532, p. 516.

Discontinu-
ance of
exports from
India imprac-
ticable and
useless.

Consular
Decenn.
Reports,
1893.

Consular
Dec. Report,
pp. 445, 483.

drug, being estimated by Lord Elgin to be about 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. It had been subjected also to a varying rate of *li-kin*, or internal transit duty, at the different ports of entry, as the Chinese Government might think fit.

144. Under clause 2 of the Additional Article to the Convention of Chefoo, the *li-kin* duty was finally fixed at a uniform rate not exceeding 80 *taels*, and the consolidated duty of 110 *taels* per chest is levied by the Imperial Maritime Customs at the port of entry, before the opium can be taken out of bond. In a despatch addressed to Lord Granville, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by Sir Thomas Wade, British Minister at Peking, dated the 15th of June 1881, it is stated that although his Excellency Tso had, in the first instance, recommended a *li-kin* duty of 120 *taels*, Grand Secretary Li, after a little fencing, had reduced his colleague's demand to 80 *taels*. This was the amount at which, after protracted negotiations, it was finally fixed in 1885, and Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, in his despatch to the Government of India, dated the 22nd of January 1885, used the following language :—

“ You will observe that the Chinese Minister's Memoranda of March 12th, 1883, and of September 27th last,* admit unreservedly that the agreement now under negotiation is of the Chinese Government's own proposing and includes all that they desire.”

145. The existing regulations, therefore, must be taken to be in accordance with the wishes of the Chinese Government. The Convention is terminable by either Government at 12 months' notice, in which case the provisions of the Treaty of Tientsin would revive, and the Chinese Government would be at liberty to levy *li-kin* at any rate they might think proper. In 1897 the Chinese Government could give notice of a revision of the Tariff and Commercial Regulations under the Treaty of Tientsin, to take effect from 1898. They would then be at liberty to raise the import duty to any rate they think fit, or to include opium in the category of contraband, as ammunition and salt are included under the existing provisions. With regard to the future, we have the declaration of Sir James Fergusson, as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, made in the House of Commons on April the 10th, 1891 :—

“ That if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or to shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend £. in powder or shot, or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force opium upon the Chinese.”

146. We come, therefore, to the conclusion that at the present time there is nothing in the attitude of the British Government that can fairly be described as forcing opium on the Chinese.

147. We now return to the general results of our inquiry. We have pointed out that the evidence as to physical and moral injury caused by the consumption of opium by the Chinese is conflicting, and we are of opinion that to stop the trade in Bengal opium would have no practical result in reducing the use of the drug. We are satisfied that the place of the Bengal opium would be taken either by Chinese-grown produce or by that from Malwa or other countries. As to the amount of home-grown opium in China, it is impossible to obtain accurate statistics ; by some witnesses it has been stated to be five times the amount of the imported drug ; by others it is placed at a smaller amount. From the Consular Reports, however, we gather that the poppy is cultivated in 16 out of the 18 provinces of the Empire, that its cultivation is increasing, and that the produce has completely driven the Indian article out of many parts of China. The importation of the latter, accordingly, is diminishing, and, except in certain coast provinces and in the Treaty Ports, its use is chiefly confined to the upper classes. In the third Section of our Report we have shown that it is impossible for the British Government, consistently with its position as Paramount Power in India, to stop the export of Malwa opium, which constitutes more than a third of the whole export from India,† and it is certain that if the Government were to stop the export of Bengal opium, the production and export of Malwa opium would be proportionately increased. It may be added that Persian opium already competes seriously with that from India in some provinces. The Financial and Commercial Returns published by the Government of India in 1894 (p. 67) show that in 1893 about 12,000 chests of Persian and Turkish opium were imported into China. It is reported by the Consuls that in Formosa the Indian opium has been almost completely superseded by the supply from those countries.

* Given as the 30th September in Return, C. 4448 (5 of 1885).

† Average of last 10 years : Bengal, 52,000 chests ; Malwa, 33,000.

148. Upon the whole matter, we adopt as our own the conclusions of Mr. O'Connor, V. p. 229. Your Majesty's Minister at Peking :--

"If the use of the drug in China depended upon the supply received from India, it might be a practical question what measures could or ought to be taken to discourage its importation. But, in my opinion, this is not the issue. The quantity of opium produced in China is increasing enormously; even the nominal prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy no longer exists throughout, I may say, the whole Empire; and were the importation of Indian opium to be stopped, China would, in a few years, so increase her production as not only to supply her own wants, but probably to export opium to foreign countries."

149. We may add that this view is shared by most of the missionaries who have answered our interrogatories. We quote the following replies to our question: "If the supply of Indian opium were cut off, what would be the effect on opium-consumers in China?" The Rev. Dr. Dudgeon :--

"At present it would be without any effect; the smokers would smoke more of the native." (V. p. 230.)

Dr. Atterbury :--

"The stoppage of the Indian supply would lead to increased use of the native article." (V. p. 232.)

The Rev. Dr. Griffith Johns :--

"The opium-consumers in that case would resort to the Chinese-grown opium, that is, unless the growth of the native article were effectually stopped by the Chinese Government." (V. p. 265.)

The Rev. J. Macintyre :--

"We are already independent of Indian opium in Manchuria. The Chinese article has run out the foreign. Now that the Chinese Government has legalised the growth of native opium, the quantity cultivated is already more than suffices for local consumption." (V. p. 272.)

SECTION V:

FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS. ✓

150. In dealing with the subject before us, it is evident that great weight must be attached to financial considerations. We have to consider not only the actual loss of revenue, but also the collateral expenditure that would be necessary, first, in the direction of maintaining an effective system of preventing illicit production and sale of opium, and, secondly, by way of compensation to various interests concerned in the British Provinces and the Protected States of India. Each of these points will be treated in succession.

Direct loss
or revenue.

II. 341.

151. As regards the direct loss of revenue we have before us a comprehensive statement furnished by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Finance and Commerce, showing for the last 14 years the gross and net revenue derived from opium, whether under the head of Opium or Excise. For the last year of the series, 1893-94, the Budget Estimate alone was available at the time the figures were compiled. The information thus provided is summarised in the following statement:—

TABLE 13, showing REVENUE from OPIUM between 1880-1 and 1893-4.

Head of Account.	1880-81.	1893-94 (Budget Estimate.)	Averages.			
			1880-81 to 1883-84.	1884-85 to 1888-89.	1889-90 to 1893-94.	1880-81 to 1893-94.
REVENUE.						
CREDITED TO OPIUM :—	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
(a.) Bengal sales -	7,683,558	5,463,000	7,210,759	6,183,398	5,978,476	6,403,743
(b.) Malwa Pass-duty -	2,526,236	1,645,000	2,403,732	2,360,464	1,758,243	2,157,748
(c.) Cost of Excise opium -	225,046	199,000	202,545	197,108	212,001	203,980
(d.) Miscellaneous -	45,211	9,200	32,611	14,978	8,079	17,552
TOTAL, OPIUM -	10,480,051	7,316,200	9,849,647	8,755,948	7,956,799	8,783,023
CREDITED TO EXCISE :—						
(a.) License fees -	213,648	241,595	234,211	252,165	262,677	250,789
(b.) Profit on opium issued -	553,191	669,589	602,070	657,498	718,680	663,512
(c.) Punjab acreage duty -	3,076	3,000	3,969	3,327	3,772	3,592
TOTAL, EXCISE -	769,915	914,184	839,979	912,990	985,129	917,890
TOTAL REVENUE -	11,249,966	8,230,384	10,689,626	9,668,938	8,941,928	9,700,916
EXPENDITURE.						
UNDER OPIUM :—						
(a.) Bengal -	2,026,411	2,250,000	2,052,808	2,748,393	1,896,125	2,245,273
(b.) Malwa -	1,917	3,900	2,023	3,714	3,862	3,283
TOTAL, OPIUM -	2,028,408	2,253,900	2,054,831	2,752,107	1,899,987	2,248,556
UNDER EXCISE -	9,505	8,180	8,467	6,512	8,003	7,603
REFUNDS -	109	100	760	170	63	300
EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND -	106	1,100	1,227	3,064	1,057	1,822
TOTAL EXPENDITURE -	2,038,128	2,263,280	2,065,285	2,761,853	1,909,110	2,258,281
NET REVENUE -	9,211,838	5,967,104	8,624,341	6,907,085	7,032,818	7,442,635

152. The net revenue from opium, on an average of the 14 years, as shown in the last column of the above table, is Rx. 7,442,635. During the last five years, however, the average has been only Rx. 7,032,818. For the year 1893-4 this revenue, according to the Budget Estimate, was Rx. 5,967,104, and according to the Revised Estimate presented to Parliament in April, 1894, was considerably less. It was affected, amongst other causes, by a fall in prices following upon the closing of the Indian mints, but later reports show that this fall was of a temporary character, that prices

in Calcutta have again risen, that it has consequently been possible to increase the rate of pass duty on Malwa opium,* and that there is a prospect of a larger revenue for the current financial year.

153. Into the details of Indian finance it is neither our wish nor our duty to enter. The general position is ascertainable from statements presented to Parliament. We must, however, point out that opium is at the present time one of the largest sources of revenue to the Indian Government. The average figures for the last five years are given in the table below. We may further point out that, owing to various causes, notably to the necessity of discharging sterling obligations in a depreciated currency, the resources of the Indian Government are at the present moment strained to the utmost. The difficulty of increasing their revenue from any fresh sources of taxation is at present being illustrated by the efforts of the Indian Government to make up the existing deficit by the re-imposition of the cotton and other import duties. The contraction of expenditure imposed upon the Government by the present state of the public finances prevents them from providing funds for objects admitted on all sides to be important. The general development of the country is thus materially retarded, even with the existing revenue. It is hardly possible, therefore, to exaggerate the difficulties that would result from the curtailment of its resources to the extent involved in the abandonment of the receipts from opium, or to suggest any means by which the gap in its revenue could be filled up.

Importance of the opium revenue.

II. 2058, 2072.

TABLE 14, showing the AVERAGE NET REVENUE under the PRINCIPAL HEADS, for the five years ending 1893-4.

(Compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India up to 1892-3, and from the Budget Estimate for 1893-4.)

Heads of Revenue.						Net Revenue.	Per-centage on total Net Revenue.
						Rx.	
Land	-	-	-	-	-	20,517,972	40·87
Salt	-	-	-	-	-	3,028,861	16·00
Opium	-	-	-	-	-	7,032,820	14·01
Stamps	-	-	-	-	-	4,072,223	8·11
Excise	-	-	-	-	-	3,878,122	7·73
Provincial rates	-	-	-	-	-	3,502,292	6·98
Assessed taxes	-	-	-	-	-	1,603,297	3·19
Customs	-	-	-	-	-	1,460,182	2·91
Forests	-	-	-	-	-	664,471	1·32
Registration	-	-	-	-	-	188,025	0·38
Tribute from Native States	-	-	-	-	-	775,180	1·54
Total						51,723,445	103·04
Deduct assignments and compensation						1,520,415	3·04
Net Revenue						50,197,030	100·00

154. We have next to consider the indirect results upon the finances of India of the proposed prohibition of the production and sale of opium except for medical purposes. In the third Section of our Report we have given strong reasons for holding that the British Government cannot, with due regard to the obligations which regulate its relations with the Protected Chiefs, extend a measure of prohibition to their territories, or withdraw the right of transit of Malwa opium for export by sea. We assume, therefore, for the purposes of argument, that the measure in question would be introduced into British Provinces only, and that opium would accordingly continue to be produced in Native States. The establishment necessary to form a line between these States and British territory, in order to stop the introduction of opium into the latter, would be numerous and costly, while it would be vain to expect that it would be effective, though, no doubt, the prevention of the transit of opium, in large quantities, through British territory for export by sea would not be beyond the power of the Government of India. Some establishment also would be required especially in Bengal, to restrict the cultivation of the poppy in British territory, and to exercise those powers of search and of apprehension which would be necessary to prevent consumption for other than medical purposes. No approximate estimate of the cost of these measures has been presented to us.

Indirect loss of revenue:—
(1.) on account of cost of preventive measures.

* Gazette of India Notification of the 11th December 1894.

(2.) On account of compensation to interests in British Provinces.

II. 5306, 5567, 6271.

III. 11,420.

II. 5305.

III. 10,795, 10,843, 10,965, 11,129, 12,175, 12,346, 12,375, 13,693.

III. 14,363 14,397, 19,459.

II. 5251, p. 400 (map).
III. 11,322, 10,802, 10,815.

III. 13,694, 14,914, 19,535-41, V. p. 98.

e.g. Assam. II. p. 454.

IV. p. 512, (par. 12).

155. On the same assumption, there would arise the question of compensation payable to landowners and cultivators of the poppy in British Provinces. On this question we have received no direct expression of the views of the Government of India. The subject is an intricate one, and the evidence given before us was of a conflicting character. In the first place, the terms of assessment of the Government demand on account of Land Revenue differ in the different Provinces where the poppy is cultivated. In the districts under what is known as the Permanent Settlement, introduced by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, it seems clear that the landowners could have no claim to a reduction of their assessment in the event of poppy cultivation being prohibited. There is no doubt, however, that such a measure would reduce the profits of the large body of tenants who have hitherto been allowed to cultivate the poppy in these districts. The evidence given before us conclusively proves that to the smaller cultivators in particular, and to those who have no good market for garden crops, the advances and the fixed price obtained from Government for the crude opium are a valuable resource. Whether it would be necessary on equitable grounds to compensate these cultivators, is a difficult question upon which we are unwilling to express a decided opinion. We do not think that the landowners could be compelled to grant them reductions of rent. In the other Provinces periodical revisions of the assessment are carried out, and here the question stands on a rather different footing. It was stated before us by several Settlement Officers that, though the assessment is based in theory on the class of soil and existing rentals, not on the particular crop ordinarily grown, yet, practically, both the rentals and the classification of the soil are largely influenced by the crops which have been usually raised in the past. The general view, therefore, was that in estates where the cultivation of the poppy has hitherto been permitted, tenants' rents would have to be reduced, and the landowners would be equitably entitled to claim a reduction of their assessment to Land Revenue. Neither landowners nor tenants would be compensated fully by such reduction. It may be noted that the districts where the poppy is cultivated are the most densely populated in India, and it was confidently stated that the effect of prohibition on the poorer class of cultivators, in particular, would be that they would be reduced to a still lower condition of life. The Settlement Officers of Lucknow and Rai Bareilly roughly estimated the reduction of Land Revenue which would be effected in those districts, at Rupees 100,000 and Rupees 200,000 respectively. On the other hand, it is certain that poppy cultivation has in the past been prohibited, and payment of compensation in several Provinces, and also, from time to time, in different districts of Bengal and the North-west Provinces. It should be added, however, that in the case of the Central Provinces, where poppy cultivation was prohibited in 1878, it has been found, in the course of the revision of assessments now in progress, that the rents for land formerly under that crop had been allowed to remain too high. These rents have therefore had to be reduced, and this has involved a reduction of the Land Revenue demand.

Our general conclusion, therefore, is, that the sudden discontinuance of the cultivation of a crop which occupies so high a place in agricultural economy cannot fail to be productive of very great hardship to the community. We do not consider that the Government could justly issue an order of prohibition in periodically re-settled tracts, where the poppy had previously been grown under State licence, without allowing to the landowners some reduction of the State demand, on the condition that a proportionate reduction should be made in the rent charged by them to their tenants. The extent of such compensation could only be ascertained after a minute inquiry by officers familiar with the local Land Revenue system and administrative arrangements. It would be obviously beyond the province of Your Commissioners to frame an estimate of the amount that would have to be abated from the current demand on the considerations above mentioned.

Indirect loss of revenue on account of compensation to various interests in the Protected States.

156. Assuming, however, that it were possible to interfere in the Protected States, either by the prohibition of production or by the stoppage of transit of Malwa opium for export by sea, a second case for compensation would arise on behalf of the Chiefs, cultivators, and other interests in the Protected States where the poppy is now cultivated or opium is consumed. We have referred to this subject in the third Section of our Report. It was there made clear that in none of the cases where the question is of great importance to the State, either socially or financially, does the Chief show any disposition to regard pecuniary compensation as an equivalent for the curtailment of his privileges. The loss likely to result from the prohibition was estimated before us by the representatives of the States of Rajputana and Central

India at Rx. 2,977,790 and Rx. 1,602,370 respectively, a large proportion being in the form of an annual payment. There are, no doubt, items in these statements which would be considered inadmissible, if the matter came to be regarded in the light of a formal and definite claim. The details would, necessarily, have to be scrutinised and checked by those well acquainted with the administration and general circumstances of those States, after an exhaustive local investigation. So far as the present inquiry is concerned, we find that in the case of these claims the detail of the estimate is too great and the ground to be covered is too wide for us to attempt to reduce the statement of possible loss to figures. We have ample reason, however, for concluding that the amount of the claims that would inevitably find place in any award based on the liberal terms that, in the circumstances, would have to be adopted, could not fail to be a serious additional strain on the financial resources of India.

III. 18,72.
Vol. IV.,
App. IV.
and XI.

157. We have not considered it necessary to call upon the Government of India to furnish us with any statement or suggestion as to the means by which the loss of the revenue from opium could be supplied, or the sources from which funds could be provided for additional preventive establishments and for satisfying the large claims for compensation that would have to be accepted. We may quote, however, the following from the evidence of Sir David Barbour, Financial Member of the Governor General's Council on the subject:—

Difficulty of finding means to replace the opium revenue.

"We may fairly take the total *net* revenue from opium at Rx. 6,000,000 yearly at the present time. I have no hesitation in saying that it would be impossible to carry on the administration of India if the revenue was reduced by Rx. 6,000,000. As it is, there is considerable difficulty in making revenue balance expenditure; and for my part I would positively refuse to attempt the task if the revenue were reduced by Rx. 6,000,000. Some revenue could, of course, be raised by additional taxation, but not Rx. 6,000,000. I have no doubt that the people in this country would bear some additional taxation, if the taxation were imposed in consequence of some disaster which we could not have avoided; but the imposition of heavy or perhaps of any considerable amount of taxation on the people of India, in order to make good the loss of revenue caused by interference with the consumption or export of opium, would cause most serious discontent among the people of India. I should be most unwilling to face the consequences of taxation imposed for such a purpose.

II. 2058.

* * * * *

There is one other consideration that has been put forward as regards the loss of revenue, that if the export of opium from India were prohibited, the measure might be spread over a series of years, say, 30, so that the loss of revenue would be gradual and Indian revenue and expenditure would have time to adjust themselves to the altered conditions. Against that proposal I desire to protest in the strongest terms. It would throw on posterity a burden which we are unable and unwilling to take upon ourselves, and there is no good reason to suppose that posterity will be in a better position to bear the burden than we are."

We may quote, also, from the evidence of Mr. R. Steel, representing the Bengal Chamber of Commerce:—

II. p. 160.

(5753.) "I have not been concerned in any way in the opium trade to China."

(5755.) "On the financial position the commercial community consider that it is impossible for us to do without the opium revenue; that no substitute can be found for it. They consider that it would be bitterly resented by all classes throughout India if an attempt were made to take away the opium revenue."

(5762.) "I should view any substantial change in the policy of the Government in relation to the opium revenue with great regret. In my opinion, any proposal to do away with the opium revenue would be met by such a tremendous agitation throughout India that no responsible Government would venture to go on with it."

The evidence of the Honourable Mr. Macdonell, President of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and member of the Legislative Council of the Governor of Bombay, is as follows:—

IV. p. 314.

(27,839.) "My firm is not interested in buying or selling opium; we have nothing to do with it as merchants."

(26,841.) "In the last three years the annual average of the exports (of opium) was Rx. 9,250,000. It is one of the largest trades in the country. It is an extremely important trade, and if at one blow you sweep it away, you must destroy the livelihood of the very large number of people who are engaged in it."

(26,848.) "It would be possible by doubling the salt tax to make up for the loss of revenue which would arise from the prohibition of opium; but that, I take it, would be considered an extremely harsh measure, as affecting the very poorest classes throughout the length and breadth of India."

(26,850.) "There are only two new taxes I have seen suggested—taxes on tobacco and sugar. But there, again, arises a difficulty. You grow these articles all over India, and the cost of preventive measures would be so great that the taxes would be unworkable."

It is clear that the required amount could only be obtained by an addition to the taxation of the country of a nature to reach down to the masses. The evidence as to the disposition of the people in regard to this point is discussed in the next Section of our Report. It may be considered unanimously adverse to the imposition upon India of the cost, either wholly or in any part, of the prohibitive measures which have been proposed.

Suggestions
in relief
of the
financial
difficulty.

II. 2572-8.

II. 2073-6,
5760.

5782-4.

IV. 26,867-9,
26,856.

II. 2070.

158. We proceed to consider a suggestion which has been made as a set-off to the financial difficulty. It has been pressed upon us by some witnesses, favourable to prohibition, that the direct loss occasioned to the Indian finances by the discontinuance of the production and sale of opium would in all probability have a very beneficial effect on raising the gold value of silver, by stopping the drain of that metal from China to India, in payment for the opium sent from the latter country. This argument will be taken for what it is worth by experts in problems of currency and finance. We can only point out that it finds no support in the evidence given before us by Sir David Barbour, as representing the Government of India, and by the representatives of the chief mercantile bodies of Calcutta and Bombay. Mr. Macdonell stated that the opium crop constitutes about one-tenth of the entire exports from India, and Sir David Barbour, speaking of the effect of the stoppage of the opium exports upon the balance of trade and the question of exchange, expressed the following views:—

“ Apart from the question of losing revenue which at present I can see no means of replacing, the destruction, or serious reduction, of one of the most valuable articles of our export trade would have consequences on the rate of exchange which might prove disastrous at a time when we are attempting to introduce a gold standard into India. The success of that measure depends very largely upon the proportion which is maintained between Indian exports and imports, and anything which would materially reduce our exports would have injurious consequences, and might produce evils which would prove irreparable * * * * * I have served for thirty years in India; I have been connected with the Finance Department for more than twenty-one years; I was a member of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver which sat in England for two years, and I have made a special study of the Exchange question; and I wish to give this Commission the most solemn warning as to the probable consequences of destroying the Indian opium revenue * * * * * My connexion with India and with the Government of India will come to a close before another week has passed, and I desire to place this deliberate opinion on record as the outcome of experience which, I think I may fairly say, is of its kind not surpassed by that of any other living Indian official.”

I. p. 163-4.

II. 2116,

2467,

2561-9,

2733,

III. 12,548

-50, 13,957

14,760-67,

18,308.

159. There is an alternative method of supplying the Government of India with the requisite funds on which we think it desirable to record some observations, although the subject does not fall within the Order of Reference. It has been suggested by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and the suggestion was referred to on several occasions in evidence before us, that the Exchequer of the United Kingdom might come to the aid of the Government of India in meeting the loss of revenue which would arise out of the prohibition of the production and sale of opium for other than medical purposes. We have no official statement on the part of the Society of the extent to which, in its opinion, the Home Treasury should contribute towards the cost of carrying out that measure. As to the disposition of the British Government towards such a proposal we have only the evidence of the reply given to the deputation from the Anti-Opium Society in November, 1892, by Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India:—

“ I am bound to say that I have not the slightest reason to suppose that there will be any disposition on the part of the Treasury to place a heavy burden upon the taxpayers of this country, for the purpose indicated. I do not think there is any warrant for this. I am speaking as the Minister responsible for India, now, and I do not think that such a proposition to the Treasury, no matter what the Government in power, would be likely to meet with a favourable response.”

SECTION VI.

THE QUESTION OF PROHIBITION. ✓

160. The Order of Reference shows that the main question we have to answer, to which all the rest are subservient or subsidiary, is that of prohibition. This may, we think, be formulated as follows:—

(I.) What is the weight of the moral objections urged against the system by which the Indian opium revenue is at present raised; and are those objections so strong as to make it advisable, having due regard to political, financial, and administrative obstacles, to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India, except for medical purposes? The question formulated.

(II.) If prohibition were adopted in British India, could it be extended to the Protected States?

(III.) If prohibition could not be extended, then, on what terms, if any, could the existing arrangements with certain States for the transit through British territory of Malwa opium be with justice terminated?

Of these three questions, the second and third, which are subsidiary to the first, have been already dealt with in our third Section, because the answer to them depends directly upon the history of the Malwa opium system, and the relations of the Protected States to the Government of India which are there described. It will be useful, however, to give here a brief summary of the conclusions at which we have arrived.

A.—PROHIBITION IN THE CASE OF THE PROTECTED STATES.

161. As to the extension to the Protected States of the prohibition of the growth of poppy and manufacture and sale of opium except for medical purposes, we found it proved that the Rulers of those States are not prepared, of their own free will, to follow the example of the Government of India in such a policy. To attempt to impose prohibition authoritatively would be a breach of the well-understood limitations of the right of the Paramount Power to interfere in matters of internal administration. We find no precedent which makes the opium question an exception to the general rule. It is true that the Government of India has from time to time used its influence and its opportunities to induce certain States to prohibit production of opium, and the transit of Malwa opium through their territories and to make other internal arrangements in support of the system of opium excise prevailing in adjacent British districts. They, however, are States in which opium has never been produced in considerable quantities, and the special arrangements rest upon Treaties or Agreements whereby a supply of opium from outside is secured for the internal consumption of the States, and for the realisation by the Chiefs of an excise revenue from their subjects. If that supply were to be cut off or restricted, the Chiefs would cease to be bound by these Agreements, and many of them have taken care to have it asserted before us that such is their view of the position. No grounds for authoritative prohibition.

162. Nor did we find anything which could justify the British Government in making a new departure or creating a new precedent towards the Protected States in connexion with the policy of prohibition. We are satisfied that the opium habit, even in the States where it is most prevalent and where there is no restriction, cannot be said to be causing extensive moral or physical degradation. In the States where the consumption is large, the habit is of long standing, and is often connected with old social or religious observances; but even in these States the tendency of the present day is not towards increase. The imitation of European manners, and the diminishing force of religious commandments and tribal customs, due to English education, tend to make alcohol more popular as a stimulant with those who set the fashion to the rising generation.

163. Even if authoritative prohibition had been shown to be desirable, the difficulties in the way of enforcement are, we believe, insurmountable. There is no class in these States in favour of prohibition whose goodwill would support the Government of India in such a stretch of its authority. On the contrary, the measure would be resented by Chiefs and subjects alike, even in the States where the opium habit is not common or where the drug is not extensively produced. In such circumstances it is highly improbable that prohibition, if imposed, would be effectually enforced, even though establishments were maintained by the Government of India for inspection and for detection of breaches of the law. The Government of India would be obliged to Enforcement of prohibition impracticable.

compel the Ruler of the State, not only to enact laws to punish the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium, but also to make his courts enforce such laws. For these reasons we came to the conclusion that the policy of prohibition in the Protected States is impracticable.

Stoppage of transit of Malwa opium for export by sea not justifiable.

164. As to the further question, on what terms, if any, the existing arrangements with certain States for the transit of Malwa opium through British territory for export by sea could, with justice, be terminated, our conclusions were as follows: We found that the trade was of old standing, long antecedent to British rule in India, and that its stoppage would impose serious loss and trouble on the Rulers of the States and upon great numbers of their landowners, cultivators, bankers, and merchants. We held, therefore, that the right of transit could not now be withdrawn with justice, except by voluntary agreement with the States, which, if obtained at all, would involve payment by the Government of India of large pecuniary compensation to the Chiefs and their subjects, in addition to the direct loss of about Rx. 2,000,000 of revenue from transit duty.

Would lead to extensive smuggling into British territory.

165. There is a further consideration to which much weight must be attached, namely, that if the transit of Malwa opium to the sea for export were stopped, without the enforcement in the States concerned of the prohibition of production and internal consumption, it would be a matter of the greatest difficulty, if not of impossibility, to prevent extensive smuggling into British territory. Even at present, with the legitimate outlets afforded by the sea trade and by the demand to meet the consumption of a large part of British India and of many Protected States, there is considerable smuggling of Malwa opium into British Provinces. With all legitimate outlets closed this smuggling would, no doubt, greatly increase, and the present co-operation on the part of the Native Rulers could no longer be relied on. The Government of India might possibly succeed in stopping the exit of opium in chests or packages suitable for shipping, but it would be impracticable to prevent a vast number of small parcels from entering British districts from every side, except by the permanent employment, for a long period, of an enormous protective establishment.

Examination of moral objections to the export trade in Malwa opium.

166. The moral objections which have been raised to the export of the Malwa opium, rest upon the assertion that the habit of smoking opium which prevails in China and other parts of the Far East, causes extensive moral and physical degradation. We have reviewed the evidence on this point in the fourth section of our Report, and have agreed that the effects of the use and abuse of opium in China are fairly comparable with those of intoxicating liquors in England. Such effects do not, in our opinion, constitute an objection to the Malwa export trade which makes it morally incumbent upon the rulers of the Protected States to put a stop to what is a private industry. The attitude of the Government of India towards the trade is purely restrictive. It imposes as high a transit duty as the trade can bear. It must be remembered, that in the similar case of the export of alcoholic liquors from England by manufacturers and merchants, no check is exercised, and no duty is imposed.

B.—PROHIBITION IN THE CASE OF BRITISH PROVINCES.

The moral objections to the export trade in Bengal opium.

I. 5, 106.

II. 2771, 2461.

167. We now come to the question of prohibition in British Provinces. We think it can be most conveniently treated by dealing first with the export trade in Bengal opium, and afterwards with the consumption of opium in India. The moral objections to the present system, so far as the export trade in Bengal opium is in question, are, first, the effects in China, which we have considered in the preceding paragraph, and, secondly, the fact that the Bengal opium exported to China and elsewhere, is manufactured and sold to the exporting merchants by officers of the Government of India. It is not considered right that the Government should have any connexion with the export of a drug which is believed to have evil results, or that India should derive revenue from what is said to be injurious to China.

Examination of these objections.

168. It is evident that the position of the Government of India in relation to the trade in Bengal opium is to some extent invidious. But so long as the importation of Indian opium is allowed by the Chinese Government, and is not imposed upon it by intimidation or pressure of any kind, we are not of opinion that the objection based upon the effects of the opium habit in China, or upon the peculiar relations of the Government of India with the trade, are, from a moral standpoint, sufficiently strong to call for interference on the part of the British Government. If the Government of India maintains a restrictive attitude to the export of Indian opium by taxing the Malwa drug, and by limiting the amount of Bengal opium put on the market, and so keeping the price high, we think its position is defensible, and that with

reference to its duties to the people of India it cannot be justly required to go further and to extinguish the trade. In regard to the admission of Indian opium, China is now, at all events, a perfectly free agent. The Convention of 1885, by which the trade is now regulated, is based on principles specifically proposed by the Chinese Minister who conducted the negotiations, as being those most favoured by the Court of Peking. It contains all the provisions which the Chinese Government had pressed upon that of Great Britain, and, in the words of the Marquis Tseng,* those provisions "find their strongest guarantee in the moral obligation imposed upon his Government by the consideration that the arrangement was of that Government's own proposing." Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for India, in announcing to the Government of India his acquiescence in the terms proposed by the Chinese, gave one of his reasons for so doing in the following words:—

Marquis Tseng's Mem., No. 29, of 12th March 1883. Do., do. Mem. of 30th Sept. 1884. China, 5, of 1885 (C. 4448).

VII. p. 215.

"6. Finally, the Anti-Opium agitation in this country, already serious, and likely to be yet more formidable in a new House of Commons, is a factor in the present question to be taken into grave consideration. For some time past, the leaders of that movement in Parliament have been chiefly insisting upon the injustice of preventing China from doing what she desires as regards the taxation of Indian opium. If the present Chinese proposals are accepted, the answer to this argument will be obvious and conclusive. You will observe that the Chinese Minister's Memoranda of March 12th, 1883, and of September 27th last,* admit unreservedly that the Agreement now under negotiation is of the Chinese Government's own proposing and includes all that they desire."—*Desp. No. 7 of 22nd January 1885.*

It may be added that there is no evidence from China of any popular desire that the import of Indian opium should be stopped.

169. But even if the objections to the trade with China were stronger than they are, there are many and great obstacles to the abandonment by the Government of India of their present position. We have shown, in the fifth Section of our Report, that the financial results to India of the withdrawal from the production and sale for export of Bengal opium would be disastrous. Amongst the people of India there is no party in favour of the surrender of the profits of the opium monopoly for the sake of a problematical benefit to China. The stoppage of the cultivation of the poppy, which now supplies the export trade, would be highly unpopular amongst the large number of industrious and skilful cultivators who have for generations looked upon the crop as affording them the means of employing a small portion of their holding to the best advantage, and enabling them to make a decent livelihood without the necessity of placing themselves in the clutches of a usurious money lender.

Financial and political objections to withdrawal from the export trade.

10,797, 10,873, 10,949, 11,002, 11,117, 11,329, 11,415, 12,513, 12,893, 19,781-5.

170. There is another practical and weighty consideration which has been placed prominently before us by a unanimity of testimony which it is impossible to disregard. So far as the main object of the prohibition is concerned, all our evidence is to the effect that the withdrawal of the Bengal supply of opium would have no lasting result whatever. The whole quantity of this opium is only a small part of the total consumed in China. Its use is confined to certain classes and to a few special localities, and is unknown to the majority of the consumers. We have already given our reasons for holding that interference is uncalled for and impracticable in the case of the Protected States of India, and the whole China demand for the Indian article could be met by Malwa, without an ounce of Bengal opium leaving the country. Failing Malwa, Persia and Asia Minor are prepared to fill the gap left in a market in which they have long had a considerable foothold. The main competitor, however, is the home-grown produce of China itself. According to the evidence we have received from China, the withdrawal of Indian competition would only result in an increased stimulus to the cultivation of the poppy, the improvement of the manufacture, and the attempt by the Government to put heavier taxation on the native drug in order to make up for the loss of import duty and *li-kin* on the Indian article. For all these reasons we consider that no case is made out for prohibiting the export trade in Bengal opium.

Withdrawal would have no practical effect on consumption in China.

Decennial Consular Reports, 1892, pp. 49, 176, 300, 449, 642, &c.

Statistics of Government of India, 1894, p. 61. Decennial Consular Rep., pp. 12, 34, 50, 88, 137, 609 V. pp. 233, 243, 257, 265, 266, 268, 284, 287, 296, 301, 307, 313, 341, 232, 273, 293, 284.

171. There are two arguments which have often been used in favour of prohibition of the export of Indian opium to which we have not referred, but which must, we think, be noticed. The first is, that the stoppage of the export of Indian opium to China would set free large sums of Chinese money, which sums would probably be applied in part to the purchase of English manufactures. This argument was prominently used in the House of Commons on the 10th April 1891, and again on the 30th June 1893. Mr. David McLaren, the President of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce, addressed his evidence before us mainly to the same point, and admitted

Consideration of two special arguments for withdrawal.

Hansard, 352, p. 209, Debates XIV., p. 599.

I. 1791, 1840, 1856.

* This is quoted as the Memo. of the 30th September in the Parliamentary Return C.—4448.

that he expected that the commercial gain would be to England and the loss to India. We fail to see that any increase in purchase by China of English manufactures would actually result from the measure. As we have just said, we have evidence of a unanimous kind from China, which seems to us to prove that the money would simply go to buy more Chinese and more Persian, Turkish, or other non-Indian foreign opium. We think it right, however, to remark that, if prohibition of export of opium to China was imposed on India with any reference to this argument, it would be only just that England should make good the loss of revenue. As, moreover, this argument has been put forward prominently, it seems certain that, if prohibition were to be imposed by England, it would be difficult to disabuse the people of India of the belief that this consideration was the main ground of the measure.

L. 217, 335, 393.
I. p. 164-5.
Hansard, 68.
Hansard, 391.
Hansard, 325.
Hansard, 1160-62.
Debates, XIV.,
p. 613.

172. The second argument is, that the opium habit and the connexion of the British Government with the opium trade are impediments to the conversion to Christianity of the Natives of China. We are not agreed in thinking this assertion proved. The evidence before us from China on the point is conflicting, though the majority of the missionaries support the statement. In any case, it is not an argument with which we can expect the Natives of India to sympathise, or to which they would admit the right of the British Government to attach weight, unless England were prepared to bear the cost.

Moral objections to present system of opium administration in British India.
Sect. VIII.

173. We have finally to estimate the weight of the moral objections to the present system so far as it relates to the use of opium by the population of British India, and to consider the obstacles to the proposal to prohibit the production and consumption of opium in British India except for medical purposes. We exclude from the scope of this inquiry the province of Burma, where the conditions of the question are so different from those in the rest of the country that we have decided to discuss them in a separate Section. The moral objections to the system with which we have here to deal are the same as those which we have already had occasion to mention in connexion with the export trade, namely, the alleged deleterious effects of the opium habit on the consumer, leading to his moral and physical degradation, and the position of the Government as manufacturer of the Bengal drug and supplier of the retail vendors. We have stated our conclusions as to the weight of the first objection in our second Section, and the subject has been fully discussed from a medical point of view by our colleague, Sir William Roberts in his Memorandum. Those conclusions, put briefly, are, that while almost everywhere in India, opium is the common domestic medicine of the people, the habit of using it as a stimulant for non-medical or quasi-medical purposes, as alcohol is used in Europe, also prevails extensively in many places, and among some of the leading races of India. As regards the use as a stimulant, we found that the common practice of taking the drug in pills or infusions is of old standing, and is generally followed in moderation and without injurious consequences, moral or physical. There are, no doubt, cases of excess, as with all stimulants, but they are not frequent, and the effects in such cases are not so bad physically or morally, as those of excess in alcohol are in India. As to the quasi-medical habit, the evidence of the medical witnesses led us to the conclusion, that in the circumstances of India in respect to climate, diet, mode of living, and medical aid, this use is probably, on the whole, beneficial. We did not find it proved that the use of opium promotes, crime, suicide, insanity, or abnormal infant mortality.

L. 1144.
II. 2987.

174. The second objection refers to the position of the Government of India as manufacturer and supplier of Bengal opium for consumption in India. On this point we must begin by remarking that it is now generally admitted that the limitation of cultivation and the monopoly of manufacture and wholesale supply, which the Government of India enforces through the Bengal Opium Department, practically constitute the most restrictive position, short of prohibition, which the Government can adopt towards internal consumption. In the second place, it must be observed that while in the greater part of the Bengal Presidency the Government manufactures the opium locally consumed, this is not the case in the other parts of British India. In the Punjab, Belochistan, Ajmer, Coorg, and the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the Government has nothing to do with the growth or manufacture of the drug, and only taxes and regulates the consumption as it does in the case of alcohol. As to the regulation of consumption in British India, we have given a general description of the rules and the statistics of the number of shops allowed, and of the consumption, in the second Section of our Report. Having come to the conclusion that the use of opium cannot be regarded in India as less legitimate than that of alcohol, we consider, that from this point of view, the excise regulations, at present in force in respect to opium, are highly restrictive.

175. In the two preceding paragraphs we have given our reasons for the conclusion, that the moral objections which can be urged against the present system are not of such weight as to require the prohibition of production and sale except for medical use. We need not, therefore, discuss at great length the obstacles which would stand in the way of enforcing such a policy in British India. If we are right in concluding that it would be impossible to extend prohibition to the Protected States, it is evident that the difficulty of preventing extensive smuggling into British territory would be immense. As regards the financial difficulty, we may point out that the direct loss due to the attempt to limit the consumption in British districts to that required for medical use cannot be estimated, as it would depend upon many circumstances, but it would no doubt be considerable; and the cost of large preventive establishments to keep out smuggled opium would have to be added.

Financial and administrative obstacles to policy of prohibition in British India.

176. A serious obstacle in the way of prohibition is the practical difficulty of carrying out that policy. It is obviously out of the question for a Government to accept a scheme which it would be impossible to enforce. This, however, is the case with the measure we are now considering. The suggestion, it should be borne in mind, is, that production should be limited to the quantity necessary for medical use in India. As to the dispensing of the drug, we may take as an authoritative exposition of the view of those who make the suggestion, the memorial of the Anti-Opium Society to Lord Kimberley in November 1892, in which it is demanded—

Enforcement of prohibition impracticable.

I. p. 163.

“That discretionary powers for its sale should be entrusted to responsible and carefully selected persons who possess adequate knowledge of the deleterious properties of the drug, and who can be readily called to account for the improper use of the discretion conferred upon them, and whose remuneration in no degree depends upon the amount of their sales.”

The first observation we have to make in connexion with the scheme is, that one of the facts most clearly brought out in the evidence as regards the opium habit in India is, that no distinct line is drawn in popular opinion between the medical uses of the drug and those which cannot be strictly so called. In point of fact the two uses are so interwoven that even professional men of the same school of medicine would frequently disagree in attempting to discriminate between them, whilst between practitioners of different schools disagreement would constantly occur. The persons to whose discretion it is proposed to leave the decision must possess two main qualifications, first, adequate medical training, and secondly, integrity, so as to ensure that the discretion vested in them should be properly exercised. They would also have to be numerous, in order to supply the drug at once in case of sudden necessity, and to allow of doubtful applications being tested by personal inquiry. As to the classes in India from which an agency having the required qualifications could be recruited, the views of those who advocated the scheme were as divided as upon the question of what might and what might not be correctly termed medical purposes. The principle was formulated, indeed, but the means of applying it in practice were left undetermined.

e.g. 2514-5, 4341-8625, 9057, 10,570-9, 12,667, 13,035, 13,142-3, 15,535-6, 18,334, 19,066, 20,111, 20,150, 27,845.

177. It was suggested by some witnesses that opium should only be obtainable on the prescription of medical practitioners, qualified under the European system. This is to go beyond the existing practice in the United Kingdom and beyond the proposals of the Anti-Opium Society, and would be impracticable in the present conditions of India. It must be borne in mind that the population of the British Provinces is over 220 millions. The number of hospitals and dispensaries under European supervision in those provinces in 1893 was only 1,800, with an average daily attendance of patients numbering 94,000. European non-official practitioners are only found in the Presidency and Provincial capitals. The supply of Native medical men, trained under the European system, though much increased of late years, is still confined to the larger towns, or to the district head-quarters. The head of the Indian Medical Department told us that not one in five of the population ever sees a practitioner on that system during their whole lives. Another witness, who had enjoyed good opportunities of forming an opinion on this point, stated that three-fourths of the deaths occur without the invocation of any professional advice of any sort. In most households, domestic or traditional treatment is the rule, in consultation generally with relatives of the invalid. If professional medical aid be sought at all, the people who can afford it commonly resort to practitioners on the Vedic or Yunáni methods, who still command the confidence of great masses of their countrymen, and who are in the habit of freely recommending the use of opium. Failing these, recourse is had to exorcists, herbalists, and others, who have not the slightest claim to the possession of a knowledge of medicine. Some of the Vedic and Yunáni practitioners are hereditary physicians,

Want of medical agency.

e.g. 2674, 3060, 5343, 5918, 9351, 15,199, 18,927, 27,845.

Home Department statistics, 1894.

II. 2147.

II. 3535.

e.g. 442-6, 4472,
4519, 5849, 10,575-
80, 13,143, 14,540,
20,156, 13,153,
13,225, 14,670,
15,202, 17,968.

and have studied the system they practise, but all are self-appointed, and have undergone no test of qualification. The majority, as most of the advocates of prohibition admit, are not qualified by knowledge for the exercise of the discretion with which they would have to be invested, nor are they deemed sufficiently beyond reach of temptation to be entrusted with this responsibility. The same objections would apply to the lower class of Native practitioners trained on the European system even if this agency could be sufficiently multiplied.

Want of druggists.

e.g. 14,072, 17,961,
15,637, 15,658,
13,129, 14,544.

14,085, 18,927.

178. The suggestion that this duty should be entrusted, as in England, to licensed and qualified druggists, has also to be considered. On this we must observe that we have ample evidence that druggists, in the sense of chemists, are practically unknown except in the very largest cities and the cantonments of British troops. Regular druggists of the Native school are numerous enough in some large towns, but are rarely to be found in small towns and never in villages. The remarks we have made above as to the qualifications of the uncertificated practitioner apply with still greater force to the class of persons who, under the name of druggists, would be invested with a discriminating and discretionary power in dispensing opium. It was generally agreed that, looking to the wide use of opium as a stimulant in India, there would be no security that the drug could be restricted to medical purposes, whilst it would be certain that unscrupulous men would take advantage of the abundant opportunities that would be offered for enriching themselves at the expense of the community at large.

Regulation of sale of poisons.

e.g. 15,162, 15,543.

I. 7, 116-8.
II. 2491-2, 3387.
IV. 24,702-6.

179. It is relevant to this part of our subject to point out that the regulation of the sale of poisons long ago engaged the attention of the Government of India. In some of the Municipal Acts, indeed, provisions for this purpose have been included, and in a municipal town such sales can be efficiently supervised. Bombay, however, is the only province in which an Act of general application is in force. In 1866, when this local enactment came into operation, the opinion of other Governments and Administrations was not favourable to such a measure. In 1881, when the question of the use of certain poisons for criminal purposes came under consideration, Lord Ripon's Government held that the 15 years' experience in Bombay showed that regulation could only be effectual if made very stringent and far-reaching. No general enactment on the subject has, therefore, been passed. In the case of the poisonous substances specified in Part I. of Schedule A. of the English Pharmacy Act of 1868, it is very doubtful if the Act has been effective as regards opium in parts of the country where laudanum is in demand for other than medical uses. Still less would it be practicable to apply the provisions of an Act of this character to the sale of an article in such general use as the evidence before us proves opium to be in India.

Disposition of the people towards prohibition.

e.g. 8407, 8459,
8489, 8779, 16,225,
16,076, 19,044,
19,092, 13,230,
13,865, 14,770,
16,711, 17,658,
18,973, 17,516,
3185, 6104, 6225,
6378, 10,032,
13,237, 16,712,
18,117, 24,371.
18,325, 22,737,
24,027, 22,737,
22,787, 22,803,
23,616, 23,767,
24,015,
17,659.

180. The chief obstacle, however, to the enforcement of prohibition, is to be found in the disposition of the people of India, a matter on which we are specially required to report by the Order of Reference. From the evidence we have taken we are convinced that the great mass of Native opinion in British India is entirely opposed to the proposal, as an unnecessary restriction on individual liberty, and an interference with established Native habits and customs. We believe that even those who are not addicted to the opium habit, and who do not belong to the races which commonly use opium as a stimulant, regard the proposal with dislike and suspicion from this point of view. The use of alcohol is admitted by all Mahomedans and, with few exceptions, by all Hindus, to be directly prohibited by their religion. On the other hand, the use of opium is generally considered to be permissible by Hindus, and by all but a few Mahomedans in India. Many able and leading members of the Native community, Hindu and Mahomedan, not themselves addicted to the opium habit, expressed in their evidence an apprehension that prohibition of the non-medical use of opium would result in an extension of the consumption of alcohol. We cannot say that we think this apprehension unfounded, and it is clearly established by the evidence that, apart from the religious question, the Natives of India generally consider the use of alcohol to be more open to objection in itself, more likely to prove injurious physically and morally, and more disgraceful, when carried to excess, than the opium habit. As to the Rajputs and Sikhs, two of the most martial races in India, with whom the use of opium is more or less of a race custom, they would strongly resent the proposed measures. In India, alcohol is regarded as the national stimulant of Englishmen, and its use as permitted by the Christian religion. Exaggerated views prevail among Natives of India as to the extent to which the English use alcohol. It is natural, therefore, that Rajputs and Sikhs and other Indian races should question our right to prevent their using opium as a stimulant according to their customs, and

the feeling of resentment would be intensified among the Sikhs by the fact that they are debarred by their religion from the use of tobacco. We are confident that it would be politically unwise to enforce a measure which would have the effect of bringing into strong contrast the position of the Englishman, with regard to alcohol and tobacco, and that of the Sikh, cut off, as he would be, by a law of alien origin from a customary stimulant, unquestionably permitted by his religion.

181. There is no doubt a considerable minority among the people of India who disapprove in theory, and probably in practice, of all stimulants, including opium. The Indians generally are inclined to be thrifty and abstemious in matters of diet as compared with Europeans; by their religions, also, they are specially disposed to regard asceticism as a virtue, and to think that a man is morally defiled by what he eats and drinks. But the more responsible and representative witnesses of this class who came before us, while condemning the habit in a more or less decided way, did not give evidence in favour of the policy of prohibition except for medical purposes. We apprehend that they were deterred by anxiety as to the inquisitorial and punitive measures which repression would involve, and as to the financial results of that policy. We gather that, though they would approve on moral grounds of the supply being cut off if possible, yet the policy of repression by making indulgence in opium an offence punishable by the magistrate would not have their sympathy. Almost the only Native witnesses who went further than this belonged either to the Brahmo Somaj, a Bengali sect of about 3,000 adherents who are generally pledged to total abstinence, or to certain total abstinence associations which have been established to fight against intemperance in alcohol. A few Native Christians and a few other men who have received a European education may be added to the number. Almost all of these witnesses, however, qualified their acceptance of the policy of prohibition by stipulating that the cost should be met either by a subvention from the English Treasury or out of the existing revenue. We believe that the number of Natives of India who are willing to bear even in part the cost of prohibition, or who would support the proposal on that understanding, is exceedingly small.

182. It is a most significant fact that no organised body of the Natives of India, except some of those leagued together wholly or chiefly for the purpose of advocating total abstinence from stimulants, has declared itself in favour of the measure we are now discussing. The political associations springing up all over India, have refrained from committing themselves to the approval of such a policy. The influential body representing the upper classes in Bengal, known as the British Indian Association, opposed prohibition by memorial to the Government of Bengal, and some of its leading members appeared before us in support of that view. We must specially note the reticence of the Indian National Congress, a body which claims to represent the people of British India. This association has come to a definite conclusion on the subject of alcohol, but has never found it necessary to discuss that of opium. It is well known that friends of the Congress in England suggested that the opium question should be included in its programme, but this has not been done. This attitude of a body which has never shown itself backward in criticising the Government, or in adopting the suggestions of European reformers, affords conclusive proof that at all events the Congress considers opium a lesser evil than alcohol, and is not prepared to recommend a policy of prohibition. On this point we quote in full the answers of Mr. Jaishi-Ram, one of the chief representatives of the Congress in the Panjab. We believe he expresses the views which are held on the question by the great majority of the educated men not themselves addicted to the habit.

Question.

(18,614.) Looking at the subject with the eye of a moral reformer, what do you say as to the possibility of dealing with any of the evil results of the use of opium by legislative interference?

(18,615.) Will you justify that?

Answer.

I do not think there should be any legislative interference whatever.

My grounds are; in the first instance, people do not want it at all. Up to the present time there has been no representation on the part of the people that there should be any legislative interference; and, of course, if there be any legislative interference, it would be quite uncalled for. My second ground is, that it is not necessary; it is not called for at all; and it is interfering with the domestic lives of the people. It will certainly create disaffection. My third ground is, that, if there be any legislative interference, it will simply remain as a dead letter, because it must be allowed as medicine under any circumstances.

c. 6376, 5908.
18,142, 18,238,
24,597, 26,896,
27,316.

17,974, 20,009.

8972, 14,875,
15,608, 15,654,
11,705, 18,189,
8331, 9442-6,
9449, 9504,
23,455, 23,359,
15,532, 20,041,
2624-30, 20,119,
14,760-7, 18,308.

Attitude of
Indian
political
associations.

II. p. 313.

III. 14,789.
See "Abkari,"
Oct. 1893.

III. 13,260
14,783-9, 15,588-9,
16,724, 18,632.

Question.

(18,616.) Develop your views as to the practicability of that limitation?

(18,617.) You say if there has been no restriction on much more injurious things, why should there be legislative interference with regard to a less harmful thing?

(18,618.) We have had many witnesses before us who have practically recommend that there should be prohibition of the use of all stimulants excepting under medical advice: do you believe in the possibility of a policy of prohibition of all stimulants except for medical use?

(18,619.) You prefer to rely upon the cultivation of a wholesome popular sentiment upon this question, rather than recommend a restrictive policy by the Government, involving vexatious and harassing action by the police, and other consequences which you think would be disgraceful to the people: is that your view?

(18,620.) Have you any other ground?

Answer.

I think that the idea up to the present time is that it may be allowed as a medicine but disallowed otherwise. I do not think it will be practicable for the Government to look after the people when they are using it as medicine and when not: so that if there be any prohibitive legislation in any way it will remain simply a dead letter. My fourth ground is that there are a good many other things, such as *ganja* and *charas*; there has been no interference in those matters, and why should there be any in the case of opium?

That is my opinion. My fifth ground is this: if you remove opium, more or less, it will be superseded by liquors or other things which are really much more harmful with special reference to the climate of this country.

I think that none should be prohibited by the Government. These matters should be left entirely for the people themselves.

Yes.

My sixth ground is this: there are thousands of people who are now engaged in this cultivation and trade. If there be any prohibition or any legislative interference, the result will be that those people will in sudden be left entirely without occupation. They will raise an outcry certainly; and of course there will be some consequences which might turn out seriously. My next ground is, that it is a new departure altogether. There are a great many practices which exist in this country which are called vices, and they exist in other countries too, but with which no Government has interfered at all. It is an old established policy, and I do not see that there is any reason why there should be a departure in the case of opium.

III. 12,502-59.

*As an example of the opinions of a man holding a higher rank and more important position in the Congress movement, we quote the following from the evidence of the Honourable Raja Rampal Singh:—

Question.

(12,526.) I suppose there is a temperance party in India who would like to do away with all alcohol, opium, hemp, and everything?

(12,527.) Some of them?

(12,528.) There are some, but they are few?

Answer.

Alcohol of course; I never heard of opium and other things. But since the European abstainers have joined them, they are becoming converted to this faith.

Yes. Formerly I did not hear of it, but now I find some. The movement has entered a different phase.

They are very few.

Evidence of Europeans in India on the subject of prohibition.

£273, 2653, 2782,
11,018, 11,070-80;
14,943-5, 21,401,
21,410, 23,310,
23,333, 23,457.

Missionary statistics, 1890.

III. 12,809-12.
II. 438.
V. 138.
IV. 25,563.

17,157, 17,253,
16,925, 16,909,
5470, 8669, 8757.

183. On the subject of the disposition of the people of India the Indians themselves are the best witnesses. We think it right, however, to notice the opinions expressed by European witnesses in India on the question of the desirability and feasibility of prohibition except for medical purposes, and as to the way in which such a measure would be accepted by the masses of the Indian people. The only class which appeared in any considerable number before us to advocate the measure, and to declare that it could be enforced without causing discontent or political danger was that of the European and American missionaries. But though their number is far greater than that of witnesses of any other class presented on behalf of the Anti-Opium Society, we are bound to observe that these witnesses represent but very partially the general body of missionaries in India. They belong chiefly to American or Canadian denominations of the Methodist, Presbyterian, or Baptist churches, which contain little more than 7 per cent. of the total number of Protestant converts, and which are believed to make total abstinence a rule of church discipline. Their views are not shared by the members of other denominations who gave evidence before us, and are specifically disclaimed by missionaries and clergy of the Church of England which comprises between 50 and 60 per cent. of the Protestant community. The marked abstention from advocacy of the

measure on the part of the Roman Catholic and Syrian Churches, the oldest and largest in the country, which contain over 70 per cent. of the Christians of India, has also to be taken into consideration.

184. Irrespective, however, of the comparatively small extent to which the missionary witnesses in favour of prohibition represent their fellow labourers, we have had occasion to note the inadequate experience on which the opinion of some of these witnesses is based. We fully recognise the sincerity of their purpose, and there are no doubt, amongst them men who have given sufficient time and study to the subject to entitle their opinion to respect, but in many cases the witnesses had only short experience in India, and it would seem that their attention had not been directed to the effects of opium until a recent period and in connexion with the movement against its use in India. Dr. McKee stated plainly what many of the witnesses of the class to which he refers confirmed in their testimony before us, namely, that until special attention had been called to the matter, it had not forced itself upon the notice of missionary workers.

185. In considering the European opinion which has been expressed on the question of prohibition, we have to take into account the views of important classes, such as the leading mercantile bodies in India, the Chambers of Commerce of Bengal, Upper India, and Bombay, and the community of planters, who are necessarily in close contact with large classes of the Native community. These are emphatically adverse to the proposed restrictive measure. A number of Government officials, with long and varied experience of the country, also gave evidence to the same effect. Some of these occupy posts of the highest responsibility under the Crown, and cannot therefore be held to speak without due knowledge and deliberation. We quote, for example, from the testimony of Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh :—

Question.

14,888. * * * May I ask in what way an expression of popular opinion would be likely to occur in this country?

Answer.

I understand the President to mean an expression against opium; that if there had been a strong feeling against the use of opium there would have been a popular expression of that feeling. I think it would have come to light much in the same way as the agitation against cow-killing and so on comes to light. There would have been movements of the people. As I said before, I think the popular feeling of this country is much more felt than heard. The public opinion or popular feeling that you see in the newspapers may or may not be public opinion, but the real public opinion of the mass of the people, who have no means of making themselves heard, is always felt.

The same authority went further in expressing the opinion, that to fine and ultimately commit to gaol a very considerable number of people for what they would not regard as a crime, would cause great discontent. This opinion is confirmed by Sir Denis Fitzpatrick, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. He warned us that the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of opium would be a hazardous experiment, and would create an amount of discontent which the British Government could not afford to arouse. This deliberate opinion of high officials entrusted with the responsibility of governing between 60 and 70 millions of Your Majesty's subjects in India is corroborated by the great mass of the evidence given by private individuals and officials, by Europeans as well as Natives of the country.

186. The conclusions at which we have arrived in this Section of our Report, may be summed up as follows:—The moral and physical effects of the opium habit in British India and the Protected States are not of such a character as to call for the enforcement of prohibition except for medical purposes. The effects in China, judging from the evidence, are comparable to the effects of the alcohol habit in the United Kingdom. Nor would the prohibition of the export of Bengal opium permanently or materially diminish the opium habit in China. The moral objections which have been raised against the present system do not, therefore, in the existing circumstances, appear to be strong. On the other hand, the obstacles, administrative, financial, and political, to a system of prohibition, appear to us to be at present insurmountable. Prohibition could not be extended to the Protected States; nor could the existing arrangements for transit of Malwa opium for export to China and the Far East be terminated with justice. On the other hand, prohibition applied to British Provinces only would be

II. 4325-9.
17,252, 8669.
III. 11,584-86,
11,018, 14,961-96,
14,760, 11,093.
IV. 21,389,
21,405, 21,465,
21,506-7, 23,309,
23,335-7, 23,464,
23,362, 26,286,
26,309, 26,351,
26,436, 26,493,
26,514, 27,003,
27,178-204,
27,645-690,
28,197, 28,169.

II. p. 439-525.
10,038, 10,099,
10,145, 10,208,
11,117, 12,348,
12,766, 5,787.
V. p. 136.
II. p. 439, 525.
IV. 26,869.
II. 3,191, 4,999.
III. 10,785,
10,847, 17,233,
19,099.

III. 14,888.

III. 14,852.

III. 18,147.

Summary of
conclusions
regarding
prohibition.

ineffective and exceedingly troublesome ; for the Protected States which export Malwa opium could before long produce enough to take the place of the Bengal supply now sent to China, and the production of opium in all Protected States, for the purpose of being smuggled into British districts for illicit consumption, would be greatly encouraged. It would be impossible to provide in British India a dispensing agency which could supply the medical and check the non-medical demand with the necessary promptitude and discrimination.

The results of reducing the production of Bengal opium to the quantity required for medical purposes would be disastrous to the finances of British India and injurious to a large number of the poorest cultivators.

Prohibition of opium would probably lead to the increased use of other stimulants more likely to prove deleterious to the people of India.

Finally, the great mass of Native opinion is entirely opposed to the measure, and we consider it established by the bulk of the evidence, European and Native, official and non-official, that the authoritative imposition of prohibition by the British Government would be keenly resented by the races among whom the use of opium is customary ; would be generally regarded with dislike and suspicion as an act of unnecessary interference, and would be followed by widespread discontent.

SECTION VII.

CHANGES SHORT OF TOTAL PROHIBITION. ✓

187. The last head of the Order of Reference left for our consideration is the fourth, which runs as follows: "Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic, and for raising a revenue therefrom."

188. The question of substituting private enterprise and an export duty for the official agency and State monopoly by which the cultivation, manufacture, and wholesale sale of Bengal opium are now controlled, is one which must be noticed, but we think it unnecessary to argue it at length. The same question has been carefully considered on former occasions and always with the same result. In the Appendices to our Proceedings will be found a paper giving an account of previous proposals in this direction, including extracts from a Despatch addressed to the Secretary of State by the Government of India during the Vice-royalty of Lord Ripon, dealing with this particular question of the substitution of private enterprise for State agency. We quote from the Despatch the following passages, showing the conclusions at which the Government of India had arrived, and in which we concur:—

Substitution of private trade for the Bengal monopoly. II. p. 381-82.

No. 312, of 19th Dec. 1881. Parl. Return, 1337 of 882.

"27. We shall revert to this question* later, when we come to deal with the possibility of substituting any other system for that which is at present in force in Bengal. In the meanwhile we hold that the following positions have been made good:—

"(1.) The objections of the Anti-Opium Society, so long as their policy is confined to a mere change in the manner under which the opium revenue is raised, are purely theoretical.

"(2.) In order that that policy should have any chance of effecting some practical good, it must embrace within its scope, not only the cessation of any direct connexion between the Indian Government and the manufacture and sale of opium, but the total suppression of the cultivation of the poppy in India.

"(3.) The economical objections to the present system under which the opium revenue is raised may be admitted, but the moral objections will be increased if the economical objections are removed. Nothing would so much tend to the further demoralisation of the Chinese as free-trade in opium.

"(3.) As to whether it is more immoral to raise a revenue by the direct action of Government than to raise it indirectly by taxing private individuals, the question is one on which considerable differences of opinion may exist. It is certain, however, that the mere substitution of the latter for the former system, whilst it would probably be injurious to the interests of the Indian tax-payers, would do no good, and would almost certainly do a great deal of harm, to the population of China.

* * * * *

"77. * * * * *
"V. The substitution of private agency in Bengal for a Government monopoly would be possible. The change is, however, to be deprecated, inasmuch as the consequence would inevitably be either to involve a loss of revenue, which the Government of India would be quite unable to afford, or to extend the cultivation of the poppy and to intensify those evils which it is proposed to remedy. It would involve, moreover, a serious risk that the use of opium would become far more prevalent than at present in India itself. We cannot, therefore, recommend that so hazardous an experiment which would almost certainly do a great deal of harm, and which it is very improbable would effect any good, should be tried at the expense of the Indian tax-payers."

Private enterprise and capital are now so ready to turn to any industry which shows a chance of profit that it is possible, and by many believed to be certain, that the abolition of the monopoly would result in greatly increased production. It must be remembered that if private enterprise were allowed it would have to be treated fairly. Moreover, the formation of new vested interests in the production of Bengal opium would shackle the Government, which under the present system is in the freest possible position to change its policy to meet any alteration in the attitude of the Government of China or in the circumstances and disposition of the people of India. Our conclusion therefore is that the Bengal Opium Department, which by its Behar and Benares agencies, controls the cultivation and manufacture of Bengal opium, should be maintained.

189. We pass on to the consideration of such improvements as have been suggested in the working of the Opium Department. We think it right to mention here that at Calcutta, Mr. Alexander, the Secretary to the Society for the suppression of the opium traffic, informed us that he had received information which led him to believe that

II. 2588.

* That is, to the relative morality of the direct connexion of the Government with the opium trade and the mere taxation of the exports of the drug.

the ryots of Behar were carrying on the cultivation of the poppy at a loss, under some pressure exercised by the officers of the Opium Department. We recorded such evidence as could be produced at Patna and elsewhere on this point, and having made inquiries from many independent witnesses in a position to speak with knowledge and authority on this subject, we have come to the conclusion that the cultivators are free, and are perfectly well aware that they are free, to engage to cultivate poppy or not. There may be here and there cases in the Behar Agency in which pressure has been exercised by subordinates, but we believe them to be quite exceptional. It must be remembered that we are dealing with more than a million cultivators, and if there had been any substantial grounds of complaint, it is certain they would have been brought more prominently to the notice of the Commission. The evidence shows that, as a fact, large numbers of cultivators have from time to time given up cultivation. On the whole, poppy cultivation is decidedly popular with the class of tenants who usually engage in it, and is more profitable to them than the cultivation of other crops which could take its place. It is a favourite crop in particular with the small tenants of the lower castes, whose women and children take part in field work, and if, as sometimes happens, licenses are refused to any of them who are accustomed to the cultivation it is considered a serious hardship. We do not think that the representations made to the Commission by comparatively few cultivators, that the price paid by Government for the crude opium is too low, seriously militates against this conclusion. It is only natural that the feeling, that the price is too low, should influence so large a body of cultivators unable to sell except to the agents of a State monopoly, and bound to accept the price which the State chooses to offer. But the feeling seemed to be shared by many disinterested people, officials and non-officials, and we apprehend that it may be well founded, as the price of the crude opium has for many years remained stationary, while the prices of other produce, the cost of cattle and the value of labour have been rapidly rising. We think therefore, that the Government of India should be left a perfectly free hand to fix, from time to time, the price to be paid to the cultivators, and we understand that since we left India the price has been raised.

Our colleague, Mr. Haridas Voharidas, has recommended that the Government of India should be asked to issue a general notification throughout the poppy-growing districts in British provinces to the effect that no one is bound to cultivate this crop, unless he may wish to do so. We are of opinion, as already stated, that the cultivators, as a body, are fully aware that the matter is within their own discretion, and a formal notice does not appear to us to be necessary, though we see no objection to its issue, if the Government of India should consider it desirable.

Policy of Government as regards limitation of production.

Hansard, 352, pp. 323, 343.

II. p. 344.

II. 2086.

190. With regard to the area under cultivation, there appears to have been some not unnatural misconception on this subject, which finds expression in the Resolution of the House of Commons, praying Your Majesty to appoint the present Commission. It appears that in the Debates of the House of Commons in April 1891, statements were made by Mr. W. H. Smith, at that time the Leader of the House, and Sir James Fergusson, temporarily representing the India Office, to the effect that it had been the settled policy of the Government to diminish the area under poppy cultivation. It appears from the papers presented to us by the Government of India, that there had been large variations in acreage during the years 1883-84 to 1892-93, and the actual acreage in the year 1889-90 was 482,557, as against 505,843 in 1883-84 and 594,921 in the year 1885-86. We were informed, however, by Sir David Barbour that:—

“The real reason was, that we had very good crops for a number of years, and, as we did not want to sell more than a certain amount, and a considerable quantity of opium had accumulated in the reserve, it was not necessary, in order to supply the ordinary amount, that the usual area should be put under cultivation.”

Hansard, 352, pp. 1152-3.

The Moral and Material Progress Reports on India, annually presented to Parliament, confirm this view, and an explanation to the same effect was given in the House of Commons by Sir J. Gorst a few days after the discussion above mentioned. A passage from the Indian Financial Statement for the year 1891-92 had been quoted as indicating that a rise in the revenue was to be expected, upon which he remarked that “the statement of Sir David Barbour no doubt expressed correctly the policy of the Government of India.” It appears, therefore, that on the part of Sir J. Fergusson and the late Mr. W. H. Smith, a temporary fiscal expedient was regarded as indicating a new departure in the direction of a fixed policy of restriction.*

191. We do not feel called upon to express any opinion on the course adopted by the Government of India or the motives by which they appear to have been actuated. Had we considered that the use of the drug in China depended upon the supply received from

* A Note on this subject is appended to our Report (p.).

India, and had it been shown that consumption of opium in China was the cause of such moral and physical degradation to that country as to make it incumbent upon the Government of India to put a stop to it at all hazards, we should have made a recommendation to this effect. Taking the view of the question that we do, we are content to leave it to the administrative experience of the Government of India to decide, from time to time, the area which shall be put under poppy, having regard to the interests of the cultivators, and the desirability, in the case of a drug specially liable to abuse, of raising revenue by a high restrictive price, rather than by a large and cheap supply. The limitation of the area for production of Bengal opium will tend to keep up the price of Indian opium generally, and so obviate the necessity for reducing the transit duty on Malwa opium, which would arise in the case of a fall of the price in China and elsewhere.

192. Before leaving the subject of the Bengal Opium Department, we wish to make some further remarks as to the system upon which it is worked. We came to the conclusion on the whole that the system was good, and that it was well worked by a humane and careful body of officers. But some irregular and objectionable proceedings on the part of subordinates were brought to our notice at Patna. These were not serious, but they indicated a certain amount of laxity in the management of the working of the Behar Agency, and in connexion with this subject we think it desirable that the Government of India should again consider the recommendations made by a Commission appointed by them in 1883, after a thorough examination of the working of the Department. Some of those recommendations have been carried into effect more or less completely, particularly in the Benares Agency; but others, though not rejected by the Government, appear to have been held over for one of two reasons, either because they would increase the cost of establishment, or because they would involve the revision of the existing law. The full development in the Benares Agency of the system of dealing direct with the cultivators; the extension of the same system to the Behar Agency, and the better payment of the inferior Native officials, known as the Kothi establishments, seem to be the reforms most required and most likely to benefit the cultivator.

Suggestions
as to the
Opium
Department.
III. 12,079,
12,396-454,
12,052.
V. pp. 140,
354.

V. App. I.
pp. 6, 19, 22,
&c.
III. 12,124-
48.

II. 2948.
III. 12,326.

193. We have no proposals to make for the alteration of the special local systems for the production and supply of opium which prevail in the Punjab, and in the small territory of Ajmer-Merwara. We have explained in the second Section of our Report what those systems are, and the reasons for their being exceptional. Nor have we any changes to suggest in respect to the Malwa opium trade, but we wish to say that we are not sure that the transit duty has not sometimes been imposed or maintained at rates higher than is compatible with equity. We think the Government of India should not be in any way prevented from lowering the rate of duty, whenever it thinks that course necessary in justice to the States and individuals concerned in this trade. It is not to the interest of the Government of India to reduce the rate unnecessarily.

194. Some changes in the system of retail vend have been proposed in the course of our Proceedings. A suggestion has been made that the sale of the drug should be intrusted to salaried vendors, having no direct interest in the quantity sold. We have considered this suggestion with care, and do not think it practicable to adopt it. It would not be possible to secure the services of trustworthy agents, and the trouble and cost of checking their sales, and recovering from them the money due and opium unexpended would be immense. They would be as likely as the present vendors to sell smuggled opium, and would not have the same motives or the same power as vendors of the commercial class for helping Government to check smuggling. To explain this last argument we must repeat that at present opium is taxed twice before it reaches the vendor. Bengal opium is taxed first by the artificial price at which it is issued to the vendors by Government. Malwa opium, whether used in Bombay, Madras, or the Punjab, has to pay the transit duty; while, in the last-named province, the local-grown opium is subject to acreage duty. The licensed vendors are everywhere also subject to a second tax in the shape of the heavy sums which they pay to Government for their monopolies of retail vend; and this they cannot evade under the present system by using smuggled opium. Under the proposed system the vendors would not pay this second tax at all; the Government would everywhere be obliged to supply opium direct to the salaried vendors, and the price to the public would depend entirely on the rate fixed by Government, which would necessarily be very high. It would, therefore, be extremely profitable to these vendors to sell smuggled

Question of
employing
vendors
on fixed
salaries.
I. p. 163.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM:

opium; and even if they refrained from doing this themselves, they would have no motive for finding out whether other persons dealt in such opium, or for incurring the risk and odium of giving information against them. Other reasons might be given, but we do not consider it necessary to go into the question at greater length, as we consider that the arrangements for retail vend of opium in India are sufficiently restrictive, and that looking to the medical and non-medical requirements of the people and their disposition in the matter, it is unadvisable to attempt to make the regulations more severe.

Suggestions
regarding
smoking
preparations
of opium.
III. 19,593.
V. p. 87.

195. The remarks we have hitherto made, refer to the ordinary uses of opium in India. We think, however, that a distinction must be drawn between the common and old-established habit of taking opium in the form of pills or infusions, and the comparatively rare and novel habit of smoking preparations of opium, known as *chandu* or *madak*.

IV. 26,218,
26,988.
III. 13,785,
19,566.

Though opium-smoking is regarded as disreputable, we doubt whether public feeling in British India would approve of severe and inquisitorial measures of repression. Moreover, a law aimed at opium-smoking in private houses could only be made effective if it permitted domiciliary visits by the police, and any system involving such visits would be liable to abuse in a much greater degree in India than in Europe. Public opinion would not, perhaps, be opposed to legislation against the use of rooms as smoking saloons, either by the public generally or by so-called clubs. We think this is a measure which might be considered by the Government of India, but we understand that experienced officers think that it would be difficult to suggest legislation which would be effective and yet not open to many objections. We believe that the same difficulty has been experienced with regard to the lower kinds of clubs, where liquor is sold, in the United Kingdom.

While we are not prepared to recommend measures of restrictive legislation, we are in favour of making it difficult for smokers of *chandu* and *madak* to indulge in the habit. We recommend that the Government should abandon in all provinces the licensing of shops for the manufacture and sale of these preparations, showing, thereby, that they are in sympathy with public opinion. In the Panjab, Bombay, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, this has already been done, and in those provinces, individuals, though they may manufacture the preparations for their own use, are not permitted to possess a larger amount than 180 grains weight. We recommend that these provisions be extended to the other provinces of British India. The manufacture of small quantities by private persons is wasteful, and the process tedious. Only confirmed smokers, therefore, are likely to incur the expense and trouble. The general adoption of this system, which is undoubtedly repressive, so far as it can be enforced, will tend to prevent the spread of the habit, and lead, it may be hoped, to its ultimate extinction.

SECTION VIII.

OPIUM ARRANGEMENTS IN BURMA.

Introductory.

196. When certain members of the Commission were deputed to hold sittings in Burma the system of excise of opium in that province was in a state of transition. In the part of the country known as Lower Burma, which had been under British rule for two generations or more, what may be called the ordinary Indian system of opium Excise had been maintained from the first with some varying differences of detail. When, however, Upper Burma was annexed in 1885, a special system was provisionally imposed, founded on the custom under native rule, and this, in respect to people of Burmese race, was of a prohibitory nature. In 1891-3, the Local Government, with the sanction of the Government of India, decided to strengthen and maintain the new or prohibitory system in Upper Burma, and to extend it with some modifications to Lower Burma.

Scope of the inquiry made in Burma.

197. Although the new system had not actually come into force in Lower Burma when the deputation arrived, yet an immediate date had been fixed and all necessary measures had been taken for its introduction. It was therefore the new system which had to be considered and reported on; and having regard to the intention of the order of reference, it was evident that the principal point on which an opinion was required from the Commission in Burma was whether the new system appeared to go far enough in the direction of prohibition and restriction, and whether it would be better to make the prohibitive provisions apply to non-Burmans as well as to Burmans.

In accordance with this view of the position, the deputation came to a resolution as to the evidence which it was desirable to take, which was expressed as follows by the officiating Chairman at the commencement of the first sitting in Burma:—

“We consulted together on our way here, and before beginning our proceedings I think it will be convenient to put upon record what our intentions, as at present advised, are as to the scope of the inquiry we are about to conduct in Burma. We do not intend to go into the arguments for or against the total prohibition of the use or possession of opium by Burmans in Upper Burma, or for and against the same prohibition in Lower Burma modified by the exceptions in the case of habitual consumers holding certificates. We accept the fact that that policy has been adopted and will have to be tested by experience. We do intend to go into the arguments for and against the exclusion of non-Burmans from the prohibition, and to take what evidence is available as to the effect on them of the moderate and immoderate habits of opium smoking and opium eating, and as to how far continued moderation in either habit is usual or the reverse. We want this evidence more particularly in the case of the Chinese. We also want to inquire into the prospects of opium being successfully smuggled into Upper and Lower Burma from China or India, and as to the existing or proposed arrangements to prevent it; also as to the degree to which prosecutions for illicit possession or other breaches of the Opium Act have been lately necessary and are likely to be necessary in future under the new system.”

198. In examining witnesses, the purport of the above resolution was generally kept in mind, but evidence which witnesses came prepared to give as to the particular effect of the opium habit on Burmans was not excluded, and was seen to be wanted for the proper consideration of the different treatment of non-Burmans and other questions on which an opinion had to be formed, and the important correspondence containing the inquiry made in 1891, which led to the adoption of the new system, was put in by the Government of India after the deputation arrived in Burma, and was found to contain statements and counter-statements upon which it was desirable to cross-examine some of the officers concerned in that inquiry who appeared before the Commission.

199. The deputation held altogether eight sittings in Burma, six at Rangoon, and two at Mandalay, and examined 38 witnesses, among whom were Mr. Fryer, the officiating Chief Commissioner, and Mr. Smeaton, the Financial Commissioner. Of these 38 witnesses 25 were selected to attend by Mr. Fryer in the way described in his

Course of proceedings.

8371-3.

evidence. Mr. Scott, Your Majesty's Minister at Bangkok, and Mr. Warry, the Adviser on Chinese affairs to the Local Administration, who were unable to appear before the deputation, were requested by the Chief Commissioner to forward statements of their views. These statements were received and are printed in our Appendices. Mr. Scott was employed in the Shan States for several years, and there made a special study of the opium question, and Mr. Warry was said to be a particularly competent witness as regards the Chinese. A similar statement was obtained, at the request of the Chairman, from Mr. Hildebrand, who was pronounced, by Mr. Smeaton, the Financial Commissioner, to be the officer most competent, in his judgment, to give an opinion upon the question of opium consumption among the Shans. This statement, also, appears in our Appendices.

II. pp. 523-4,
536.

II. 524-5.

II. App.
XXXVII.
XXXIX. XLI.
to XLIII.

200. In addition to this evidence, certain Memoranda were submitted by the Local Government. In these the new system of Excise on opium in Upper and Lower Burma is described, and information is supplied regarding the routes by which opium can be and is at present smuggled into the country, with details of the cases in which convictions have been obtained in criminal prosecutions for smuggling from China, the Shan States, Eastern Karenni, and Siam, in the three and a half years between January 1st, 1890, and 30th June 1893; an account is also given of the policy of the Local Administration in regard to opium in former years; and statements showing the existing Excise Establishment in Upper Burma, and the existing and proposed Excise Establishments in Lower Burma; and the number of persons arrested, convicted, and imprisoned under the Opium Act in Upper Burma in each year since 1889-90, and the number of persons brought to trial and convicted for offences against the Opium Act in Lower Burma in each year from 1884 to 1892.

II. App.
XXXVIII. XL.
I.

Copies of the correspondence between the Government of India and the Chief Commissioner regarding the decision to extend to Lower Burma, with some modifications, the prohibitive system that was in force in Upper Burma, and the Rules under the Opium Act, which have been framed to give effect to that decision, were presented to the Deputation on behalf of the Government of India, and will be found in our Appendices.

Historical Account of Opium Excise Systems in Lower Burma.

Opium in
Lower
Burma,
before Bri-
tish rule.

VII. p. 30-32.

VII. p. 34.

201. Before proceeding to describe the new system it seems necessary to give a short historical account of the opium question in Burma, and of the systems of Excise on opium which have been enforced from annexation in Upper and Lower Burma respectively. The use of opium was known in Lower Burma before the introduction of British rule. It is on record that Cæsar Fredericke, a Venetian merchant, traded in opium to Pegu, the central and most important part of Lower Burma, in the latter half of the 16th century, and remained there selling opium for two years apparently without any hindrance or concealment. Barbosa, also, mentions that opium was an article of trade between Cambay and both Pegu and Ava. Ralph Fitch, the first Englishman who visited Burma, mentions that Cambay (i.e., Malwa) opium was one of the few Indian commodities that was in demand at Pegu in 1583-91, and that Turkish opium was also brought to the port of Cirion in Pegu from Mecca. The records of the Dutch East India Company also show that Pegu was regarded as a profitable market for opium in 1613. It seems probable, therefore, that at this time the use of opium as a stimulant must have existed in Burma as it did in the surrounding countries of Asia. The special condemnation of the habit by the Buddhist priesthood and the prohibitive edicts issued now and again by Kings of Burma, or of parts of Burma, seem, as in China, to belong to some later date. All we know is that the Buddhist religion treats the use of all intoxicants as a breach of one of the great commandments; that that Church was a great power in the Burmese States; that it has in recent times specially denounced the opium habit, and has now and again been supported in so doing with spasmodic energy by the Burmese Kings in proportion to the influence exercised over them by the Buddhist hierarchy.

II. p. 563-4.

But there is no evidence that the import of opium into Lower Burma was ever prohibited before its annexation by the British Government, or that the prohibition of consumption was ever more than a religious law enforced upon the Buddhists of Burma by the Church and State rule of Buddhist Kings. In the inquiry of 1891, Mr. Norton, Commissioner of the Irrawaddy Division, stated that, though shortly before the

annexation of Pegu in 1852, the punishment of death was there proclaimed against Burmans using opium, yet the drug could then easily be obtained at a cheaper rate than at present. More than one of the older Burmese gentlemen consulted in 1878, when special inquiries were first instituted regarding the history of the habit, admitted that it had always existed among Burmans, but said that before annexation it was confined to a vicious class who practised it in a more or less concealed way.

II. 8004

202. Turning now to the history of the subject in Lower Burma under British rule, the Provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim in Lower Burma were annexed in 1826, after the first Burmese war. They were at first attached to the Bengal Presidency, and administered by the Deputy Governor of Bengal, subject to the control of the Governor-General in Council. Pegu was annexed in 1852, after the second Burmese war, but this Province was not placed under the Bengal Government. It was administered by a Commissioner and Governor-General's Agent in direct subordination to the Governor-General in Council, Sir Arthur, then Captain, Phayre being the first Commissioner appointed. In 1854 the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William was made a separate province under a Lieutenant-Governor, and in determining his territorial jurisdiction it was decided to exclude Tenasserim and to place the local administration of that Province, like Pegu, under the direct control of the Governor-General in Council. In 1862 the three divisions of Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim were formed into the united Province of British Burma, and Sir Arthur Phayre was appointed Chief Commissioner.

Early excise
arrange-
ments in
Lower
Burma
under Bri-
tish rule.

203. At the time of the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826, the retail sale of opium in Bengal appears to have been generally conducted under the farming system, the privilege of sale for specified tracts or districts being let by tender or auction to selected individuals. These farmers were bound to sell only Excise opium, manufactured at the Government factories, issued to them at a fixed price which included a duty over and above the cost price of the opium. Under this system opium was taxed in two ways, first by the price the farmer paid for his monopoly, and secondly, by the price he paid for the opium. The same system was extended to the territory acquired in Burma, and Bengal Excise opium was sold there in the same manner as in other parts of the Bengal Presidency. This seems to have been done in ordinary course without discussion, and without protest from any quarter. The number of shops allowed appears to have been limited, and the sale to have been confined to seaport towns and places where a demand for the drug was found to exist.

II. p. 426.

204. In 1847, in order to check the traffic in illicit or smuggled opium, which was found to be prevalent and uncontrollable, the farming system was abolished in Bengal, and licenses for the retail sale of Excise opium were granted, free of charge, to respectable and responsible persons throughout that part of India. This made illicit or Excise opium cheaper, as the only duty levied on it was included in the price at which it was issued to the vendors. These arrangements weakened the inducements to smuggle in other opium. Arakan, being closely connected by land and sea with Bengal proper, and, therefore, specially open to smuggling, was subsequently brought under the new system of free licenses. On the other hand, Tenasserim, being at a distance, and separated by what was then the Burmese Province of Pegu, was left under the old system. Pegu, when annexed, was treated in the same way. In both Pegu and Tenasserim it may be said that the opium was always highly taxed, and the number of shops strictly limited, but in Arakan the unfortunate issue of licenses free of charge for the sale of opium was no doubt one of the causes which led there to a large increase in the consumption of the drug. It was probably of this system, and its abuses, that an old native resident of Arakan was thinking when he told Colonel Strover, as reported by that officer in the inquiry of 1891, that he had seen Government opium hawked about the streets of Akyab in the early days of British rule.

Introduction
into Arakan
of system of
licenses for
sale free of
charge.

II. p. 426.

The subject attracted Sir Arthur Phayre's attention shortly after his appointment as Chief Commissioner of the Burma Province, and in 1864 he strongly condemned the change of system, which had been introduced in Arakan. "The Chief Commissioner," he wrote, "left Arakan in 1852. At that time the old system of farming out the various Abkari shops existed. A high price was paid for the privilege of selling opium, ganja, and spirits by different farmers. The price of the drug or liquor was high to the consumer; the consequence was that, although a fair amount of revenue was derived from the Abkari, the number of consumers, especially of opium, was small; they were also principally persons in the seaport town of Akyab. The Chief Commissioner had Arakan placed under him in 1862. He

II. p. 556.

Parliamentary
Return 266, of
2nd June 1881
(Commons).

then found that since he was last in that Province an entirely new Abkari system had been introduced. Whatever the intention in doing so may have been, the effect thereof can only be deemed deplorable and disastrous. Drinking spirits and smoking opium he found had become almost universal among the Arakanese young men."

Re-introduction of farming system in Arakan, and Sir A. Phayre's Excise policy.

205. Measures were at this time taken to check and discourage the use of opium in British Burma; free licenses were abolished in Arakan, and the system of selling the shops by auction was re-introduced. In the Akyab and Kyaukpyu districts of Arakan the number of shops was reduced in 1863-64 to four, two in each district, and in Sandoway all licenses were withdrawn. In Tenasserim, also, a practice which had grown up of permitting spirits and opium to be carried from the shops at Maulmain to the teak forests was put a stop to. A code of Excise Rules considered suitable for the Province was drawn up by Sir A. Phayre in 1865, and was brought into force with effect from the commencement of the financial year 1866-67. The principles upon which the administration was to be conducted were thus stated in the preamble of the rules.

II. p. 514.

See also Provincial Excise Report for 1867-68.

"The object of the Abkaree or Excise Department in British Burma is to raise for the public benefit the greatest possible amount of revenue from the smallest possible consumption of spirituous and other liquors and intoxicating drugs used by the European and the native population. It is not desired to extend the consumption of spirituous liquors and drugs into the interior of the country. At the seaport towns and at large stations where there is generally a considerable foreign population already accustomed to the use of stimulants, the right to sell by retail for consumption on the premises intoxicating liquors and drugs may be farmed or leased out annually as herein-after provided. At no places in the interior of the country is the unrestricted sale of liquor or drugs allowed except on the extreme northern and southern borders of the Province, where it has been found impossible, except by the enforcement of measures which would be vexatious to the whole population, to prevent the illicit sale of opium brought from other countries."

With the object of preventing the lessees of the right of retail vend from selling cheap smuggled opium, they were required by the rules to take from the Treasury a specified minimum quantity of Excise opium, the quantity being calculated by Deputy Commissioners upon the figures of actual sales as ascertained for previous years.

Opinions of Colonel Fytche, Sir A. Eden, and the Government of India (1867-1872) as to discouraging use of opium by Burmans.

206. Colonel Fytche, who succeeded Sir A. Phayre as Chief Commissioner in 1867, was as strongly impressed as his predecessor with the necessity for discouraging the consumption of opium in Burma.

"The extensive consumption," he wrote in the Excise Report for 1867-68, "of opium among the inhabitants of this Province is to be deprecated in every way. Any addition to the general Imperial revenues, which an extensive increase in the consumption of this drug could bring, would assuredly be ill compensated for by the increase of crime which such increased consumption among a race, where gambling and dacoities are a pastime, would bring in its train."

II. p. 516.

207. In 1870-71 the attention of the Local Administration was drawn to the subject of smuggling; and the licensed vendors were themselves suspected of importing and selling illicit opium. District officers were accordingly directed by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Ashley Eden, in the Excise Report for 1870-71 to use every endeavour to put a stop to smuggling. The evils arising from the consumption of opium by Burmans were at the same time recognised, and the necessity for discouraging the use of the drug was insisted on. "There is no sort of doubt," wrote Sir Ashley Eden, "that the consumption of opium and intoxicating drugs has an injurious effect upon the excitable self-indulgent Burman which it has not upon the Indian or Chinese. Wherever its use has been adopted in this country, it has led to the immediate demoralization of the people. 'Opium eater' has become among the Burmans themselves a term synonymous with that of thief. When they have said that a man eats opium, they think that nothing more is required to establish the proof of his belonging to the criminal classes. Obviously then the establishment of new shops under license or farm in the interior of the country is to be avoided as far as it possibly can be without giving an uncontrollable impulse to smuggling opium in from the town circles."

Sir Ashley Eden's views were accepted by the Government of India. "The Governor-General in Council," wrote the Financial Secretary in July 1872, "cordially agrees with you that the consumption of opium ought not to be encouraged in

“ Burma. The importation of opium cannot perhaps be altogether prohibited, but it should be restricted as far as may be practicable.”

208. Act X. of 1871, the Indian Excise Act, was extended to British Burma in April 1872; and in the rules framed under this Act a change of system was introduced. Farms of districts (*i.e.*, of the shops allowed or to be allowed in a district) were abolished for the second time, and in their place licenses for single shops were issued. The practice of requiring vendors to take a stipulated quantity of Excise opium was abandoned, but with the same object of preventing the use of cheap smuggled opium vendors were bound by their licenses to account to the satisfaction of the Deputy Commissioner, if the quantity of opium taken fell considerably short of the quantity hitherto sold. The licenses, like the farms, were disposed of by auction. The object of the policy of Government, as again stated in the Rules under this Act, was “to raise as large an amount of revenue from intoxicating liquors and drugs as is compatible with the greatest possible discouragement of their use.” An extract from the despatch of July 1872, containing the views of the Government of India regarding opium in Burma, was published in the Excise Report for 1871-72; and district officers were directed by the Chief Commissioner to “use their utmost endeavours to prevent the spread of the consumption of this narcotic, bearing in mind that, as stated in the concluding paragraph of the despatch above quoted, no purely fiscal considerations should be allowed to interfere with the arrangements which may be thought best for the interest of the people committed to their charge.”

Abolition of farming system and introduction of system of licensing single shops.
II. p. 516.

209. Smuggling by sea appears to have been principally complained of at this time; but in December 1872, the Political Agent at Mandalay reported to the Chief Commissioner that opium was produced in the Shan States, in the Kachin hills, and in the Yunnan Province of China, where the cultivation appeared to be on the increase; that it was freely imported into Mandalay, via Bhamo and Theinni, and was subject to a light customs duty only on entering Burmese territory: and that he believed that this opium was smuggled into British Burma, to a considerable extent.

II. p. 518.

210. Notwithstanding the injunctions issued by Sir A. Eden, the introduction of the new system in 1872, was followed by a considerable increase in the number of licensed shops, especially in the Pegu Division, where the number of shops was raised from 8 in 1871-72 to 28 in 1877-78. It was probably thought that the new shops were required to substitute an open and licit for a secret and illicit supply; in other words to check smuggling from Upper Burma, and what Sir A. Eden called the smuggling of opium from the town circles. The issues of Excise opium also continued to increase; and in 1878 the attention of the Chief Commissioner, Mr., now Sir, Charles Aitchison, was drawn to the subject when he was reviewing the report on the Administration of Criminal Justice in the Province for the year 1877. A petition was about the same time presented to the Chief Commissioner at Akyab, in Arakan, by a deputation of influential natives of the town, describing the evils arising from the use of opium, and asking for the adoption of stringent measures of repression. Inquiries were instituted, and the opinions of British officers and of educated natives of the country were collected in regard to the extent of the evil and the possibility of remedial measures; and Sir Charles Aitchison, in a memorandum, dated the 30th April 1880, reviewing the results of these inquiries, recorded his conclusion that opium-smoking among the Burmans was spreading, that it caused great moral and physical deterioration, and was one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime. “Probably,” he wrote, “a variety of causes have contributed to the spread of this vice. “ Burma is intellectually in a transition state. The people are becoming emancipated from many restrictions of their old creed; the inevitable tendency of the education we give and of the new sense of personal liberty which our Government creates among an Oriental people is to weaken the sanctions of religious belief and break down the restraints of social customs. Such results ought neither to surprise nor alarm us. However much the old-fashioned among the population may regret it, or blame us for it, we can as easily put back the shadow on the sun-dial as arrest the disintegration of old-world customs.” Though strongly of opinion that measures should at once be taken to further restrict and discourage the consumption of opium, Sir Charles Aitchison considered that prohibition of its use was impracticable, as the habit of opium-smoking among certain classes of the Burmese had existed for many years, and there were in the country large numbers of Chinese and natives of India, “constituting perhaps the most thriving and industrious section of the population,” to whom, as

Memorandum by Sir C. Aitchison on consumption of opium in Burma.

H. of Commons Return, 266, 2nd June 1881.

he said, the drug was a "necessary of life," and by whom it was "rarely abused." He recommended therefore:—

- (1.) That the number of shops licensed for the retail sale of opium should be reduced.
- (2.) That with the object of bringing consumers under the ban of public opinion, a rule should be introduced providing that opium should be consumed only upon the premises of licensed shops, and making the possession of opium in any quantity outside the shops illegal, except under a pass from a district officer; and
- (3.) That the Code of Criminal Procedure should be altered so as to admit of habitual opium smokers being placed under restraint and required to furnish security for good behaviour as bad characters.

At the same time the restriction of the quantity of opium issued to licensed shops from district treasuries was suggested as a possible measure that might be adopted at any time if it should be thought advisable.

Proposals of
Sir C.
Bernard.

211. Two months later some remarks in the report of the Revenue Administration of British Burma for the year 1878-79, regarding the evils resulting from the increasing consumption of opium, more especially in Arakan, attracted the attention of the Secretary of State; and, in July 1880, he applied to the Government of India for information in regard to the steps which it was proposed to take for checking the evil.

H. of Commons
Return, 266,
2nd June 1881.

212. Sir Charles Bernard succeeded Sir Charles Aitchison as Chief Commissioner in 1880, and at the close of the year submitted, at the request of the Government of India, a note containing the impressions and conclusions which he had formed after personally inquiring into the opium question and visiting Akyab and other places where the effects of the consumption of the drug were reported to be most marked. Like his predecessor, he found a remarkable consensus of opinion among Europeans and natives in Arakan, that the use of opium was spreading, and that much injury had been caused to the people in that part of Burma by its abuse; and although he personally had not been able to find much tangible evidence of the injurious effects said to be caused, he was satisfied that the complaints made had substantial foundation and that remedial measures were called for. He considered that the closure of all shops for the sale of opium was not desirable; but deprecated the adoption of Sir C. Aitchison's proposal to enforce by law the consumption of opium upon licensed premises. To discourage consumption, he recommended that the number of shops for the retail sale of opium should be reduced, and that the price of Excise opium on issue from district treasuries to licensed vendors should be raised.

Orders of
Government
of India and
Secretary of
State on
these pro-
posals.

213. These recommendations received the approval of the Government of India in January 1881. The number of shops licensed for the retail sale of opium in British Burma was reduced with effect from the commencement of the financial year 1881-82 from 68 to 28, and in 1882-83 the number was further reduced to 18; and the price of opium issued from the treasuries was raised with effect from the commencement of the year 1881-82 to Rs. 28 in Arakan, and Rs. 32 in the rest of the Province. The rate in Arakan was fixed lower than in the rest of the Province on account of the proximity of this district to Bengal, and the facilities which exist for the illicit introduction of opium from that province. The policy of discouraging as far as possible the consumption of opium in Burma was approved by the Secretary of State in a despatch dated 30th June 1881; but a stoppage of the supply of opium and prohibition of its use were not considered desirable, as persons accustomed to the drug were unable with safety to suddenly give up its use, and the legitimate requirements of the Chinese and natives of India in Burma had to be provided for.

began again to rise. In 1884-85 the subject was further discussed, and was under the consideration of the Chief Commissioner when Upper Burma was occupied in November 1885. The question of Excise arrangements for the Upper Province was at once considered, and in the instructions for the guidance of civil officers in the administration of the recently-acquired territory issued by the Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Bernard, in a Regulation, dated 19th March 1886, the sale of opium and liquor to Burmans was forbidden; but the establishment of a limited number of shops for the sale of opium to Chinese was permitted. In the same month the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State, in which they referred to the opinions expressed in regard to opium in Burma by Sir Charles Aitchison in his memorandum of 30th April 1880, by Mr. Hodgkinson, the Commissioner of the Irrawaddy Division, in the Provincial Excise Report for 1883-84, and by Mr. Copleston in the Provincial Excise Report for 1884-85. They urged that the policy of discouraging the consumption of opium in Lower Burma should be carried further in the direction of the total prohibition of the sale or use of the drug, and that a similar policy should be adopted in the newly-acquired territory in Upper Burma. The memorial was forwarded by the Secretary of State to the Government of India for information, under cover of a despatch dated 18th March 1886. "I have no doubt," wrote Lord Kimberley, "that full attention will be paid by the Government of your Excellency to the important subject of the consumption and sale of opium in Burma, especially in the newly-acquired territories, and I shall be glad to be informed in due time of the arrangements which may be decided on."

Parl. Return,
C.—6562, of
1892, pp. 41, 42.

On receipt of this despatch, the Chief Commissioner was requested, in May 1886, to ascertain and report the real state of the case in regard to the consumption of opium and liquor by Burmans in Upper Burma.

216. The facts as to Upper Burma in the time of the Burman Kings may be gathered from a report submitted to the Government of India by Sir C. Crosthwaite, who had succeeded Sir C. Bernard as Chief Commissioner. In this letter, under date 20th March 1888, it is stated as follows: "On our taking over the country stringent rules were enacted, and somewhat rigorously enforced against the sale of opium. Many Chinese were flogged and otherwise punished for engaging in a traffic, which, although it may have been nominally prohibited, was allowed to go on under the Burman Government."

Facts regarding consumption of opium in Upper Burma before annexation.

In a second report, dated the 20th April 1888 the evidence is quoted of a high official of the late Burmese Government, U. Pei Sei, magistrate of the city of Mandalay, under both King Mindon and King Thebaw. It was as follows: "The Burmese Government never openly recognised the opium and liquor traffic in Upper Burma; those persons only were punished who sold opium and liquor to Burmans. The Burmese Government admitted the existence of the traffic by levying customs dues through an officer called Dewun Akunwun, on all liquor and opium imported into Upper Burma."

Parl. Return
C.—338, of
1888, p. 9.

Parl. Return
Commons 338,
9th August, 1888,
p. 12.

On this subject we have, also, the evidence of the Rev. J. S. Adams, of the American Baptist Mission, who gave evidence before the Commission in London. He was in Upper Burma from 1874 to 1879, that is, in the last years of King Mindon Min, and in the first year of King Thebaw, whom we deposed in 1885. According to his evidence, the prohibition of the use of opium and liquor by Burmans was at that time strongly enforced by the native authorities in Upper Burma, the Buddhist priests actively co-operating with the King and his officers in the matter, acting as spies upon the people in this and other actions contrary to the Buddhist law, and themselves bringing accusations against the offenders. But this was, so to speak, a law personal to the Burmans, not a territorial law; for Mr. Adams also says that the Chinese, Shans, and Kachins were not interfered with. Their burial and

I. 308.

I. 312-14.

facts may explain his special activity in supporting the priesthood in enforcing the religious law of abstinence. Under his successor, King Thebaw, according to Mr. Smeaton's evidence before the Commission, Mindon Min's prohibitive edicts were almost altogether neglected, and even some of the priesthood took to the use of intoxicants. When our troops occupied Mandalay in 1885 enormous stores of opium were found in the Chinese merchants' quarters, and they admitted that they supplied many Burman consumers. This is proved by the report of Mr. Carter, Deputy Commissioner, in the inquiry of 1891, and was confirmed by Mr. Smeaton in his evidence before the Commission. The Rev. Dr. Cushing also stated that opium was secretly consumed, to some extent, by Burmans when he was in the country before annexation, and Mr. J. E. Bridges gave similar evidence. The religious law remained the same, but the degree to which it was enforced in each reign by the secular arm varied according to the character of the King. It should be added that Chinese, Shans, and Kachins were always allowed to possess opium and to import it for their own use.

II. 8004.

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6923, 6932,
6934, 7351,
7540.Excise ar-
rangements
sanctioned
for Upper
Burma in
1888.Parl. Return
(Commons),
dated 9th
August 1881,
p. 9.

217. Meanwhile the subject attracted further attention in England during the summer of 1887, and on 22nd July, in reply to a question in the House of Commons, the Under Secretary of State said that whatever Excise regulations were made in Upper Burma would be "for the purpose of restricting the sale of spirits and opium in the interest of public order, and of preventing their sale to Burmans, and most certainly not with the view of raising money thereby." The necessity for taking the strongest precautions to prevent the sale of opium and spirits to Burmans in Upper Burma was subsequently impressed upon the Government of India in a despatch dated 18th August 1887. In the report of March 1888, already quoted, Sir Charles Crosthwaite, who was then Chief Commissioner, supported the proposal to continue to prohibit the sale of opium to Burmans in Upper Burma, and recommended that the Opium Act should be extended to the Upper Province with the exception of the Shan States to enable Government to control the traffic in opium and to check consumption by non-Burmans by raising the price of the drug; that an import duty of 15 rupees a viss (3·65 lbs.) should be imposed on all opium brought into the country, and that shops for the retail sale of opium to non-Burmans should be licensed in specified localities. Rules under the Opium Act were at the same time submitted to give effect to these proposals. The measures proposed met with the approval of the Government of India; the Opium Act was extended to Upper Burma and the draft rules submitted were sanctioned and issued. Some reduction in the number of shops which it was proposed to license for the sale of opium to non-Burmans was however suggested as desirable, and the number was finally fixed at 18 instead of 21 as at first recommended. The correspondence was communicated to the Secretary of State in a despatch from the Government of India dated 16th June 1888, and on 9th August 1888 the Secretary of State replied that he had given careful consideration to the arrangements and accepted generally the conclusions which had been arrived at. The settlement of administrative details was left to the Chief Commissioner and to the Government of India, but attention was drawn to the injunction contained in the despatch of 18th August 1887, and in another despatch regarding Excise arrangements in India generally, dated 19th April 1888, "to the effect that a demand for opium must not be created or stimulated at places or in tracts where such demand does not exist or is at present very restricted and that such demand is everywhere to be discouraged."

Policy in
Lower
Burma,
1885-90.Parl. Return,
C.—6562 of
1892, pp. 35,
36.

218. No material change was introduced into the Excise administration of Lower Burma, but the policy of reducing the number of shops licensed for the sale of opium was continued, and in 1887-88 the total number was reduced to 15. In Arakan only one shop had been allowed in the whole division since 1885. But in spite of these arrangements, there was no signs that the habit was diminished in Arakan, and in other divisions there were large tracts without shops where much opium appears to have been consumed in an illicit way. Sir Charles Crosthwaite, therefore, in the review of the Provincial Excise Report for 1887-88, expressed an opinion that the policy had been pushed too far, and that it was not possible to prevent the use of opium in districts where there was a large actual demand for it by refusing to license shops for its sale. On the principle, therefore, that a demand for opium should be regulated rather than ignored, five additional shops for the sale of the drug were licensed with effect from the year 1889-90, bringing up the total number of shops licensed in the Lower Province to 20.

Circumstances in which present System was introduced throughout the Province.

219. In the memorial regarding the consumption of opium and drugs in India, which was presented to the Secretary of State in 1890, the Anti-Opium Society expressed satisfaction at the closure of two more shops in Lower Burma since the submission of their previous memorial to Lord Kimberley on the 4th March 1886, but observed that they could not regard this as a satisfactory rate of progress in the diminution of temptations to vice. They repeated, therefore, the arguments already put forward in favour of prohibition in Lower Burma, and referred to the supposed success of the prohibition of *ganja* in 1872 as an additional argument in favour of the prohibition of opium. In respect to Upper Burma they quoted the passages in their former memorial, which urged that total prohibition would be easier than regulation and would be more in accordance with the religious and moral sense of the people, and expressed regret that this view had not commended itself to the Government of India, and that fourteen shops for the sale of opium, professedly to the Chinese and Shan population, had been opened in the province.

The Anti-Opium Society's Memorial of 1890, C.—6552, p. 110, and Sir A. Mackenzie's first proposals.

220. The memorial was referred to the Chief Commissioner for any remarks he might wish to offer regarding Burma; and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who was then Chief Commissioner, replied to the following effect in a letter dated 2nd February 1891. The increase in the consumption of opium in the province during the preceding four years was not thought to indicate any serious extension of the practice of opium eating and smoking among the Burmese, or to be greatly disproportionate to the increase of population. In his opinion, however, the reports which had from time to time been submitted showed that the consumption of opium by Burmans in some districts of Lower Burma was already very considerable and that it was increasing, though not to any very serious extent, save in special tracts such as Arakan, the seaport towns, and the delta of the Irrawaddy. The existence also of traffic in smuggled opium made it impossible to accept the figures showing the quantity of opium issued by Government to licensed vendors as a correct indication of the total quantity of opium consumed. The use of opium by persons of Burmese race was denounced by all respectable Burmans and by every European authority in the province, official and non-official, as deleterious and harmful in a very special degree, and the measures taken to discourage consumption by reducing the number of shops for the retail sale of the drug had produced very little effect upon the quantity of opium issued from the Government treasuries. Sir A. Mackenzie therefore declared himself willing to see the possession of opium in any quantity by natives of Burma declared illegal, except under medical or special certificate. To provide for the case of Burmans of the present generation who were too old to break themselves of the habit with safety, it was suggested that men of not less than 40 years of age who were accustomed to the use of opium, might be permitted to register themselves as foreigners for the purpose of the Opium Act and Rules, a certificate being granted on registration authorising the holder to purchase and possess the ordinary legal quantity of opium. Absolute prohibition of the use of opium in the province was not, however, recommended. Such a prohibition would, it was thought, be an unjustifiable interference with the habits of the Chinese, Shans and other foreign residents in the country, who, as had been frequently explained, were in the habit of using opium without "ill effects or even with "beneficial results," and would be quite impossible to enforce. The prohibition of *ganja*, which was at one time supposed to have stamped out the use of the drug in Burma, was admitted to have been ineffectual, and the prohibition of opium would be even more difficult. Failing prohibition of the possession of opium by Burmans, Sir A. Mackenzie declared himself "an advocate for the absolute closing of opium taverns "to men of Burmese race," as he was satisfied from his experience in the Central Provinces "that it was desirable to put a stop to the temptations of gregariousness "in vice;" he had "no faith in the check supposed to be exercised by public opinion," which was the main argument relied on by those who advocated the restriction of consumption to licensed premises.

Parl. Return, C.—6562, of 1892.

221. On receiving this memorandum the Government of India expressed themselves willing to sanction the proposal for the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans in Lower Burma, if they could be satisfied, (1) that the evil to be removed was as great as was depicted, (2) that it would be practicable to enforce the prohibition, and (3) that its enforcement would not be accompanied by evils as great as that which it was desired to remove; and they informed the Chief Commissioner that the possible loss of revenue involved would not be allowed to stand in the way of

Orders of Government upon Sir A. Mackenzie's first proposals.

Parl. Return,
C.—6562,
pp. 102–105.

the adoption of the measure if they were satisfied that it was practicable and desirable. The existence of practical unanimity of opinion among respectable Burmans and Europeans acquainted with the country, that opium is specially deleterious to persons of Burmese race, was admitted; but it was pointed out that the papers on the subject, though they contained many statements of opinion, did not contain many facts in support of the opinions. The Chief Commissioner was accordingly requested to test the correctness of the generally adopted view as to the difference of the effects of the use of opium upon Burmans and non-Burmans by the collection of statistics, facts, and figures, and to report further as to the possibility of enforcing the proposed prohibition, and as to the means which should be adopted to prevent hardship to persons already accustomed to the use of the drug. The failure of the existing preventive agency to restrict the licensed vendors to legitimate sales at their shops, and to prevent them from supplying other localities through secret agents was noticed as proof of the difficulty of enforcement of restrictive rules, and the danger of the prohibition resulting in a system of police espionage and extortion that would make our rule odious and unpopular were indicated as questions requiring very serious consideration.

222. The willingness of the Governor General in Council to sanction the complete prohibition of the smoking of opium by persons of any race on the premises of licensed shops was at the same time communicated; and this question was shortly afterwards disposed of by the resolution of the Government of India, dated 25th September 1891, which prohibited the smoking of opium upon licensed premises throughout the whole of India.

The inquiry
of 1891, and
Mr. Smea-
ton's Note
upon the
results.

II. pp. 481–8.

223. The Chief Commissioner, in a Resolution dated 29th August 1891, issued orders for the collection of the statistics, facts, and figures required by the Government of India as to the difference in the effects of opium upon Burmans and non-Burmans. Commissioners in Upper Burma also were directed to report how far the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans in that part of the country had been effectual.

II. pp. 538–47.

224. The reports and returns submitted in accordance with these orders by Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners, Police officers, and Superintendents of gaols were reviewed and analysed by the Financial Commissioner, Mr. Smeaton, in a note dated 27th April 1892. The results of the policy pursued in regard to opium in Lower Burma were said by him to constitute a grave indictment against the British Government, and to demonstrate the necessity for the absolute and speedy prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans; though the inquiries showed that the evil effects of the opium habit on mind and body were much less marked in the case of other races such as Chinese, Shans, or Indians, he considered that the licensing of shops to supply them was inconsistent with effectual prohibition in the case of Burmans. He proposed, therefore, that all shops for the sale of opium should be closed in Lower Burma, and that the possession and use of opium should be prohibited, except by such Burmans as might declare themselves and might be ascertained by medical examination, to be physically incapable of discontinuing its use, and by such non-Burmans as might, on similar examination, be held likely to be permanently injured, or to suffer permanently in mind and body by abstention from it. Persons thus permitted to use opium should be registered and licensed, and opium required for their use should be supplied from township officers or sub-divisional dispensaries. Burmese doctors and professional tattooers should also be registered and licensed, and opium should be supplied to them for use in the quantities and for the purposes certified by the *thugyis* or headmen of their villages. On completion of the registration, no new entries in the registers of persons of Burmese race should be permitted, but registration of non-Burmans applying for permission to use opium might be continued. To enforce the prohibition of the use of opium by any but registered consumers, he recommended that preventive establishments should be strengthened; that the Burmese priests should be induced to co-operate in the suppression of illicit traffic; and that Government should insist on the punishment of imprisonment being inflicted, with or without fine according to circumstances, upon all offenders against the prohibition.

225. As regards Upper Burma, Mr. Smeaton observed that the reports showed that the consumption of opium was small as compared with Lower Burma, and that there appeared to be grounds for believing that the original prohibition of sale and the recent prohibition of possession of opium by Burmans, coupled with the restrictions placed on the traffic and sale of opium and the rigorous measures taken against smuggling, had at least to a great extent arrested the progress which opium was certainly making among the people before and at the time of the annexation. The evil, however, existed, and for

its complete eradication he recommended that all shops for the sale of opium should be closed, and that the measures proposed for Lower Burma should also be adopted in their entirety in the Upper Province.

226. Sir A. Mackenzie, in a Minute dated 30th April 1892, drawn up as he himself explained under great pressure on the eve of his departure from the province, stated briefly the conclusions at which he had arrived from perusal of the papers, but he was unable to prepare as he had intended a detailed review of the whole case. The statistics afforded, in his opinion, strong confirmation of the correctness of the views held throughout a long series of years by almost all authorities, official and non-official, European and native, as to the injury caused by the consumption of opium in Burma, and brought out the fact that the evil was a rapidly growing one in many parts of the Lower Province. They also led him to the conclusion that he did not go far enough, in his letter of 2nd February 1891, in proposing to limit the prohibition of the use of opium to Burmans while leaving the shops for the sale of opium open to foreigners. The limitation was, as he explained, mainly proposed in the interests of the Chinese, but the number of male Chinese of all ages in Burma was less than 30,000, and although he believed that most of the adults used opium when they could get it, and that it did them little harm, it would, he thought, be possible to provide for their wants without maintaining shops for the sale of the drug. There were, it was true, over 200,000 adult natives of India in Burma, but there was no reason to believe that any very large number of these were consumers of opium; while as regards Shans and Kachins he now found that officers acquainted with them held that opium was nearly as deleterious to them as to Burmans. He recommended, therefore, that all shops for the sale of opium throughout Burma should be closed, and that opium should be supplied to hospitals and dispensaries for issue there of not more than three tolas at a time at a price of Rs. 5 per tola to two classes of purchasers only (1) to persons holding a medical prescription authorising them to receive for some special cause a daily dose of opium for a period not exceeding 14 days, (2) to persons holding annual licenses to buy and use opium habitually, such licenses being granted, on payment of a special fee of Rs. 10 for each license, to Chinese, and to persons of other races producing a medical certificate that the habitual use of opium was necessary for their health, and to tattooers and native medical practitioners. Enforcement of the prohibition with sufficient completeness was held to be possible if all shops for the sale of opium were closed throughout the province; and in Sir A. Mackenzie's opinion Burmans were not at any time likely to be severely victimised by the police. "I wish it to be understood," he wrote, in conclusion, "that while I advocate the suppression of the opium trade in Burma, I do so solely with reference to the special circumstances of that country and the condition of the people. I do not believe that opium in India or China does any great harm to the majority of those who use it, i.e., to moderate smokers and eaters. But here in Burma we are brought face to face with the fact that the religion of the people specifically denounces the use of the drug; that their native kings treated its use as a heinous offence; that these ideas are so deeply rooted in the minds of the people that every opium consumer feels himself to be, and is regarded by his neighbours as, a sinner and a criminal; that the people are by temperament pleasure-loving and idle, and easily led away by vicious indulgences; that they have little self-restraint, and are always prone to rush into extremes. If a Burman takes to drink or opium he wants to get drunk or drugged as fast as he can or as often as he can. All this seems to me to point to the necessity of special treatment. Then, to crown all, we have the fact that in Upper Burma we actually do prohibit the sale to and possession of the drug by Burmans, I cannot see how we can properly have one policy north of latitude 19° 30', and a different policy south of it, among people of the same race and living under the same Local Administration."

Sir A. Mackenzie's second proposals, 1892. II. 537, 538.

227. Mr. Fryer, the officiating Chief Commissioner, was then requested to prepare the detailed review of the whole case which Sir A. Mackenzie had not been able to do, and to submit his own opinion and recommendations, and this he did in a note dated 4th July 1892. Mr. Fryer pointed out various inaccuracies and inconsistencies in Mr. Smeaton's statements and calculations, and expressed the opinion that his estimate of the number of habitual Burman consumers was much exaggerated, but he agreed that the Burmans were better without opium, and was in favour of further strong measures of restriction in Lower Burma. He was, however, adverse to a policy of total prohibition, and considered that it would be impracticable to enforce it. The system in Upper Burma of prohibiting the use of opium by Burmans and allowing it in the case of non-Burmans had in his opinion worked well and reduced the use

Final recommendations by Mr. Fryer.

II. pp. 624-628.

of opium by Burmans in that part of the country since annexation, and it was undesirable to alter it. He recommended, therefore, that the prohibition of the possession and use of opium by Burmans should be extended to Lower Burma; that all consumers, Burman and non-Burman, should be registered; that registered Burman consumers should receive certificates authorising them to purchase and possess opium; and that a maximum quantity of opium should be fixed for issue to each licensed shop in accordance with the ascertained number of legitimate Burman and non-Burman consumers.

Orders by
the Govern-
ment of
India, 1893.

II. 628-31.

228. Orders were issued by the Government of India in March 1893. They held that the extent of the evil had been exaggerated; that the statistics collected were wanting in accuracy, and the inferences drawn from them were in some respects unsound; that the total prohibition of the use of opium, as proposed by Sir A. Mackenzie in his minute of 30th April 1892, was uncalled for and impracticable; and that any attempt to enforce such a prohibition would be accompanied by harassment of the people and risk of oppression to an extent for which there could be no justification. There was, however, they thought, evidence to show that the policy of prohibiting the use of opium in Upper Burma by Burmans had been attended with considerable success, and the differential treatment of the two provinces was recognised as undesirable. They determined, therefore, with the approval of the Secretary of State to assimilate the law in Lower Burma to that which existed in the Upper Province, and Mr. Fryer's proposals were accordingly sanctioned.

Enactment
of rules to
give effect to
the new
system.

II. App. XL.
and I.

229. Rules under the Opium Act to give effect to these orders were framed and submitted by the officiating Chief Commissioner in May 1893, but scrutiny and revision were found to be necessary, and the rules in their final form were not approved and published until November 1893. In the draft rules as originally submitted the right of all non-Burmans over 20 years of age to obtain opium was admitted. They were required, however, to register themselves as consumers, and this the Government of India declined to sanction on the ground that the orders issued merely directed the assimilation of the law in Lower Burma to that which was in force in the Upper Province. They had no objection to the enumeration of non-Burmans, as a means of ascertaining the number of opium consumers, but were not prepared to sanction rules making registration a condition necessary to the lawful possession of opium by a non-Burman. No cause had in their opinion been shown for subjecting non-Burmans in Lower Burma to restrictions that were not in force in Upper Burma, or in any other part of India.

I. pp. 488, 489.

230. Against this refusal to sanction the compulsory registration of non-Burman consumers of opium, the Anti-Opium Society submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State urging that the policy of prohibition as carried out in Upper Burma was admitted to have completely failed. They asked, therefore, that it should be made a "universal rule that no inhabitant of Burma, whatever his race, shall be able to purchase or possess opium unless his name is entered on the register of opium consumers, and then only in such quantity as may be shown by sufficient evidence to be necessary for his own personal use." The memorial was considered by the Government of India, but the previous decision was adhered to, and on the 6th December 1893 they informed the Secretary of State that in their opinion no sufficient cause had been shown for extending the prohibition to non-Burmans, and that such extension would increase the chances of failure of the experiment which they had resolved to attempt.

Description of present System and Views of the Commission as to Prohibition in the case of Burmans.

Description
of the new
system.

231. The system which has been introduced is of a somewhat complicated character. It is an attempt to assimilate the law in Lower and Upper Burma, with certain differences, which have had for the present to be maintained. For this reason and because it is a new system and a subject of controversy it seems advisable to set out the principal provisions of the rules in the footnote below.*

** Main Provisions now in Force.*

II. App. XL.

The cultivation of the poppy is prohibited throughout Burma, except in certain outlying tracts consisting of Kachin villages in the Katha, Bhamo, and Upper Chindwin districts in Upper Burma. Cultivation is permitted in the Kachin villages on political grounds, as it existed there uncontrolled prior to annexation, and the people have hitherto been allowed great liberty. The exact area under poppy is unknown as the localities in which cultivation is carried on are for the most part beyond the sphere of regular administration. The cultivation is subject to a light acreage duty.

(Footnote—continued.)

In Lower Burma, as was the case under the old system, the only opium allowed to be used is Bengal Excise opium, and the import of other opium, except Turkish opium for medical purposes, is prohibited. Bengal Excise opium is imported by Government and is stored in the district treasuries for issue to vendors as required. The price at which it is issued to licensed vendors has been maintained at the rates existing before the introduction of the new system, viz., 28 rupees per ser in Arakan and 32 rupees per ser in the rest of the province. The cost price to Government being only Rs. 7 annas 4 the ser, it will be seen that a heavy duty is put on the opium before it reaches the licensed vendors' hands. Another heavy duty is imposed in the fees paid for the licenses, so that the vendors to obtain a profit from their business have to raise the retail price to the consumers to Rs. 50 per ser.

In Upper Burma Government Excise opium and opium from China and the Shan States are both allowed to be used. Excise opium is imported and issued by Government in the same manner and at the same price as in Lower Burma, and persons holding licenses for wholesale or retail vend of opium may import by land under passes and on payment of an import duty of 15 rupees per viss (3.65 lbs.) opium and poppy heads produced in China, the Shan States, and other countries. The continuance of the import of this opium into Upper Burma has been permitted since annexation by our Government for political reasons and because the consumers are accustomed to it, but the duty has been made fifteen times heavier than it was before annexation. It is also thought that if the import of this opium were absolutely prohibited it would be impossible to prevent extensive smuggling across the land frontier of Burma.

Wholesale licenses may be granted in Upper Burma to non-Burmans importing opium from Yunnan or the Shan States for sale to retail vendors on payment of a fee of Rs. 20 for each license. These licenses are limited in number and said to be usually held by persons also holding licenses for retail vend.

Opium and poppy heads produced in the Kachin villages in the Katha, Bhamo, and Upper Chindwin districts can be sold to any non-Burman but are liable on transport to any area in which the cultivation of the poppy is not permitted to the same duty as is imposed on opium and poppy heads imported by land into Upper Burma.

Both in Upper and Lower Burma medical practitioners, meaning persons who have been registered under an English Medical Act, or who have received medical diplomas from an Indian university and who practice medicine according to European methods, and pharmacists, meaning persons who deal in European medicines and drugs, and who hold licenses under the opium rules, are permitted to import by sea opium, medical preparations, and poppy heads not produced in India. Medical practitioners are under no restrictions as to the quantities of opium, &c, which they may import. Pharmacists however are ordinarily only allowed to import quantities not exceeding one ser in weight in the case of opium or of medical preparations of opium and 10 sers in the case of poppy heads, though the Financial Commissioner is authorised to sanction the import of larger quantities in special cases.

On opium imported by sea by medical practitioners and pharmacists a duty of 24 rupees per ser is levied under the Indian Tariff Act.

Merchants or travellers entering Upper or Lower Burma by land from China, the Shan States, or any other country out of India, are permitted to import and possess while in Burma opium not produced in India in quantities not exceeding five tolas for each person for the personal use of themselves and their attendants, and horse dealers bringing horses into Burma from the Shan States or from a country other than India are similarly permitted to import and possess opium not produced in India in any quantity not exceeding five tolas in weight for each horse for the time being in their possession. This is a limited form of an old privilege, and in the interest of commerce and free intercourse it has not been thought prudent to abolish it altogether.

Opium may be exported from Burma by Government only.

Throughout Burma any person may possess opium in any quantity not exceeding three tolas, and medical preparations of opium in any quantity not exceeding six tolas in weight, and poppy heads in any quantity not exceeding five sers, which he has purchased for medical purposes from a medical practitioner, a pharmacist, or a doctor, meaning a person practising medicine according to Asiatic methods and holding a license according to the rules.

Non-Burmans may also possess for their own use opium in any quantity up to three tolas in weight, and poppy heads in any quantity up to five sers in weight, which have been lawfully obtained, and in the Kachin villages in Upper Burma, where the poppy is grown, they may possess any quantity of opium or poppy heads there produced. In Upper Burma non-Burmans are permitted to possess Chinese or Shan as well as Government Excise opium, but in Lower Burma they are permitted to possess Government Excise opium only.

In Upper Burma the possession of opium by Burmans except for medical purposes is prohibited. In Lower Burma the same rule applies with the exception that those Burmans over 25 years of age who have applied to be registered as habitual consumers and proved their assertion are treated as non-Burmans and may possess opium, lawfully obtained in limited quantities, for their private consumption. The exception is a temporary one made out of consideration for the present generation of habitual consumers. When the men now registered die out the law will be the same in Lower as in Upper Burmah.

A Burman, throughout Burma, means a person born of parents both of whom belong to races indigenous to Burma, except a Kachin, a Shan, or a Palaung. A non-Burman, means every person who is not a Burman.

In Lower Burma, the registration of Burman habitual consumers was commenced in April 1893, and was continued until 30th June 1894. The registers were then closed, and no Burman may now be registered unless he can prove that he was prevented by absence, or other reasonable cause, from entering his name before the prescribed date. Each registered consumer is furnished with a certificate of registration, and is required to produce it when buying opium as a proof that he may legally possess it.

Registration was voluntary, but notices were issued for the information of consumers, in March 1893, that after the introduction of the new rules, no unregistered Burman in Lower Burma, would be permitted to possess opium except for medical purposes. The rules provide for the periodical verification and for the proper maintenance of the registers by the removal of the names of any persons who may wish to discontinue the habitual use of opium, and by transfer from one register to another of consumers who may change their place of residence.

In order to enable registered habitual consumers to obtain opium out of their own townships when temporarily travelling or residing elsewhere, special licenses may be issued with the sanction of Commissioners authorising any person to possess opium and medical preparations made therefrom in such quantity and for such period as may be specified in the licenses, but the possession of Government Excise opium only may be authorised in Lower Burma.

232. It may be stated broadly that for Burmans the new system is (with a small exception which will soon disappear) one of very stringent prohibition of all use or possession of opium except for medical purposes, enforceable by heavy fine and imprisonment. For non-Burmans it is the old system not materially changed. The new rule of fixing a limit of total quantity to be sold at each shop is intended to prevent illicit sale to Burmans, rather than to curtail the supply to non-Burmans. There are, as before, shops or offices from which the latter can buy opium without reference to the object for which they require it, but such places are few and far between, and opium can be obtained only in small quantities and at a very high price. Short of absolute prohibition, it would be difficult to devise a more restrictive system.

Remarks by the Commission on the new system, and on the inquiry and correspondence which preceded it.

II. pp. 628-31.

233. It is evident that the Government of India accepted the policy of prohibition to Burmans with great hesitation, and the reasons they gave for hesitation in their despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 22nd March 1893, appear to us to be undoubtedly weighty. As to their remarks in that despatch on the returns and reports of the inquiry of 1891, and the conclusions drawn therefrom by Mr. Smeaton and Sir A. Mackenzie, we agree that the estimate of the total number of consumers in Lower Burma cannot be held to be proved by the statistics; but in spite of the gaol returns quoted by the Government of India we are disposed to accept the view of the majority of Burma officers, that the opium habit has been increasing in Lower Burma in recent as well as in earlier years. With the other remarks of the Government of India on the inquiry of 1891 we generally concur, and in particular we entirely agree that the returns of persons morally and physically wrecked by opium are calculated to give a greatly exaggerated idea of the degree to which Burmans are injured physically or morally by the habit. The examination of Mr. Smeaton himself and the other evidence which we have taken in Burma on the point confirm this view. We refer to the evidence of Mr. Bridges, Commissioner, Mr. Irwin, Deputy Commissioner, and Doctors

II. pp. 183-88, 207, 208, 209-14, 225, 240.

(Footnote--continued.)

In Lower Burma, shops for the retail sale of opium are retained in places where there is a considerable number of non-Burmans, or of registered Burman consumers, and in Upper Burma, shops are located at places where there is a considerable non-Burman population addicted to the use of opium. The fees charged for the licenses for vend in both promises are determined by public auction. The actual number of shops now licensed is 15 in Lower Burma and 19 in Upper Burma.

Subject to the conditions of his license, a licensed vendor may sell by retail Government opium and poppy heads to any person in Lower Burma who is permitted to possess them, and Government or foreign opium or poppy heads to any non-Burman in Upper Burma.

At four places in Lower Burma, where the number of registered Burman and non-Burman consumers is considerable, but is not large enough to justify the existence of licensed shops, the duty of selling opium by retail to such consumers is imposed on certain Government officials, in addition to their ordinary duties as it would, it is thought, be impossible to prevent smuggling in of illicit opium and promiscuous sale if no means were provided for supplying such habitual consumers in a legal and recognised manner.

To prevent the illicit sale of opium by licensed or official vendors to persons not authorised to possess it, the maximum quantity of opium which a licensed vendor may possess, and in the four places in which opium is sold by Government agency, the maximum quantity which may be sold to consumers at each place in the whole year, is fixed by Government on a consideration of the number of persons legally entitled to possess opium living in the area served by the shop or Government agency, and of the probable amount of their requirements. The amount allowed for each consumer per diem is one quarter of a tola, viz., 45 grains. No minimum is fixed, and a licensed vendor may therefore possess and sell as little opium as he pleases, but he may not possess and sell more than the maximum quantity, as above determined by Government. All retail vendors licensed or official have to keep a daily account of sales, and to record therein the amounts sold to each purchaser.

Medical practitioners, pharmacists, and Native doctors, are also allowed to sell opium, poppy heads, and medical preparations of opium by retail. Medical practitioners are under no restriction as to the quantity of opium, &c. which they may possess and sell subject to the legal limit of possession by individuals, and are not required to take out licenses.

Pharmacists and Native doctors, however, must be licensed, and the quantities of opium, poppy heads and medical preparations which they may possess and sell are limited. In the case of pharmacists the limit is the same as that fixed for import by sea, viz., 10 sers of poppy heads, one ser of opium, and one ser of medical preparations, and in the case of doctors the limit is 10 sers of poppy heads, and 10 tolas of opium, or of medical preparations of opium.

Pharmacists, however, may be specially authorised to possess larger quantities at the discretion of the Financial Commissioner. Professional tattooers also may be licensed to possess and use for purpose of their profession any quantity of opium and medical preparations not exceeding 10 tolas in weight. Tattooing, it may be explained, is in Burma a recognised profession, and it is a universal custom to tattoo boys from the waist to the knees. The operation is painful, and opium is used to allay the pain. The number of professional tattooers in Burma at the census of 1891 was 4,280.

In Lower Burma, Native doctors and tattooers are, with the object of preventing illicit traffic in foreign opium, restricted to the use of the Government drug, but in Upper Burma they are permitted to use Shan or Chinese, as well as Government opium.

Any person contravening any one of the rules above summarised is liable on conviction before a magistrate, to be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Dalzell, Johnstone, and Dantra. All these officers support prohibition in the case of Burmans, except two of the doctors, who ventured no opinion on that question either way. It must be remembered also that these returns are the results of local inquiries made chiefly by Burman elders in the position of subordinate district officials, township officers, or village headmen. There is abundant evidence that this respectable class of Burmans regards the habit and its toleration by our Government with a peculiar aversion, based, no doubt, in part upon experience of the harm it does, but in part also, on a religious and sentimental regard for the old traditional Native law of prohibition. The forms to be filled in appear in no case to have provided columns for degrees of injury, and in many instances a man had to be returned either as not having suffered at all or as having been morally or physically wrecked.

234. As a fact, it is well known that in all countries where the opium habit prevails, sufferers from the effects of malarious fever, pulmonary complaints, syphilis, rheumatism, and other diseases are apt to take to opium, and to be more or less physical wrecks, apart from any effect of the drug; and there is evidence that though it is true that a Burman who takes to the habit loses his self-respect and the respect of his neighbours, and often descends to petty crime, yet it is also true that naturally vicious and disreputable people, who have no self-respect or respect of their neighbours to lose, commonly take to the habit for the pleasure they find in it. The opium habit, in fact, is in Burma as often a consequence of bad character, as bad character is a consequence of opium.

235. But though the strong dislike of the habit which respectable Burmans evince is due to religious and national sentiment as well as to experience, yet the existence of such a sentiment was a matter which the Government of India was bound to take into consideration, and they would, in our opinion, have incurred a grave responsibility if they had refused to try the experiment of prohibition in the case of persons of Burmese race. There are other reasons for the exceptional treatment of Burma, which we think may be stated with advantage. We have already pointed out that in India both Hindus and Muhammadans generally regard the use of alcohol as disreputable, and more or less directly contrary to their religion. The Indian who takes to opium does not lose his self-respect or the respect of his neighbours in the same way as if he took to alcohol. The contrary is the case with the Burmans. Both opium and alcohol are prohibited by the Buddhist religion, but in practice the use of opium in Burma has been more strongly discountenanced than the use of alcohol. The use of liquor appears to have prevailed in the country before it became Buddhist, and is connected with the ceremonies of the old Pagan religion, many traces of which are found embedded in the popular form of Buddhism.

The Commission's reasons for approving the experiment of prohibition to Burmans.

7532-35.

236. Again, the evidence before us certainly shows that the Burman who takes to opium is more often injured physically and morally than the Indian. This difference is generally attributed to a difference in mind or character. The Burman is more impulsive, pleasure loving, and reckless than the Indian. The latter has more stability of character, more industry, and much more thrift and prudence, inherited perhaps from a harder struggle for existence. These characteristics give the Indian more power of self-control than is possessed by the Burman. It may be noted that the evidence from the Straits Settlements shows a similar difference, in respect to the injurious effect of the opium habit between the Chinaman and the Malay. There seems no doubt that the Malays are more impulsive and excitable than the Chinese, and that the Burmans are much nearer in temperament to them than to the Chinese or Indians.

V. 148.

237. The opium habit also is a very old custom of the population, or of certain castes or races in some parts of India, and the custom shows no signs of spreading to other tracts or other races, or of increase where it has hitherto prevailed. On the contrary, the evidence before us shows that from rise of price due to restrictive measures and change of fashion, the custom has in many cases been decreasing in the last 20 years, its place being often taken by alcohol. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that the use of opium by Burmans in Lower Burma has very considerably increased in the same period, in spite of regulations much more stringent than have been in force in India. The average annual sales of Excise opium in the five years ending 1870-71 amounted to 15,632 sers, and from the first regular census of Lower Burma, taken in 1872, which gave the population at 2,747,148, we may assume the average population of the quinquennial period to have been, say, something under 2,700,000. But in the five years ending 1890-91 the average annual sales rose to 51,725 sers, and the average

See Annual Excise Reports, Burma, for the years in question.

population of that period may be put at 4,500,000 as the census of 1892 gave it as 4,658,627. Whilst the population, therefore, has increased by 63 per cent., the consumption of opium has risen by 230 per cent. These figures may perhaps exaggerate the real increase in Burman consumption, for two reasons: first, because a considerable proportion of the increase of population consists of Chinese, Indian, and Shan immigrants, who are much more addicted to opium than the Burmans; and, secondly, because much foreign opium from Yunnan and the Shan States was formerly smuggled into Lower Burma. In recent years this opium has been successfully excluded by the efforts of revenue officers and licensed vendors, assisted by the preference of consumers for excise opium. But after making all necessary deductions on these accounts, a considerable increase in consumption by Burmans seems certain, and this conclusion is fully supported by the general opinion of Burmans and of English officials in Burma.

II. 6750.

238. In saying above that the opium habit in India was an old custom and not increasing, we were referring to opium-eating. In Burma, on the other hand, opium-smoking is the common habit which is on the increase. This habit is mainly a gregarious one, practised in public saloons or so-called clubs. We agree with Sir A. Mackenzie's remark, already quoted, to the effect that the temptations afforded by gregariousness in vice outweigh the restraint supposed to be exercised by public opinion. There is no good evidence that smoking is in itself more injurious physically than eating opium, but it appears to be a more seductive habit, and more ruinous to poor men, because more wasteful of time as well as of money.

239. For all these reasons we consider that there was a special case for trying the experiment of prohibition in the case of the Burmans. It seems to us to involve no political danger, as the traditions of the country and the sympathy of the great majority of the Burmans support the policy.* Moreover, when we annexed Upper Burma in 1886 we continued the prohibition of sale to, and possession of opium by, Burmans which we found existing, and, as Sir A. Mackenzie said at the end of his Minute of 30th April 1892, this was a crowning argument for extending the same prohibition to Lower Burma.

Remarks on
manner of
enforcement
of the pro-
hibition in
case of Bur-
mans.

8252.

8079 and 8256.

II. p. 548.
App. L.

240. The experiment must, however, be carefully watched. There is no doubt that there is some risk of injustice and oppression if these measures of prohibition are to be carried out against the actual consumer with the severity which has been advocated before us. We consider that such severity may be justifiable in the case of persons convicted of making a trade of breach of the law, such as professional smugglers, unlicensed vendors, or vendors—official or medical—selling illicitly; but we are of opinion that it would be dangerous and demoralising to apply it to the case of persons who are convicted of mere illicit possession of small quantities of the drug intended for their own personal use. We would refer to the evidence of Mr. Smeaton as to the risk of corruption and oppression which would be likely to follow the free use of the police and informers, and as to the evils of any tyrannical suppression of the drug. Major Grey's remarks show how near we have already gone to that point in Arakan under the old system. It is to be hoped that the moral effect of the prohibition will increase the zeal of the priests and elders, and that their influence, coupled with the risk and difficulties of illicitly obtaining the drug, will prevent any large number of new Burman recruits to the habit.

Treatment of Non-Burmans under present System, and Views of the Commission on this Subject.

The exemp-
tion of cer-
tain races
in Burma
from prohi-
bition.
The Indians
in Burma.

241. We pass now to the consideration of the exemption of certain races in Burma from the prohibitive rules of the new system, the point to which the inquiry made in Burma was specially directed. They consist of the Indians and Chinese, who are true foreigners or non-Burmans, and of certain indigenous tribes who have been treated as non-Burmans in the new regulations. The Indians, of whom there are upwards of 200,000 in the country, may be grouped as Panjabis and Hindustanis, Bengalis and Chittagonians, and Madrasis. In respect of these, the evidence taken in Burma accords generally with the evidence taken by the Commission in India, and does not contain much that is either new or material. The Sikhs of the Burma Military Police are said to eat opium extensively, especially when employed in active service under unfavourable climatic conditions, and exposed to malarial influence; and the Deputy

II. 8184, 8187.

* There is reason to believe that opium is used in certain districts as a prophylactic against malaria, and the suggestion has been made that in such cases the general rules should be somewhat relaxed.

Inspector-General, is of opinion that it would be necessary to exempt from any order of prohibition that might be enforced. This evidence corroborates that taken in other places, as to the value attached by natives of the Punjab, especially Sikhs, to opium as a stimulant in times of severe bodily fatigue and exposure. The evidence as to Madras in Burma is more important. The use of opium among the Madras coolies in Burma, known as Coringhies, who come mainly from the four northern districts of the Madras Presidency, is said by witnesses, such as Mr. Findlay, the manager of one of the rice mills of Messrs. Bullock Brothers, and M. Madooray Pillay, a leading contractor, and a Municipal Commissioner, and honorary magistrate in Rangoon, to be exceedingly common. The opium is eaten as in India, in a crude form in pills, and is said to be taken as a stimulant to lessen the fatigue caused by their daily work, and to have no apparent effect upon the physical energies, or upon the moral character. Immoderate use is said to be rare. There is, in short, no evidence before us that Indians in Burma are being injured by opium.

6832.
6837.
Cf. para. 237.
above.

6743-4, 6905,
7190, 7228.

242. We now come to the Chinese, of whom there are about 40,000 in Burma. There is a remarkable unanimity of opinion throughout the correspondence which has taken place regarding the opium question in Burma, a unanimity as remarkable as that which exists in regard to the injury caused to Burmans by opium, that the drug is commonly used by Chinamen in Burma, and does them little harm, while it is sometimes even beneficial. The opinions of Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Charles Aitchison, and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, have already been referred to. It may be observed that the evidence from China shows that opium wrecks are found there among the poor labouring class whose work involves severe physical exertion much oftener than among merchants, shopkeepers, or artisans, to which classes the Chinese in Burma mainly belong. The number of opium consumers among them was variously estimated by witnesses who appeared before us at from five to forty per cent., and one or two witnesses stated that almost all Chinamen in Burma smoked opium habitually or occasionally. The general tenor of the evidence showed that the habit is exceedingly common. As to its effects, seven Chinamen, themselves opium consumers, gave evidence at Rangoon. Of these four were merchants, two shopkeepers, and one a doctor. The more excessive consumers, who smoked from two to three ounces of opium a day, were wizened, emaciated old men, but intelligent. They admitted that excess weakened a man physically, but argued that it rather cleared and brightened the intellect, and by stimulating the imagination and calming the temper made a man clever in business. The same idea will be found expressed in some of the evidence from China. The moderate smokers said they took it to relieve weakness or disease. It was admitted that poor men who starved themselves to get opium were injured, but it was denied that the drug in itself had any demoralising effect. It was also stated that it would be a harsh measure to prevent the Chinese in Burma from getting opium, and that many would go back to China if that were done. Mr. Weidemann, a district officer of long experience, who has at different times expressed strong views in favour of the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans, stated that the best Chinamen in Burma avoided the habit, but that in his opinion opium used in moderation had no bad effect upon Chinamen physically or morally, though immoderate consumption unfitted a man for steady application to business and often led him into bad habits. Mr. Bridges, the Commissioner of the eastern division of Upper Burma, also an officer of much district experience, gave similar evidence as to the generally moderate and innocuous nature of the habit among Chinamen; and Mr. Warry, the Adviser on Chinese affairs to the Local Administration, in his statement submitted to the Commission, says that he has never noticed any ill result from opium as ordinarily used by Chinamen in Burma, and that though opium occasionally makes a consumer lazy and disinclined to rise early in the morning, he cannot call to mind more than two or three cases in which it has been taken in excess with injurious results to the constitution of the consumer. This officer has had special opportunities of closely observing the Chinese, and was, at the time of our inquiry, absent in Yunnan.

The Chinese
in Burma.

7108, 7141,
7541, 7601.

II. pp. 200-2.

7133, 7596.

6736.

7541.

II. p. 536.

243. Two selected representatives of the Chinese community, numbering 500 or 600, at the frontier town of Bhamo in Upper Burma, were both smokers of opium, and one of them said that opium was generally considered to be a prophylactic against fever. Both gentlemen were agreed that the prohibition of the use of opium by Chinamen in Burma might affect the trade between Burma and China. On the other hand, the habit was condemned by two respectable Chinamen examined at Rangoon, who were non-smokers; and at Mandalay, a Chinese Municipal Commissioner, also a non-smoker, stated that opium was largely smoked by the Cantonese and Fokienese Chinamen in the town, but that it was a bad habit, and was contrary to the traditional precepts of

II. pp. 216-7.

II. pp. 198,
199, 208, 209.

II. pp. 214, 216. his countrymen. A respectable Panthé, or Yunannese Mahomedan, merchant, also said that the Mahomedans of his country thought the habit opposed to the precepts of the Koran, and that it was injurious to persons who were insufficiently nourished, and that some slight loss of reputation attached to the habit.

II. pp. 525, 526. 244. Two memorials, one from Rangoon, signed by 305 Chinamen, and one from Maulmain, signed by 286 Chinamen, were presented to the Commission, asking for the entire suppression of the opium traffic. The Rangoon memorial was drafted and circulated for signature by Mr. Leong Shian Tuck, a Chinaman who had lived all his life in Burma, and had received a good English education. The signatures to the two memorials indicate that among Chinamen in Burma, as elsewhere, there is a very considerable party in favour of total abstinence from opium. The habit is no doubt usually condemned by non-smokers, and sometimes by smokers. On the other hand there is evidence to show that among Chinamen in Burma the opium-smoker is not socially ostracised, and that even the confirmed habit does not in itself entail any loss of position or serious loss of character. The Chinamen in Burma seem to be a notably active and flourishing community, and we do not find it proved that the use of opium is doing them any serious harm.

V. pp. 345, 346.
II. 7399-402,
8346.

6733, 7028.

7050, 7254.

7415, 7417.

Shans,
Palaungs,
and Kachins
in Burma
proper and
in the Shan
States.

245. We come now to the case of the indigenous tribes who have been treated as non-Burmans in the new regulations. The territories to the west and north-west, known as the Burma Shan States, and part of the territory to the north occupied by the Kachins are inhabited by tribes covered by the three names Shan, Palaung, and Kachin. In the eastern parts there are also to be found intermingled with them many small settlements of Chinese or Chinese Shans. Great numbers of these people have emigrated from the Shan States and settled in our districts, particularly in Lower Burmah. By the definition of a Burman, given in the new regulations, Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins are, like Indians or Chinese, classed as non-Burmans, and are subject only to the restrictive part of the system and not to the prohibitory rules.

6939, 6962,
6964.

7528-9, 7547.

II. pp. 523-4.

246. There is some difficulty in describing the evidence put before the Commission as to the Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins, as most of the witnesses who spoke or wrote about them, referred sometimes to those resident in the semi-independent Shan States, and sometimes to those in British districts. But this is not of importance, as the evidence shows that a general resemblance exists in the habits of these people wherever they reside. The Rev. Dr. Cushing's evidence, as to the Shans in Lower Burma, shows that the opium habit is very common among them, but is disapproved by the respectable men who are Buddhists by religion, and that it is generally, therefore, more or less concealed. Mr. Bridges also speaks of the consumption of opium by the Shan Danus or Burmanized Shans, on the borders of Upper Burma, and also in the Shan States. Evidence as to the Kachins in the northern district of Upper Burma shows that almost all the men and many of the women, smoke opium. As to the Shan States, Mr. Scott, who is a very high authority, shows that in a belt on and near the border of the British districts, where the Buddhist religion and Burman influence have long been strong, the habit, though common, is regarded as criminal, and the practice is more or less secret: in the next belt to the east, the habit is common and more openly practised, though it is still regarded by respectable and religious people as a vice: in the furthestmost belt, beyond the Salwin River, the habit is almost universal, and practised without shame or reproach, except in the case of excess. Though this variation according to belts is generally true, yet Mr. Scott says that the Kachins and Palaungs, wherever found are, as a rule, habitual smokers and not ashamed of it. The Rev. Dr. Cushing's evidence as to prevalence of the habit in the Shan States, confirms that of Mr. Scott.

6923, 6928,
6932.

7317, 7378,
7376.

247. As to the origin of the habit of smoking opium in Upper Burma, the evidence seems to show that it came into the Shan States from Yunnan, on the north-east, and has gradually spread to the south. The Sawbwa of Thibaw estimated the age of the habit in the Shan States at 200 or 300 years, and the ex-Sawbwa of Nyoungwe at from 30 to 100 years, and Mong Aung Min who had to deal with Kachins, Shans, and other hill tribes as a high officer of the King of Burmah at the jade mines and elsewhere, said that the people told him that the custom had always existed among them. The distribution of the habit confirms these traditions, and shows that it is an old custom, is old to the north and east, and comparatively modern in the southern Shan States. We know from evidence from China that the habit of smoking opium became prevalent in south-west China many years ago, and that soon after there was a great extension of poppy cultivation in western China, which includes Yunnan.

Cultivation
of the poppy

248. In some of the northern Shan States the cultivation of the poppy is common, and to the east of the Salwin it is in many places the principal agricultural industry.

The opium produced is exported to the other Shan States and Upper Burma, and also to Siam and Chinese territory. In the southern Shan States the cultivation is limited, being confined to small patches in gardens, or to out of the way places in hill ranges, and the yield is not sufficient for local consumption. The poppy is also cultivated extensively in Kachin villages. From the evidence of Mr. Scott and other witnesses, it appears that where the cultivation is most extensive the use of opium is most general, but there are some exceptions to this rule. For example, the Lawas are said to grow poppy largely, but to be deterred by a tribal custom from consuming the produce themselves.

among the Shans and Kachins, and prevalent methods of consuming opium.

6923, 7307, 7861 and 7895-7.

II. p. 523-4.

6924.

7861, 7315.

II. p. 524.

249. As to the method of consumption, the evidence shows that opium is usually smoked by Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins, but Mr. Scott mentions one tribe, the Was, who are great consumers, but make it a rule to take the drug in pills. The Shans and Palaungs generally appear to smoke *chandu*, after the Chinese fashion: the Kachins on the contrary, always smoke leaves soaked in opium prepared in a manner similar to what is called *madak* in India.

250. As to the effect of the opium habit on Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins, the Rev. Dr. Cushing considered it always a bad habit, and estimated that from 17 to 20 per cent. of consumers eventually indulged to excess and became enervated in mind and body, unable to do any work except under the stimulus of the drug. This evidence referred principally to the Shans settled in Lower Burma, whom he was able to watch as he lived permanently among them. The Chief or Sawbwa of the Thibaw State, and an ex-Sawbwa and a Minister of other States, speaking of the Shans said that the habit often became immoderate, and was then injurious to health, leading to indolence, weakness, and shortened life. The two last witnesses said, however, that they had not perceived any evil effects upon the Kachins. A Burmese gentleman who was in charge of the jade mines under the King's Government, and Dr. Kirkpatrick, an American Baptist medical missionary among the Shans, pronounced the effects to be decidedly injurious. On the other hand, Mr. Bridges and other witnesses, speaking of Shans, Chinese Shans, and Kachins, were unable to perceive any evil effect, moral or physical, in the habit as ordinarily practised. Mr. Bagley, the engineer-in-chief of the Mandalay and Kunlon Railway, and Mr. Guinness, the executive engineer of the Mu Valley line, gave remarkable evidence as to the great energy and activity of Shan and Chinese Shan coolies drawn from the parts of the Shan States where the opium habit is most prevalent. These men earned double the wages of Burman coolies, and did not seem injured by the habit though they could not or would not work without opium. Lastly, the statements submitted by Mr. Scott and Mr. Hildebrand are worthy of special attention. "The only Shans," writes Mr. Scott, "who are harmfully affected by the consumption of opium, whether by smoking or swallowing it, are those who take it to excess, and these are usually men of the ruling or official class and therefore the most prominent. Among the great mass of the people I have seen no evil effects. The greatest opium-smokers are those who grow the poppy themselves, and the labour which this cultivation implies in the hills of the Shan States is sufficient guarantee that the farmers are no worn out debauchees. The people are naturally shrewd and the amount of opium they consume has no perceptible effect upon their natural abilities." He goes on to say that, so far from being a curse, he believes opium to be a real boon to the hillmen, and he concludes by saying, "to deprive the Shan and the hillman of opium would be to put him to death. To forbid him to grow the poppy would be to court defiance and revolt."

Effects of opium consumption on Shans and Kachins.

6947, 6957, 6960.

7316, 7319.

7863, 7905.

7872, 7904.

7791-2, 7979.

7547.

7916, 7919.

7951, 7952.

II. pp. 523 and 524.

251. Mr. Hildebrand's testimony is equally strong, and his opinions are the more remarkable as he has been a consistent advocate of a prohibitive policy to Burmans. "On the east of the Salwin," he writes, "where opium smoking in some tracts is universal to whole village communities, male and female, I could not fail to note that there was practically no difference in the general appearance of the population and of their habits with reference to industry or to their fondness of and care of their children. If there was any difference observable between these village communities and village communities in the same condition of life and habit on the west of the Salwin (with the exception of the use of opium), for robustness and cheerfulness the balance would be in favour of the habitual opium consuming community." From the whole of the evidence as regards Shans, Palaungs, and Kachins, we come to the conclusion that though among some of these tribes the habit is almost universal and among all common, yet moderation is commonly practised and serious injury is rare. On the other hand with reference to the climate and conditions of life of these races there seems reason to believe that the habit has in a large proportion of cases a beneficial side.

II. p. 524.

Consideration
of the argu-
ments against
the exclusion
from prohibi-
tion of certain
races in Burma,
and the Com-
mission's
reasons for not
accepting
them.
II. p. 488.

252. We have described at considerable length the evidence put before us in Burma as to the opium habit among the races which are excluded from the prohibitive provisions of the new regulations, *i.e.*, the Indians, the Chinese, and the tribes covered by the names of Shan, Palaung, and Kachin. It has been argued that these exclusions are a mistake, for two reasons, first, because in the case of the excluded races prohibition is equally necessary for their benefit and equally justifiable and practicable; and secondly, because the exclusions will make the system of prohibition in the case of the Burmans a practical failure.

7585, 7589,
8386.

7612.

II. 536.

253. As to the first argument we have come to the conclusion from the evidence that there is a marked distinction, wider, no doubt, in some cases than in others, between the case of the Burmans and that of the races excluded as non-Burmans, and that it is not necessary or advisable at present to impose prohibition upon the latter for their own protection. As to the second argument, it was asserted by those who used it that there was practical experience that the system which has prevailed in Upper Burma since annexation had altogether failed as a measure of prohibition to Burmans. In the first place the new regulation is stronger than the system at first in force in Upper Burma. Possession of opium by Burmans as well as its sale to them has been made punishable, and in future limited quantities only will be issued to licensed vendors, based on estimates of the number of lawful consumers; and in the second place it was clearly proved that the Upper Burma system had not been inoperative as regards Burmans. Mr. Bridges stated in his evidence before the Commission that it had been effectual, except where there are a number of Chinese, and Mr. Fryer, the Officiating Chief Commissioner, expressed his opinion that the rules had much restricted the use of opium by Burmans. A Chinese Municipal Commissioner of Mandalay, who condemned the use of opium, said that the Burmans in Upper Burma have been forced by the system to use less opium than they did in King Mindon Min's time, and Mr. Warry, the Adviser on China affairs, shows how dear and how difficult to obtain opium has been found, even by the Chinese, in Upper Burma.

8284.

II. App. L.

254. Even Mr. Smeaton, upon whose view, as expressed in the Provincial Excise Report for the year 1890-91, the assertion of failure was mainly based, stated in his evidence before us that he is now of opinion that the law had been on the whole successfully enforced, and that indulgence in the habit had increased to a very small extent indeed in Upper Burma. This is the opinion expressed, with practical unanimity, by the District Officers and Commissioners of Upper Burma in their latest reports, and many go further and claim that the system has been successful, and that with the new improvements it will be capable of being fully enforced. In our judgment, therefore, the second argument also fails. Our final conclusion is that no sufficient grounds have been shown for the extension of prohibitive measures to any race outside those classed in the new regulations as Burmans.

255. We think it advisable to give here a summary of the reasons which, in our opinion, justify this conclusion:—

- (1.) The opium habit is, generally speaking, much commoner among the people of those races found in our districts than among the other indigenous races classed as Burmans, and it causes comparatively little or no injury in health, morals, or reputation to the great majority of consumers.
- (2.) It is not thought desirable to impose on those races in our districts a law in respect to opium, so entirely different from the custom and practice which prevail among their brethren of the same races in the adjacent semi-independent territories. The violence of the contrast might raise discontent, might drive some away and prevent others coming in, and might injure our influence over the semi-independent country.
- (3.) The exception is in accordance with the treatment of these races by the Kings of Burma, for they were practically free from the old Native rule or law of prohibition.
- (4.) It is opposed to the general policy of British legislation, not only in India, but at home, to treat the mere personal indulgence in opium, or any other stimulant, as a crime; and it is not right or expedient so to interfere with the personal liberty of any race, except on strong evidence of widespread injury, and of the active sympathy of the majority of the people of such race in such legislation.

256. We have no suggestions to make in detail as to the administration of the measures sanctioned by the Government of India in November 1893, and we recommend that they be maintained unaltered till they are fairly tested by experience.

SECTION IX.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

257. In summing up the general results of our inquiry, we may first consider the arguments by which support has been obtained for the anti-opium movement. It has been widely held that opium is essentially a poison, used only for vicious and baneful indulgence. Judgment on such a question must mainly turn on medical evidence; and it was abundantly provided for the guidance of your Commission.

258. Dealing first with the medical witnesses in the service of Government their testimony was practically unanimous. To the unscientific, the effect of that testimony may perhaps be most clearly conveyed by saying that the temperate use of opium in India should be viewed in the same light as the temperate use of alcohol in England. Opium is harmful, harmless, or even beneficial, according to the measure and discretion with which it is used.

General
purport of
medical
evidence.

259. Opium is used as a stimulant, and it is also largely consumed in India for the mitigation of suffering and the prevention or cure of disease. It is the universal household remedy. It is extensively administered to infants, and the practice does not appear to any appreciable extent injurious. The use of opium does not cause insanity. It does not prejudicially affect the birth-rate, which in India averages 42 per thousand, as against 31.4 per thousand for the United Kingdom. It does not appear responsible for any disease peculiar to itself. An Insurance Society at Bombay, after twenty years' experience, has not found it necessary to impose an extra premium on the lives of moderate opium-eaters.

260. In addition to the evidence tendered by medical witnesses in the service of the Government, we had the testimony in the same sense of medical men in private practice, and of medical missionaries, such as Dr. Clark and Dr. Newton. The medical witnesses who advocated prohibition were few; and all of them were equally if not more opposed to the use of alcohol than to that of opium.

261. In connexion with the medical aspect of the case, it is important to mention that prohibition of the use of opium, except for medical purposes, even if desirable, could not practically be enforced. The medical and quasi-medical uses of the drug are so intermixed that it is impossible to draw a definite line between them. Among large masses of the people there is a strong prejudice against the European system of medicine. Not 10 per cent. ever consult a practitioner on the European system, and a large proportion of the native population never in their lives see a medical man of any school.

262. Turning to the missionary evidence in support of prohibition, we may observe that more than half the witnesses were members of the American Methodist Episcopal and Canadian Presbyterian Communions. Their views were shared by representatives of the Presbyterian and Baptist missions, and the London Missionary Society. These devoted men are without doubt most sincere in their belief in the mischief caused by opium. When, however, we are urged to recommend that the paramount authority of the British Parliament should be brought to bear on the Government of India for the prohibition of the production and use of opium, and the extinction of an export trade which was in existence before British rule in India, it is our duty to weigh most carefully the evidence by which such proposals are supported. We are bound to take notice of the circumstance that most of the missionary witnesses were total abstainers, and some were ardent workers in the cause.

Missionary
evidence
advocating
prohibition.

263. We turn to the testimony on the other side. The views of the Bishops and clergy of Calcutta and Lucknow, and of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Calcutta, have been already set forth. They were opposed to prohibition. We may also invite special attention to the testimony of Mr. James Monro, C.B., formerly commissioner in Bengal, subsequently Chief Commissioner of Police in London, who has now returned to India for missionary work. He had never heard it suggested that the opium trade and the Government connexion with it formed any obstacle to Christian work.

Missionary
evidence not
advocating
prohibition

264. In a matter closely affecting the habits and customs of the people, it would be obviously imprudent to make sweeping changes without some indication of popular approval. We are satisfied that if any desire for the suppression of the use of opium

Disposition
of the people
of India as to
prohibition.

had existed in India, on the part of any large section of the population, it would have made itself felt during the lengthened tour of the Commission. The witnesses who advocated prohibition were few; and fewer still were those who could claim to be men of weight and authority, and in any sense representative. Many belonged to the Bengali sect of the Brahmo Somaj, which numbers about 3,000 adherents, the pledge of total abstinence being a condition of membership. Of the native witnesses adverse to opium, it may be stated that nearly all were total abstainers. Many questions were put by our native colleague, Mr. Haridas Voharidas, with the view of eliciting Native opinions as to the relative influence of opium and alcohol, and as to the religious obligation to observe rules of abstinence. In reply, the witnesses generally admitted that the spread of drinking was the more serious evil, and that, while their religion expressly prohibited alcohol, there was no direct prohibition of the use of opium.

Political associations silent. 265. The National Congress, consisting of delegates from every part of India, has never been slow to criticise the Government. It has made strong declarations against alcohol. It has been silent with reference to opium.

Native opinion must be distinctly in favour of the change. 266. Upon every consideration of prudence and statesmanship, it seems clear that in the position of the British Government in India, we cannot deal experimentally with 290 millions of people, in a matter involving interference with the innermost concerns of personal life, without a clear pronouncement of Native opinion in favour of such a step.

Financial consideration. 267. It is not necessary to repeat the figures and the arguments given elsewhere on the financial aspect of the case. In the present circumstances the revenue derived from opium is indispensable for carrying on with efficiency the Government of India. Every native witness who advocated the suppression of the opium traffic admitted that if, as a consequence of such a step, taxation in some new form must be imposed, popular opinion would be opposed to any change.

The China question. 268. In dealing with China, we have not thought it necessary to present a detailed report. China was not directly included in your Majesty's Order of Reference; but we considered it desirable to give some attention to this side of the question. The evidence we have obtained as to the effects of the use of opium in China has been of a conflicting character. In this matter, responsibility mainly lies with the Chinese Government. It is for them to take the first step in any modification of the present Treaty arrangements. Upon the general question, the position which Great Britain may properly take up is clearly put by Mr. O'Connor, Your Majesty's representative at Peking, in his covering letter addressed to Your Commission. He says:—

"If the use of the drug in China depended on the supply received from India, it might be a practical question what measures could, or ought to, be taken to discourage its importation. But this is not the issue. The quantity of opium grown in China is increasing enormously. Even the nominal prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy no longer exists throughout the whole Empire, and were the importation of Indian opium to be stopped, China would in a few years so increase her production, as not only to supply her own wants, but probably to export opium to foreign countries."

The evil less than it has been represented in England. 269. As the result of a searching inquiry, and upon a deliberate review of the copious evidence submitted to us, we feel bound to express our conviction that the movement in England in favour of active interference on the part of the Imperial Parliament for the suppression of the opium habit in India, has proceeded from an exaggerated impression as to the nature and extent of the evil to be controlled. The gloomy descriptions presented to British audiences of extensive moral and physical degradation by opium, have not been accepted by the witnesses representing the people of India, nor by those most responsible for the government of the country.

Present regulations are of restrictive tendency. 270. We may be sensible that, as in the case of the drink duties at home, so in the analogous case of opium in India, the revenue is drawn from a source liable to abuse. Looking, however, at the problem before us from the highest moral standpoint, it is something to know that the hand of the ruler is chiefly felt in the way of repression and restriction.

Sufficiency of evidence produced. 271. We have already expressed our opinion with reference to the character and sufficiency of the evidence on which the conclusions to which we have been brought depend. We are satisfied that the examination of more than 700 witnesses afforded to the Commission ample opportunity of learning all the essential facts, as to the effects of the use of opium in India, and the feelings of the Native population with reference to a policy of prohibition.

272. The conclusions of the Commission as to Burma have been fully stated in the Section of our Report dealing with that Province. The Burmans are specially susceptible to injury from opium, and there is among them a popular sentiment against the habit. Special regulations have, therefore, been introduced which, short of universal prohibition, seem to us as restrictive as it would be expedient for any Government to attempt to enforce.

Opium in
Burma.

273. It only remains for us to give specific answers to the questions referred to us by Your Majesty as arranged in the Order of Reference. We cannot do this better than by reproducing the conclusions at which we unanimously arrived at the final meeting of the Commission at Bombay. To our regret, our colleague, Mr. Wilson, was prevented by illness from attending our deliberations. Every other member of the Commission, including our Native colleagues, was present. With the impression of our recent tour fresh in our minds, after a full discussion, but with no dissenting voice on the broader issues, we adopted the following resolutions:—

The draft
conclusions
recorded at
the close of
the public
inquiry.

I.—Whether the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and whether this prohibition could be extended to the Native States?

I.—(a.) It has not been shown to be necessary, or to be demanded by the people, that the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes. A considerable minority, consisting of people opposed on principle to all stimulants, would support prohibition except for medical purposes, if relieved from anxiety as to the financial results, and as to the punitive and inquisitorial measures which repression would involve. The number who desire prohibition at all risks is exceedingly small.

Prohibition
except for
medical
purposes.

(b.) The authoritative extension of such prohibition to the Native States would be an interference on the part of the Paramount Power, for which we can find no precedent and no justification, and which would be resented by the Chiefs and their people. The growth of the poppy and the manufacture of opium have been prohibited in some Native States by orders passed by the Chiefs in accordance with Treaties or Agreements made with the Government of India; but such Treaties or Agreements rest upon an arrangement whereby a full and cheap supply of opium is secured for the internal consumption of these States and for the realisation by the Chiefs of an Excise Revenue from their people, and the Chiefs would cease to be bound by them if the supply were cut off or restricted.

Extension of
prohibition
to the Pro-
tected States.

(c) The prohibition of the growth of the poppy and the manufacture and sale of opium in British India, except for medical purposes, involves the destruction of the export trade in Bengal opium from Calcutta to China and elsewhere, which would inflict a very heavy loss of public revenue on the Government and people of India. The existing Treaties, by which the import of Indian opium to China is permitted and regulated, have been deliberately accepted by the Chinese Government, and have been formally admitted by the Chinese Ministers on the last occasion of revision to contain all that they desire. In the natural order of things, it is for the Chinese Government to move first if it wishes to sacrifice the revenue which it derives and to annul the Treaty provisions legalising import on the ground that such an import is injurious to China. Whether the British Government bears part of the cost or not, it would not be right or fair to the people of British India for the British

Discontin-
uance of the
Bengal
export trade.

Government to destroy, unasked by China, the Bengal opium trade; at any rate, it would not be right or fair for it to so act, unless there was convincing proof (1) that the trade stands on a different plane from the alcohol and is more pernicious and demoralising; (2) that its destruction would, in all probability, materially benefit China in a permanent way; and (3) that the Chinese Government is prevented from itself moving by fear of hostile action on our part. From the evidence before us, we do not think it proved that these reasons for unsolicited action by the British Government exist, and we agree in not recommending any action tending to the destruction of the trade. If at any future time the Chinese Government declares a wish to prohibit import, the question will be changed and we (the Commission) shall hold ourselves at liberty to reconsider it.

Extinction
of the Malwa
export trade.

II.—The nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated.

II.—Existing arrangements with certain opium-producing Native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory for the Bombay export trade are not, except in the case of Baroda, in the nature of Agreements, though in virtue of long established practice they may be held, perhaps, to have the force of Agreements. They consist of the prohibition of transit, except under a pass granted by a British officer, on payment of an Imperial transit duty. These arrangements rest in origin upon the power of regulation and taxation which the British Government has in consequence of these States being cut off from the sea by intervening British territory. The privilege of the transit of opium for export beyond the sea from Bombay on payment of a duty could not now be terminated with justice except by voluntary agreement, which, if obtained at all, would involve large pecuniary compensation, both to the State and private individuals, and also a heavy loss of public revenue to the Government of India.

Financial
considerations.

III.—The effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium, taking into consideration (a) the compensation payable, (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures, (c) the loss of revenue.

III.—The finances of India are not in a condition to bear the charges for compensation, the cost of the necessary preventive measures, and the loss of revenues would result from the adoption of a policy of prohibition.

Changes in
system short
of prohibition.

IV.—Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic, and for raising a revenue therefrom.

IV.—(a.) The regulations for the restriction of the consumption of opium may be amended in various particulars. We are not prepared to make recommendations without careful study of details.

(b.) The Bengal monopoly seems to us the best system for regulating the production of opium in British India. Certain administrative reforms were recommended by the Commission of 1883.

(c.) We are not prepared at present to recommend any further development of the new regulations recently introduced into Burma. The operations of these new rules, which only came into force on January 1st, 1894, should be carefully watched before any further changes are introduced.

V.—The consumption of opium by the different races and in the different districts in India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people?

V.—(a.) We have made exhaustive inquiry into the consumption of opium in India and its effects. We find no evidence of extensive moral or physical degradation from its use.

Consumption of opium in India and its effects.

(b.) Opium is extensively used for non-medical and quasi-medical purposes, in some cases with benefit, and for the most part without injurious consequences. The non-medical uses are so interwoven with the medical uses that it would not be practicable to draw a distinction between them in the distribution and sale of the drug.

(c.) The habitual use of opium as a stimulant by young people is generally condemned.

(d.) Opium-smoking is little practised in India; it is considered a disreputable habit.

(e.) The whole question of the effects of opium as medically considered must be worked out later in detail upon a careful collation of the large mass of evidence before the Commission.

VI.—The disposition of the people of India in regard to (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes, and (b) their willingness to bear, in whole or in part, the cost of prohibitive measures.

VI.—The testimony laid before us has been unanimous that the people of India would be unwilling to bear the cost of prohibitive measures.

Disposition of the people of India.

274. We desire to make a special reference to the Report which we understand to be in preparation by our colleague Mr. Wilson. The criticisms or suggestions which it may contain have not been submitted for our consideration. We regret that in the discussions which took place during the preparation of our Report we were not placed in possession of the views of our colleague.*

Dissent from the general conclusions.

275. In conclusion, we desire to express our high appreciation of the services rendered by our Secretaries. Mr. Hewett met us on our arrival at Calcutta, and accompanied us throughout our tour in India. His duties were of a special and exceptional character, and were most efficiently performed. On our return to England Mr. Hewett began the drafting of our Report. On his departure for India, to take up an important appointment, the work was entrusted to Mr. Baines, to whom we are much indebted for the ability, patience, and knowledge of India which he has displayed in the execution of his task.

Services of the Secretaries.

All which we humbly submit for Your Majesty's most gracious consideration.

(Signed) BRASSEY (*Chairman*).
J. B. LYALL.
LAKSHMESHVAR SINGH, OF DARBHANGA.†
W. ROBERTS.
R. G. C. MOWBRAY.
A. U. FANSHAWE.
A. PEA E.
HARIDAS VE HARIDAS.†

J. A. BAINES (*Secretary*).

London, 16th April 1895.

* The Maharaja of Darbhanga and Mr. Haridas Voharidas, not having been present during the preparation of the Report, are not to be held to have affixed their signatures to the 274th paragraph.

† Subject to the qualifying remarks contained in the separate Memorandum appended.

ANNEXURES.

MEMORANDUM I ;
ON THE GENERAL FEATURES AND THE MEDICAL ASPECTS OF THE
OPIUM HABIT IN INDIA ;

By SIR WILLIAM ROBERTS, M.D., F.R.S.

It seemed advisable for several reasons that the large mass of new and interesting information, gathered by the Opium Commission during their tour in India, on the general features and the medical aspects of the opium habit in that country, should be analysed and digested somewhat more fully than was possible to do in the body of their official Report. This task naturally fell to my share, as the only medical member of the Commission.

The matters requiring examination are considered under the following headings :—
(1.) The non-medical use of opium, or the opium habit proper. (2.) Opium as a household remedy. (3.) Opium as a prophylactic against malaria. (4.) The custom of giving opium to infants. (5.) The use of opium on occasions of ceremony. (6.) Opium smoking in India.

The consumption by all human communities, except the most primitive, of one or more articles of a stimulating and restorative character—such as alcohol, tobacco, opium, tea, coffee, coca, Indian hemp, betel, and others—constitutes a remarkable feature in the natural history of man. A practice so widespread and general must correspond to some profound instinct of human nature. These articles do not possess, in their essence, nutritive properties, and they are not classed as true articles of food, though some of them are largely used with the daily meals. Numerous individuals, and even considerable classes, forego their use, either wholly or in part. These substances cannot therefore be regarded as necessities of man's animal life. And the inference would seem to be that their use is connected in some subtle way, with the play of those faculties and feelings which are peculiar to man as a social and self-conscious creature.

Whatever collateral use, dietetic or other, the substances in question may have, it is certain, that the essential purpose for which they are taken is to modify, in a favourable* sense, the action of the nervous system. And although this modification varies, both in kind and degree, with each particular article, it is nevertheless true that all of them, when legitimately used, produce a certain community of effect on the user. This common effect, in its broadest and most general experience, may be described as an enhanced sense of well-being, or "euphoria." On the ground of this common action these substances may be conveniently united together into one natural group of (non-nutrient) physiological agents, and designated "euphoric" agents.†

(1.) THE OPIUM HABIT IN INDIA.

Opium was first introduced into the East, no doubt, as a medicine ; and its use as a stimulant and restorative was engrafted upon and grew out of the medicinal use. And it is still probably true, as regards India, that the larger part of the opium consumed in that country is used for the mitigation of suffering and the prevention and cure of disease. These two uses of opium—the medicinal and non-medicinal (or euphoric)—although in principle distinct, are in practice often so merged together and interfused as to be indistinguishable. This composite character of the opium habit is a constant source of confusion with incautious observers, and effects are attributed to opium which are really due to concomitant disease. In what follows it must be understood that in speaking of the opium habit in India the practice of eating or drinking opium is always meant, and not the practice of smoking opium, which is separately dealt with.

Among the substances employed by mankind as exhilarants and restoratives, opium takes a position intermediate between alcohol and tobacco, and it may be compared and

* That is, "favourable" as judged by the sensations of the user.

† The words euphoria and euphoric are not new. Euphoria is an old medical term, signifying "feeling perfectly well and able to bear pain and anxiety easily." These words are again creeping into use both here and on the Continent. Levinstein employs the word euphoria in his work on the morphia habit (*Morphiumsücht*, p. 6.), and the adjective euphoric (*euphorische Wirkung*) is used by Erlenmeyer in his treatise on the opium habit (*Opiumsücht u. Ihre Behandlung*, 3rd ed. p. 11). Some such words are much wanted. Their adoption would save circumlocution, and give greater precision to language in speaking of the primary and common effect of alcohol, opium, tobacco, tea and coffee, and their congeners.

contrasted with both. All three tempt to excess, and require, in a good many of their votaries at least, the wholesome exercise of self-restraint to prevent injurious consequences. Opium, like alcohol, is greatly restricted in its geographical range by conditions of climate and race, whereas tobacco is equally at home in every climate and with every race. On the other hand, opium is more akin to tobacco than to alcohol, in the large part played by personal idiosyncrasy in determining its diffusion through a community. Opium and tobacco are also alike in not producing in their users any special organic tissue changes, even when carried beyond the verge of moderation; whereas alcohol, if used in habitual excess, produces special organic changes by which its operations can be tracked, both during life and after death.

Distribution and Prevalence.—The opium habit is disseminated all over India, and through all classes of society, but very irregularly, according to climate, locality, race, caste, and religion. It is difficult to form a reliable estimate of the proportion of opium-eaters in a community. The habit is, by its nature, cryptous and undemonstrative. The consumers carry with them, hidden in the folds of their garments, small pieces of opium or little boxes containing opium pills. The dose is taken without show; it neither taints the breath nor colours the saliva. Servants in domestic or personal service may practice the habit for long years without awaking any suspicion on the part of their employers that they are opium-eaters. For this reason the estimates given of the ratio of opium eaters to population must be taken with great reserve, and considered as rough guesses rather than as precise statistical data.

A few of these estimates may be cited as showing their great disparity. In the district of Balasore, in Orissa, Dr. Vincent Richards estimated the opium eaters as forming 7 to 8 per cent. of the adult population. Mr. Driberg rated opium consumers among the native Assamese as 30 to 35 per cent. of the adult males, and among the Mikirs (a tribe in Assam) as 80 to 85 per cent. Dr. O'Brien calculated the opium-eaters of Burdwan as only 5 per cent. of the adult males. Dr. Juggo Bundo Bose, a Native physician at Calcutta, reckoned* that not more than 2 per cent. of the adult males among his countrymen habitually consumed opium. Another witness from the same quarter estimated the number as 5 or 6 per cent. Dr. Cobb judged that some 3 to 5 per cent. of the whole population of Dacca in Eastern Bengal were opium-eaters; this would correspond to about 12 to 20 per cent. of the adult males. The Marwaris, a caste of enterprising merchants from Marwar in Rajputana, but scattered all over India, are large consumers. According to Dr. Harvey the "majority" of them are opium-eaters. Dr. Hall, speaking from his experience in the North-Western Provinces, estimated that one half of the elderly men were habitual eaters. One of the largest, and certainly the most precise, estimate laid before the Commission was that of a Zemindar, whose estates lay in the Bengal Presidency. He stated that in his native town of Uttarpara, containing somewhat over 6,000 inhabitants, there were 821 opium-eaters. A native medical practitioner of large experience at Benares said that in that city 75 per cent. of the Mahomedans were consumers, 25 per cent. of the Hindus, and 5 per cent. of the Native Christians. Mr. Lely, collector of Surat, estimated that 3,000 persons took opium out of a population of 108,000 in that city. Of these 2,000 are Mahomedans and 1,000 Hindus; altogether about 3 per cent. of the inhabitants. Dr. Moriarty estimated the habitual consumers in Meerut at no more than 3 per cent. of the adult population. A semi-official estimate made in 1890, of the opium-consumers in the city of Bombay, showed that there were 7,000 opium-eaters in a population of 821,000, or less than 1 per cent. of the total inhabitants.

Qn. 22,648.
Qn. 13,989.

Taking India all through, it is evident that only a minority of the inhabitants, generally a small minority, even of the adult males, are opium eaters.

The dual character of the opium habit, with its medicinal side and its euphoric side, explains some of the irregularities and anomalies in its distribution. The habit prevails in excess of the average among the peasantry in low-lying, damp, and malarious districts; it also prevails in excess of the average among the Rajputs and Sikhs, and in such cities as Lucknow and Benares, where there is a large class of idlers. In the former case the excess may be said to be due to the solicitation of the medicinal side of the habit; in the latter case the excess may be said to be due to the solicitation of the euphoric side of the habit.

Another factor which affects the distribution of the opium-habit in India is the existence of groups and sects with whom abstinence from the use of opium is an article of religion. The great mass both of Hindus and Mahomedans regard opium-eating as a permissible indulgence; but certain precisians of both cults interpret their sacred writings in the sense that opium, being an exhilarant, comes under the general ban against all intoxicants, and is, therefore, forbidden to the truly orthodox.

Besides these precisians who do not form separate communities, there are distinct sects in which abstention from opium is an express religious obligation. Among these are the Ferazis, a sect of puritanical Mahomedans, dwelling in Eastern Bengal; these abstain not only from opium but also, from alcohol and hemp drugs. A Native witness from Assam stated that opium "is religiously prohibited amongst the disciples of the Dehing Gossain, one of the principal spiritual guides in Assam. Any of his disciples using it is excommunicated, and never restored to society unless a severe penalty is paid." The Buddhist priesthood in Burma appear to hold a similar attitude, and to regard the use of opium as a "sinful vice." In Gujarat there is a flourishing Hindu sect, numbering some 400,000 members, started about a hundred years ago, called the Swami Narayan sect, whose religious tenets include abstention from opium and all intoxicants, and even from strong smelling things such as leeks and onions.

Qn. 4813.

Qn. 10,511

Qn. 8326.

Qn. 24,574,
24,575,
24,599-603.

The questions of *tolerance* and *susceptibility* are of great importance in regard to a right understanding of the opium-habit, and a good deal of misapprehension has arisen from want of attention to these questions.

Tolerance.—The evidence laid before the Commission with respect to the prevalence of the practice of opium-eating, and the doses used, indicates that the Natives of India have, generally, a higher tolerance for opium than Europeans; that is to say, that the former are able to bear larger doses of opium, without experiencing toxic effects, than the latter. Exceptions of course occur, and instances could be cited of Englishmen with as high a tolerance for opium as any recorded in India. This enhanced tolerance appears to be congenital; it is as marked in infants as in adults. In the course of his evidence on this point Dr. Crombie said: "Most of our Ayahs, who are entrusted with the care of European children, are up-country women, who are accustomed to deal with their own children in this way (*i.e.*, giving them opium), and when they find a feverish, fretful English child they give it the same dose of opium they would give to their own child, and the English child dies . . . we have all had experience of that kind." (3502.)

The difference of tolerance for opium between East and West was variously accounted for by the medical witnesses. Some attributed it to one cause, and some to another. It probably depends on a combination of causes—on race and climate, on hereditary acquisition by centuries of use, on the general prevalence of the malarial constitution, and the vegetable character of the diet.

But, besides this racial and climatic difference, there is a still more remarkable difference of tolerance between individual opium-eaters, depending on personal idiosyncrasy. Judging by the practice of opium-eaters, the average tolerance of Natives of India appears to range from 4 to 12 grains of opium per day. But many take far larger doses than these, and consume 20 to 40 grains a day, and not a few 50 to 80 grains a day, without any appreciable detriment to their health. Cases still more extraordinary were quoted before the Commission. Dr. Kailas Chunder Bose (of Calcutta) stated that he had seen a religious mendicant take in his presence about 2,000 grains of crude opium, and that the man was a perfect model of health and vigour (3783). Another Native physician at Calcutta related that he was acquainted with a singer who, after singing for three or four hours, would take 300 grains of opium, and then would go on singing again, keeping accurately to time and tune (3879). These figures seem to show that the range of tolerance, depending on individual idiosyncrasy, among opium-eaters, is far more extended than the range of tolerance for alcohol among alcohol drinkers, or the range of tolerance for tobacco among tobacco smokers. Indeed, it would appear as if some men were almost insensitive to the toxic effects of opium.*

Susceptibility.—It has already been pointed out that opium has a dual action on the human constitution. It operates as a therapeutic agent, as an anodyne and hypnotic; and it also operates as a euphoric agent, as an exhilarant and restorative, after the manner of alcohol and tobacco. These two actions are not only not identical, but they are not always concurrent—that is to say, that persons may be sensitive to the anodyne and hypnotic effects of opium, and yet not be sensitive, or only slightly sensitive, to its exhilarant and restorative effects. The therapeutic effects of opium are much alike—tolerance apart—in all persons and in all climates, but it would seem as if only a select portion of the population were susceptible to its euphoric effects. Tobacco offers an apt illustration of this point. Tobacco smoking is pretty generally diffused among Englishmen; yet there are a great many who never smoke, or who

* It is of course understood that the tolerance of a person for opium undergoes a certain, or even considerable, expansion with use. But this expansion is presumably, as in the cases of alcohol and tobacco, strictly limited for each individual according to the measure of his original endowment.

only smoke occasionally, in company; they are abstainers, simply because they experience no enjoyment from the practice. However much they wish, and however long they try, these persons cannot become tobacco smokers in the proper sense of the term, because they lack sensibility to the euphoric effects of tobacco.

Opium, as regards its euphoric properties, seems to be even more selective than tobacco. In India, no doubt, the susceptible persons are numerous—amounting perhaps to a majority of the adult males in certain districts and among certain races—and amounting to a considerable number throughout the country. In Europe, on the other hand, the susceptible persons seem to be exceedingly few. Medical men are in the habit of prescribing opium every day, yet they have practically no knowledge, except from hearsay, of the wonderful reviving and exhilarating effects of the drug, of which so much was heard in India. Had there been the same susceptibility to these effects in the West as in the East, there is no obvious reason why Europeans should not have borrowed opium from India, as they had borrowed tea from China, coffee from Arabia, and tobacco from America.

Age.—The opium habit is mainly a habit of middle life and advancing years. Among young adults the habit is comparatively rare, and is only followed by persons suffering from some chronic ailment, or by idle and dissipated young men. The habit is commonly begun between 35 and 45, when life begins to be on the wane and the premonitions of age begin to be felt. This epoch occurs much earlier with the Natives of India than with Europeans. The following table, illustrating the incidence of age on the commencement of the opium habit, has been compiled from data furnished by Dr. Hendley, at Jeypore, in Rajputana, and Dr. R. Moy Roy, at Calcutta.

TABLE I., showing the VARIOUS AGES at which the OPIUM HABIT is commenced.

Age at which the Habit was begun.	Jeypore. 4,409 Cases. (Dr. Hendley.)	Calcutta. 215 Cases. (Dr. R. Moy Roy.)
Under 20 years - - -	9.39 per cent.	0.5 per cent.
20 to 29 " - - -	24.34 "	18.0 "
30 to 39 " - - -	28.06 "	47.0 "
40 to 49 " - - -	21.57 "	28.0 "
50 to 59 " - - -	11.89 "	5.5 "
60 to 69 " - - -	3.58 "	1.0 "
70 to 79 " - - -	0.82 "	0.0 "
80 to 89 " - - -	0.11 "	0.0 "

The figures in the table indicate that a larger per-centage of opium-eaters begin the habit at an early age in Rajputana than in Calcutta. The general tendency of the evidence laid before the Commission on this point supports the conclusion that the Calcutta averages are more generally applicable to the whole of India than the Jeypore averages. It may be pointed out that the age-interval during which the habitual use of opium falls to its lowest point, is between the third year, when the practice of giving opium to children ceases, and the twentieth year.

Sex.—Opium-eating is much more common among men than women. Of 613 cases investigated by Dr. Vincent Richards in Orissa, 73 per cent. were males, and only 27 per cent. females. The disproportion was still greater in the 4,409 opium-eaters examined by Dr. Hendley at Jeypore; of these only 5.34 per cent. were women. This probably is too low an estimate for the population generally. The custom of secluding the women in India renders it difficult to get at the real facts in relation to the female sex.*

Dosage.—The doses taken by opium-eaters vary widely. A common allowance is from 2 to 8 grains per day—one half taken in the morning, and the other half in the evening. Among the poor the quantity consumed is much restricted by the scanty means of the consumer. Among the easier classes, the daily allowance frequently runs

* The difference between men and women in regard to the use of euphoric substances is very curious, especially as regards the more potent euphorics. In this country, probably three-fourths of the alcohol consumed, is consumed by men—and the use of tobacco is almost confined to the male sex. This distinction, probably, is mainly due to a constitutional difference of tolerance and susceptibility. But there is also a good deal in fashion. Our grandmothers and great-grandmothers used tobacco pretty freely in the guise of snuff. With the decline of snuff-taking the use of tobacco among women practically went out. But now again the fashion is changing, and the cigarette is creeping into use among women. Possibly the next generation may witness as many female cigarette smokers in England as there were female snuff-takers a hundred years ago.

up to 20 and 40 grains, and sometimes far beyond this. The following tables give an excellent idea of the range of dosage among opium m-eaters in India.

TABLE II., showing the RANGE of DAILY DOSES used by OPIUM-EATERS, compiled from Data supplied by Dr. Hendley, Dr. R. Moy Roy, and Dr. Huntly.

Daily Quantity of Opium taken.	Proportion of Consumers for each Range of Dosage.		
	Jeypore. 4,409 Cases. (Dr. Hendley.)	Calcutta. 215 Cases. (Dr. R. Moy Roy.)	Nusseerabad. 100 Cases. (Dr. Huntly.)
2 to 5 grains - - -	21·27 per cent.	23·0 per cent.	22·0 per cent.
6 to 10 " - - -	17·36 "	24·0 "	27·0 "
11 to 20 grains - - -	29·15 "	27·0 "	25·0 "
21 to 40 " - - -	18·64 "	16·0 "	17·0 "
41 to 90 " - - -	8·19 "	6·5 "	9·0 "
90 to 180 " - - -	1·47 "	3·0 "	0·0 "
181 to 2,000 grains - - -	0·69 "	0·5 "	0·0 "

An examination of the table shows that the proportion of large consumers, in the three sets of observations, stands very high. Over 25 per cent. consumed more than 20 grains per day. Dr. Hendley and Dr. Huntly collected their cases in Rajputana, where the habit is in full development, and where opium is comparatively cheap. Dr. R. Moy Roy's cases were, for the most part, of the better classes, with whom the cost of the indulgence was of minor consequence. A very much lower scale of dosage was observed by Dr. Vincent Richards at Balasore, in Orissa. Here opium is comparatively dear, and the cases collected were mostly from among the poorer peasants. He investigated 613 cases of opium-eaters, 444 men, and 169 women. The following table exhibits the range of dosage observed by him.

TABLE III., showing the RANGE of DAILY DOSE used by OPIUM-EATERS in the DISTRICT of BALASORE, compiled from Data supplied by Dr. Vincent Richards.

Number of each Sex.		Daily Quantity of Opium taken.	Proportion of Consumers for each Range of Dosage. 613 Cases. (Dr. Vincent Richards.)
444 men - - -	{	2 to 4 grains -	60 per cent.
		4 to 12 " -	34 "
		12 to 16 " -	4 "
		16 to 45 " -	2 "
169 women - - -	{	2 to 4 grains -	79 per cent.
		4 to 12 " -	19 "
		12 to 16 " -	2 "

It may be observed that the quantity used by the women was less than that used by the men. The average daily dose for the men was 7 grains; the average daily dose for the women was 5 grains.

Increase of Dose and Excess.—The opium habit once begun, is usually a life-long habit. The dose is taken twice a day, morning and evening, before the morning and evening meals. Sometimes the dose is taken three times a day, and sometimes only once a day, in the evening. So long as the opium-eater gets his dose punctually, and his consumption is moderate, he is quite undistinguishable from the rest of the community. His system adjusts itself perfectly to the new factor in his environment. All the functions are performed in due order, and with normal efficiency.

At the beginning of the habit there is a tendency to a progressive increase of the dose. This increase goes on until the limit of the individual tolerance is approached. When this point is reached the dose become stationary, and usually remains stationary for years, or for life. Sometimes an oscillation is observed, the quantity is increased for a period, or diminished for a period, according to the exigencies of health, or apparently according to the waxing or waning tolerance of the constitution.

Excess in the use of opium is to be measured not merely by the quantity habitually consumed, but much more by the constitutional tolerance of the individual. Doses which are injurious to one consumer, may be quite harmless to another consumer. When an opium-eater goes beyond his tolerance, he may be said to go to excess, whether the quantity consumed be small or great. An opium-eater who, on occasion, indulges in a larger dose than his usual allowance, shows signs of opium intoxication. He becomes sluggish and drowsy; if he be a magistrate, he nods on the bench, and is, perhaps, made the subject of gentle chaff by his brother magistrates. These signs soon pass off, and leave no trace behind. But when the excess is habitual, more serious results follow. The consumer becomes persistently indolent, stupid, and incapable of attending to his business, his appetite falls off, and he becomes lean and shrivelled. The bowels are either obstinately costive, or there is alternate diarrhoea and constipation. No organic disease is developed; and the man continues to live on, provided he escape intercurrent disease, to his natural term; but his useful life is certainly shortened, and he becomes a cumberer of the ground. This is the "opium sot," or "opium wreck" of popular description, and a very deplorable object he must be. Fortunately, he is a rare spectacle, and many experienced witnesses had never seen him, and scarcely believed in his existence. It is, however, probable that the opium sot is not so scarce as his rare appearance would indicate. A man in this condition would naturally seek the shade, and keep himself out of the way.

Postponement of the Dose.—If the opium-eater does not get his dose at the appointed time he feels very uneasy; he looks stupid and exhausted, his eyes and nose begin to run, he yawns, has pains about the abdomen and no appetite for his meal. When at length he obtains the belated dose all these symptoms vanish as if by a charm, and the equilibrium of the system is restored.

Stopping the Opium Habit.—When the supply of opium is suddenly and entirely cut off the reaction is much more pronounced than in the case of alcohol and tobacco. It is a dreaded ordeal to most consumers, and forms a serious obstacle to the giving up of the habit, when such a course is desired from motives of economy or religious scruples. It is the general rule in Indian gaols to cut off the supply of opium to prisoners on admission. The medical officers in charge of gaols were thus able to furnish the Commission with reliable and exact information on the effects of suddenly stopping the opium habit. It is true that a certain amount of smuggling of opium into gaols by friends of prisoners takes place in spite of all precautions, but that this leakage is insignificant is proved by the fact that the effects of deprivation were clearly perceived by the medical officers of the prisons, and that their testimony as regards these effects was remarkably uniform. The usual effects of stoppage are:—looseness of the bowels, dejection and misery, restlessness and loss of sleep, failure of appetite, aching of the bones, lassitude, and weakness. These symptoms are more or less severe and protracted according to the largeness of the dose to which the prisoner has been accustomed and the length of time during which the habit has been continued. A good deal also depends on the temperament of the sufferer. A man of nervous quasi-hysterical temperament suffers more than a man of more stolid disposition. After a few days, or a week or two, these symptoms subside and health is restored. As a rule the disturbance is slight and calls for no interference in the way of special treatment on the part of the medical officer. Sometimes, however, the disturbance is more severe, and may even, in exceptional cases, assume alarming proportions. In these latter the initial shock approaches to a state of collapse, or the looseness of the bowels passes on to intractable diarrhoea of dysenteric character. In such cases the medical officer is obliged to resort to the use of opium again, and to finally withdraw it by slow degrees. Instances are not unknown, though seemingly of extreme rarity, where life has fallen a sacrifice to the process of stopping the opium habit. Such instances are, however, only known in the case of prisoners whose health is seriously deteriorated by the excessive use of the drug, or who are at the time suffering from some intercurrent disease.

The Opium Habit and Food.—The Commission were frequently told, that people who were well off and had plenty of good food tolerated the opium habit with impunity, whereas the poor, with an insufficient supply of food, suffered from it. On the other hand we were often told that opium ameliorated the lot of the underfed man, and enabled him to live longer and better with a scanty diet. This latter view seems to be largely held by medical men in India; and it is interesting to note that physiologists

in Europe have held a similar opinion with regard to alcoholic beverages and tea and coffee—namely, that one of their purposes to the poor consumer was to serve as economisers of food. There may be an element of truth in both these allegations. A large consumer might spend too much of his scanty income on opium, and leave too little for food, and thereby aggravate his condition; while a frugal consumer might benefit from spending a small modicum of his earnings on opium, and thereby making his scanty meals go farther.

Opium is said to be useful to those who live chiefly on rice. Dr. Cobb explained this point in the following way: "In the damp climates of Eastern Bengal the poor Natives are in the habit of eating largely of rice, and a peculiar sensitiveness of the bowels seems to exist in those damp climates. As a man advances in age digestion fails to some extent, and the food is hurried through the intestines The effect of hurrying food through the intestines is to cause diarrhoea, dysentery, and other allied affections. Opium in small doses prevents this, and it is largely used by the poor in Eastern Bengal." Qn. 3723.

Dr. Elizabeth Bielby, examined at Lahore, stated that it was a general practice in the Punjab for the women to take a small dose of opium (about a grain) just before or with their midday and evening meals, as a "digestive."

But the most curious relation of opium to food is the practice common to opium-eaters of indulging largely in milk, ghee (clarified butter), and sweetmeats. This kind of food is believed to help the opium to agree, and also to prevent or postpone the injurious effects of the immoderate use of opium. And it was constantly alleged that the poor, who cannot afford these indulgences, suffered in consequence more from the abuse of opium than well-to-do people. There are probably sound reasons for this practice. One of the plagues of the opium-eater is chronic constipation, and free use of milk, ghee, and sweetmeats would help to keep this tendency in check. Another tendency of opium consumers is to grow unduly lean, and a good many confirmed and large opium-eaters are noted as spare, wiry men. Milk, ghee, and sweetmeats are eminently fattening articles of food, and very easily digested; these articles would therefore be a peculiarly fitting addition to the dietary of an opium eater.*

Effect of the Opium Habit on Health and Longevity.—It is a matter of no small difficulty to justly assess the influence of the opium habit on the health and longevity of the consumers. On the one hand, a large body of evidence was laid before the Commission to the effect that opium-eaters were, to an important extent, protected by the habit against the inroads of diarrhoea, dysentery, ague, and other maladies incidental to damp and malarious climates, and that lives innumerable were thus saved. On the other hand, valid evidence was adduced that the habit tended to excess, and that excess was injurious to health, and that many lives were lost in consequence. Both these contentions may be taken as true; and the problem is to balance the gains and losses. It is obvious that such a problem is, from its very nature, incapable of an exact numerical solution; and the inquirer is constrained to draw his conclusions from an examination of a number of separate items of evidence and a broad consideration of the general tendency of that evidence. Proceeding in this way, and judging from the aggregate of the evidence laid before the Commission, it does not seem possible to doubt that the lives saved by the opium habit, as practised in India, and under the climatic and other conditions prevailing in India, outnumber the lives lost through the habit. A good deal of the evidence on which this conclusion is based will be disclosed subsequently in dealing with the subject of opium as a household remedy and as a prophylactic against malaria. The following points may be dealt with here:—

The opium habit does not appear responsible for *any disease peculiar to itself*; and post-mortem examinations of opium-eaters who had died of natural disease, have not revealed any tissue changes, or disease of any organs, which could be traced to the use or abuse of opium. Neither does the habit affect the chances of life after surgical operations. Opium eaters *bear operations* as well, and recover from them as quickly, as those who are not addicted to the habit. The testimony of hospital surgeons in India on both these points was practically unanimous.

The general health of opium-eaters, provided they keep within their tolerance, appears to be just as good as that of other people. A considerable number of confirmed

* Dr. Polak relates that at the age of 40 every Persian who wants to avoid obesity takes daily an opium pill. (Cited by Dr. Ernest Martin, *L'Opium*, p. 18.)

opium-eaters appeared before the Commission as witnesses; and they could not be distinguished in any way from other persons of the same age and station in life.* Numerous instances were mentioned, both by British and Native witnesses, of persons who had reached an advanced age, although they had habitually consumed large quantities of opium for 20, 30, and 40 years. Remarkable evidence on this point is supplied by the table of 215 opium-eaters examined personally by Dr. Moy Roy at Calcutta (Appendix XXII., Vol. ii., p. 423). Of these 215 persons, fifty-two were between 60 and 70 years of age, eighteen between 70 and 80, and five between 80 and 90 years of age, and one died at the patriarchal age of 106 years, after having consumed the enormous dose of 180 grains of opium daily for 66 years. Out of these 215 persons, 213 were still living at the date of the record, and of the health of these Dr. Moy Roy remarks: "With the exception of seven persons, who are in indifferent health, all these persons may be said to be in good condition of body and mind, of course making allowance for the age of those who are old. The rest of the number were found to enjoy good health of body and mind, equal in every respect to that of the average native not given to this habit." (Vol. ii., p. 418.)

Some of the medical witnesses expressed the opinion that opium-eaters, especially those who consumed immoderately, had a less chance of recovery from *intercurrent disease* than those not addicted to the habit. Dr. Mullane put the matter in this way: "For although opium-eaters do undoubtedly enjoy a marked degree of immunity from malarial fever, dysentery, or diarrhoea, still an old opium-eater attacked with dysentery or diarrhoea enjoys a smaller chance of recovery than a non-opium eater." (Vol. ii., p. 461.) It seems highly probable that persons who have habitually gone to excess in the use of opium would thereby lower their vitality, and thus diminish their power of resisting the attacks of intercurrent disease.

The habitual use of opium does not appear to affect *longevity*. The late Sir Robert Christison, in 1845, published biographies of 25 opium-eaters collected by himself. He came to the conclusion that the evidence thus collected rather tended to throw doubt over the popular opinion that the opium-habit shortened life (Treatise on Poisons, p. 718). Mr. McLauchlan Slater, manager and actuary of a large insurance company at Bombay, engaged in the business of insuring Native lives, had come to the conclusion, after 20 years' experience, that it was not necessary to put an extra premium on the lives of moderate opium-eaters. (Vol. iv., p. 228.)

Insanity.—The evidence tendered by the medical officers in charge of lunatic asylums in India was uniform to the effect that the opium-habit is rarely if ever a cause of insanity. Dr. Crombie analysed the statistics relating to the causes of insanity in the asylums of Lower Bengal, the Bombay Presidency, and the Madras Presidency. In Bengal the proportion of opium-eaters among lunatics was 0·36 per cent.; in the Bombay Presidency 0·75 per cent.; and in the Madras Presidency (only one year's returns available) no opium-eaters figured among the admissions (Appendix XXI., Vol. ii., p. 410). He remarks that "it would become almost justifiable to advance the theory that one of the advantages derived from the habit of eating opium is a diminished liability to insanity" (Vol. ii., p. 410).

Dr. Boyd, superintendent of the Colaba Lunatic Asylum, Bombay, containing an average number of 285 inmates, stated that in 11 years only three cases were admitted in which opium was put down as the probable cause of the insanity. He further says, "I do not think that opium has ever produced or ever will produce insanity; that is my very strong opinion. It may, in large doses, produce hallucination for a short time, but never insanity of any form" (24,786-7).

Suicide.—Some of the witnesses expressed the opinion that the opium-habit in India was promotive of suicide. One witness contended that opium "is of all poisons the one which must be most attractive to a suicide. It presents death in its easiest and most delightful form to one who has reached that state of mind. I believe that its free sale does greatly encourage suicide" (2605). This plausible view is, however, not supported by an examination of the official statistics of suicide in the different provinces of India. The subjoined table shows conclusively that the prevalence of the opium-habit has no relation to the frequency of suicide. (1)

* By the courtesy of Surgeon Captain Jennings, 20 Native soldiers of the 32nd Pioneers were paraded before me at Umballa. Of these 10 were opium-eaters and 10 were not. I examined them carefully, and tried to pick out the opium-eaters. I entirely failed; sometimes I was right and sometimes wrong, and as often wrong as right. The opium-eaters were not large consumers; their daily doses varied from 4 to 8 grains.

TABLE IV., showing the PROPORTION of SUICIDES by OPIUM to the TOTAL SUICIDES in the several PROVINCES of BRITISH INDIA ; compiled from the Official Statistics printed in Vol. v., Appendix xvi., of the Proceedings of the Commission.

Provinces.	Total Annual Suicides per Million of Population.	Proportion of Suicides by Opium to Total Suicides.	Annual average Consumption of Opium per Head of Population.
North-West Provinces and Oudh :			
Average of 5 years - - - -	61	13·3 per cent.	24 grains.*
Madras Presidency :			
Average of 5 years - - - -	54	0·05 "	14 "
Central Provinces :			
Average of 5 years - - - -	49	2·4 "	34 "
Bombay Presidency and Sind :			
Average of 4 years - - - -	46	9·5 "	46 "
Bengal :			
Average of 5 years - - - -	39	11·1 "	15 "
Punjab :			
Average of 5 years - - - -	24	9·0 "	42 "
Assam :			
Average of 3 years - - - -	20	5·0 "	141 "

It will be observed that, taking all the provinces into consideration, the per-centage of suicides by opium has no relation to the general prevalence of suicide. For although the figures for the North-Western Provinces appear to show the existence of such a relation, inasmuch as the proportion of suicides per million of the population and the per-centage of these due to opium both stand highest on the list, the figures for Madras and the other provinces entirely negative this deduction. Nor is there any connexion between the amount of opium consumed in a province and the prevalence of suicide in that province. The province of Assam, which has the largest consumption of opium, shows the smallest proportion of suicides ; and Madras, which has the lowest consumption of opium, stands second on the list in proportion of suicides.

Relation of the Opium Habit to the Generative Functions.—Opium has a repute as an aphrodisiac all over the East. But as it shares this repute with a score of other drugs and nostrums the fact loses much of its significance. Aphrodisiac agents have lost credit in modern medicine, and it is very doubtful if opium have any special power in this direction. The medical witnesses were by no means in agreement on this point. Some said opium stimulated the sexual function ; others said it was not so, but that it protracted the orgasm ; others, again, said it was at first provocative and that afterwards it produced impotence. The truth probably is, that the general stimulating and restorative effects of opium on the Natives of the East, like those of alcohol on the Natives of the West, extend to the sexual function, but that they have no special relation to that function. It is also probable, and more than probable, that the deadening of the vital functions which overtakes the opium-eater who habitually exceeds his tolerance, involves the sexual function, and tends to impotence.

Attention was called by Dr. Vincent Richards to the diminished fecundity of opium-eaters. Speaking from a careful study of 613 opium-eaters in Orissa, he says : “ There is one almost inevitable result of a prolonged indulgence in opium-eating, especially if immoderate, namely, a weakening of the procreative powers. In no fewer than 99 cases out of 125, into which I particularly inquired with a view to ascertaining the fact, was this the case ; moreover, of the 125 married men averaging 36 years of age, the average number of children to each was 1·11, after 11 years of married life. The average dose taken by these men was 14 grains *per diem*, and the length of time they had been addicted to the habit, 12 years ” (Vol. ii., p. 437). The statistics collected by Dr. Hendley at Jeypore seem to point in the same direction, but not nearly so strongly. He made inquiries as to the number of children of 4,389 opium-eaters : of these, 2,798 had issue, namely, an average of 2·9 children to each person ; while 1,591 had no issue—so that for the whole number there was only an average of 1·8 child for each person.

* This is the consumption for the North-West Provinces ; the annual consumption for Oudh is 15 grains per head.

I scarcely know how to interpret these figures. There is certainly no lack of fecundity in India. The population shows a satisfactory normal increase in every province, and the birth-rate throughout the country is higher than in England. The birth-rate in England averages 31·4 per 1,000, while in India the birth-rate averages over 42 per 1,000. It must be remembered that the opium-habit is, in the main, a habit of middle life and advancing years, and is not often practised in youth and early manhood. On the other hand the congress of the sexes takes place very early in India, and chiefly, before the opium-habit has attained much development. Perhaps the explanation of the apparent paradox lies in these two circumstances.

(2.) OPIUM AS A HOUSEHOLD REMEDY IN INDIA.

Opium is largely employed all over India as a domestic medicine, and centuries of use have familiarised the inhabitants with its administration, both as an internal remedy and as an outward application. It is resorted to in the manifold ailments incidental to damp and malarious climates—in diarrhoea, dysentery, chills, recurrent febrile attacks, and the neuralgic troubles of the malarial cachexia. It is also their chief resource in asthma, chronic coughs, rheumatic pains, diabetes, gravel, and indeed in all painful wasting diseases of every kind.

It is a fact which was brought to the knowledge of the Commission during their tour in India that large masses of the people are as yet beyond the reach of European medical aid. The dispensary system which has been organised throughout India is still inadequate for the immense needs of the population. The native practitioners—the Hakims and Vaidas who follow the Arabic and Hindu systems of medicine—are without any regular training; they are self-taught and self-appointed, and the knowledge of medical matters possessed by many of them is not much greater than that of the people among whom they practice. The consequence is that the medical aid available for the sick, especially among the poor, is often solely that of the housewife, or of the wise woman of the village.

Dr. Maynard informed the Commission that the district of Nuddea, in Bengal, where he had been stationed as civil surgeon, possessed an area of 3,404 square miles, with a population of over 2,000,000. He was the only European medical officer in that district. He had to aid him an assistant-surgeon, with a number of native unqualified hospital assistants, and five dispensaries scattered over the district. But there were large numbers of people who could not avail themselves of these dispensaries, and who could not travel the necessary distance (3,338). The last report of the medical institutions of Bengal shows that in a population of over 70,000,000 only a comparatively small per-centage got any benefit from the Government medical institutions.

It is not difficult to understand how, under these circumstances, opium, with its unrivalled power of alleviating pain and producing sleep, and of controlling the intestinal fluxes which the natives so justly dread, should have become an indispensable article in Indian households.

The testimony of some of the most experienced members of the Indian medical staff in regard to the value of opium as a domestic remedy was impressive. Surgeon Major-General Rice, speaking from an experience of 37 years, said: "In the Central Provinces malarial fevers, with severe ague, and dysentery, and diarrhoea, and, I should add, rheumatism are diseases with which the people are afflicted. In these, muscular pains, nervous irritability, griping, and tenesmus are common and persistent, symptoms causing an amount of depression and inability to exert oneself that can only be appreciated through actual suffering. . . . It may, I think, be safely stated that not 10 per cent. of the population all over India ever consult a medical man of any nationality practising the European system of medicine. . . . Practically, therefore, the great majority of the population are beyond the reach of such advice. The consequence is that either they must consult Hakims or Vaidas, who invariably administer opium for these torments, or they have discovered its beneficial effects and take it themselves. They soon have to take it regularly, for these torments are ever present in one form or another, and seriously hinder the people in their work. The effect in such cases is magical; a man literally disabled from these ills, after a dose of a quarter or half a grain of pure opium, in a few minutes becomes a new man, and is able to do a full day's work. He knows that if he cannot do this he and his family must starve" (2145-6-7).

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Crombie, now Superintendent of the General Hospital in Calcutta was equally emphatic. He stated, in the course of his evidence: "I think it is desirable that the Commission should know something of the conditions of life obtaining in a place such as I have lived in for a great part of my service in India

" I refer to Eastern Bengal. There, when a man wants to build a house, he first of all digs a tank, and with the earth from which he has dug the tank he raises a mound, and on the top of that mound he places his house. The elevation of that mound depends entirely upon the height to which the annual floods rise. The floods rise with fair regularity; but sometimes they go two or three inches higher than the average, and then the inhabitants of those houses have to live on rafts inside their houses, and their cattle are tethered up to their bellies in water. These people have generally no boats. They paddle about on rafts made of the plaintain tree, and the boys go to school in what I call washhand basins. They are earthen gumlas. The boy squats at the bottom of the gumla, and paddles to school. This is the only means of communication. Some of those dwellings are extremely isolated. There may be only one household within four or five miles. There is no native doctor or dispensary within five or ten miles of them. I am convinced that to deprive these people of the possession of opium, except under medical advice, would be a terrible and wanton cruelty. It is the only medicine of any value that is available to them, and if you deprive them of it I should not like to be one of those who do it" (3254).

(3.) OPIUM AS A REMEDY AND PROPHYLACTIC AGAINST MALARIA.

The belief in the usefulness of opium in the complaints of damp and malarious regions is very widely spread. It is well known that there used to be a disproportionately large consumption of opium in the marshy districts of England—in the fens of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire, and in the Romney marshes. These parts were formerly highly malarious, and laudanum was enormously used as a household remedy.* As the marshy lands were drained, and ague diminished, and as also quinine became better known and cheaper, the consumption fell off, but it is still said that there is more laudanum sold in those districts than in any other parts of rural England. The same belief seems to have prevailed long ago in Persia. Shah Abbas II., in 1621, issued an edict prohibiting the use of opium in his dominions, on account of the abuse of the drug which had crept into the army, but he exempted from the prohibition the populations which were exposed to the miasmata of marshy regions.† Dr. Polak states that opium is used in large quantities on the swampy shores of the Caspian Sea, as a protective against malaria.‡ The evidence laid before the Commission showed that in some districts of India the local consumption of opium bore a close relation to the greater or less prevalence of malaria in the localities.§

India is more or less malarious from end to end, and suffers severely from the diseases incidental to such climates. A glance at the official statistics of the causes of death in British India shows that "fevers," by which are meant malarial fevers, overshadow all other causes of mortality. In the provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Punjab, and the North-Western Provinces these fevers account for about 70 per cent. of the total deaths; in the Central Provinces, for about 60 per cent.; in Assam, for about 50 per cent.; in Berar, for about 45 per cent.; and in Madras, for about 38 per cent. of the total deaths. These numbers are probably, as I have gathered from conversations with medical officers in India, somewhat excessive. Pneumonia and other acute diseases are sometimes erroneously included under the heading "fevers," but making allowance for all errors of diagnosis, the main fact remains, that malarial fevers dominate the death-rate in every province of British India. The next most prolific causes of mortality are dysentery, endemic diarrhoea, and cholera. These, roughly speaking, account for about 12 per cent. of the total deaths. Such being the dominant conditions of morbidity, it is easy to understand how opium has come to be regarded by the Natives of India as a general panacea for their health troubles. The people have learnt from long experience that opium is to them a help in need, both to alleviate their sufferings, and, more or less, to prevent a recurrence of their feverish attacks. In this general sense there was a consensus of opinion that opium was an invaluable mitigator of, and prophylactic against, the prevailing complaints of the

* Some interesting evidence on this point is recorded in the Proceedings of the Commission (Vol. IV., p. 16).

† Cited by Dr. Ernest Martin (*L'Opium*, p. 16).

‡ Cited by Dr. Ernest Martin (*L'Opium*, p. 18).

§ A striking illustration of this was given by Mr. Wace, Commissioner of the Patna Division. He stated: "The effect of climate in regulating the use of opium is curiously illustrated in the district I know best, viz., Bhagalpur. The district is cut in halves by the Ganges. The southern part is dry and healthy; the eastern half of the northern part is damp and malarious, especially where it borders the river Kosi. The three most malarious thanas, Kishengang, Madhepura, and Partagan, with a population of 27 per cent. of the whole district, have 42 per cent. of the opium shops licensed for the whole district. The three driest thanas of the south, containing a population about four-fifths of the damper thanas, have only two opium shops, while the three damp thanas have seventeen." (10,840.)

people of India; nor was there any doubt expressed that, as regards its general therapeutic value, opium could not be replaced by any other known remedy.

A more interesting question from a scientific point of view is, whether and to what extent opium has the power to cure and prevent genuine malarial fevers; in other words, whether opium possesses, like quinine, real antiperiodic properties. In order to elucidate this point, it is necessary to advert to the composition of opium and, particularly, of Indian opium. Opium is a very complex substance, containing not less than 16 or 18 different active principles; most of these are in very minute proportions, and do not concern us here. The two most important and abundant alkaloids, or active principles, of opium, are morphia and anarcotine.* Morphia represents the anodyne and hypnotic properties of the drug. Anarcotine is a bitter crystalline alkaloid resembling quinine, and, like that substance, possesses tonic and antiperiodic properties.

There are two descriptions of opium current in India, namely, Patna opium and Malwa opium. The opium used in England for medical purposes is called Smyrna opium. There are considerable differences in the proportions of morphia and anarcotine in these three varieties. These differences are shown in the subjoined Table:—

TABLE V., showing the PER-CENTAGE of MORPHIA and ANARCOTINE in PATNA, MALWA, and SMYRNA OPIUM; compiled from the Patna Opium Factory Laboratory Records (Vol. ii., Appendix xx.).

Description of Opium.	Morphia, per cent.	Anarcotine, per cent.
Patna opium (Behar provision cake) - -	3.98	6.36
Malwa opium - - -	4.61	5.14
Smyrna opium - - -	8.27	1.94

It will be observed that Patna opium is comparatively poor in morphia, but very rich in anarcotine. Smyrna opium, on the contrary, is very rich in morphia, and very poor in anarcotine. Malwa opium is closely akin to Patna opium, but is a little richer in morphia, and a little poorer in anarcotine. Persian opium, of which a good deal finds its way into some parts of the East, appears to be almost identical with the Malwa variety in its per-centage of morphia and anarcotine.

Some 50 years ago quinine became very scarce and dear, and the Indian medical authorities had to cast about for some cheap and more abundant substitute. Attention was directed to anarcotine, and trials were made as to its curative power in malarial fevers. In 1838 Dr. (afterwards Sir William) O'Shaughnessy, of the Indian Medical Service, brought before the Medical Society of Calcutta an account of 32 cases of intermittent and remittent fevers treated with anarcotine. Of these 31 were cured. He also mentioned that 100 cases were treated by his pupils and acquaintances with perfect success. These results and others of a like character caused the Indian authorities to institute further experiments, and, these proving favourable, they caused anarcotine to be prepared in quantity at the laboratories of Ghazipur and Patna and distributed to the medical depôts throughout British India.

Two important communications on the antiperiodic powers of anarcotine deserve resuscitation. They are based on a large experience, and they prove incontestably that anarcotine is scarcely inferior—and, in some classes of cases, is superior—to quinine as an antiperiodic. The first, from Dr. Palmer, is contained in a letter to the Director General of the Indian Medical Department, and is printed in Vol. v. of the Proceedings of the Commission, Appendix III., p. 78. In 1857-9 he treated at Ghazipur 546 cases of malarial fever with anarcotine, in doses ranging from 1 to 3 grains. Of these 541 were cured and five died. In addition to these 546 officially reported cases, he treated with anarcotine a large number of other cases of malarial fever, amounting in all to little short of 1,000 cases. Summing up his general experience, he states that in 70 per cent. the fever was permanently arrested at the second paroxysm after the medicine was administered; in 20 per cent. the arrest was equally sure, but was not quite so quick; and in 10 per cent. the medicine did not appear to have any curative result. He further remarks that there are cases where anarcotine is decidedly more efficacious than quinine, namely, where there is an

* This substance was named Narcotine by its discoverer, Derosne, but this designation is so misleading (seeing that it is devoid of narcotic qualities) that Dr. Palmer re-named it Anarcotine. Dr. Garden adopts this name, and I think it desirable to follow his example.

intolerance of quinine, and where quinine has been given without any effect for a long time.

The second communication is a "Report on Anarcotine," by Dr. Garden, which is published in the 7th volume of the "Indian Annals of Medical Science." Dr. Garden succeeded Dr. Palmer in civil charge of the Ghazipur station in 1859; and at that time a severe outbreak of intermittent fever, of quotidian and tertian type, had to be dealt with. Taking advantage of the opportunity, he subjected anarcotine to an extensive trial. He treated altogether 684 cases, and gives details of 194. Of these 194 cases, 187 were rapidly cured by anarcotine. It only failed in seven cases, or 3.6 per cent. It, moreover, cured some cases where quinine had failed. The doses he employed ranged from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 grains. He expresses his general conclusions in the following words:—"That it (anarcotine) is of equal value to quinine I do not pretend to say, but that it has a claim to the next place in the ranks of antiperiodics is, I think, an undoubted fact."

Anarcotine continued in large demand, and was regularly supplied from the Government factories until some 15 or 20 years ago, when quinine becoming again cheap and abundant, the Medical Department refused to issue anarcotine to the medical depôts, and the factories ceased making it (13,484).

• The bearing of the observations of Dr. Palmer and Dr. Garden on the prophylactic powers of opium against malarial fevers stands as follows. These observers found that anarcotine in doses of 1 to 3 grains rapidly (in about three days) cut short the paroxysm of intermittent fever and completely arrested the disease. Now Patna opium is estimated to contain 6.36 per cent. of anarcotine. It would, therefore, require 16 grains of crude opium to equalise the minimum dose of 1 grain of anarcotine, which was found effective in arresting the paroxysms of intermittent fever, and 48 grains to equalise the maximum dose. From these calculations it may be inferred that only large consumers of opium would be absolutely protected against the malarial poison. A reference to Table II. shows that in Calcutta and Rajputana some 30 to 40 per cent. of opium-eaters might be thus protected, but in Orissa, where the dosage is smaller (Table III.) only some 4 per cent. would be completely protected. It is, however, to be remembered, that a dose of an antiperiodic, which is insufficient to cut short an actually existing attack of intermittent fever, may be sufficient to ward off an attack—that is to say, may be sufficient to act as a prophylactic. This is at least the case with quinine. During an attack of ague, quinine is given in doses of five to ten grains—but a dose of two grains taken daily is held to be effective as a prophylactic against recurrent attacks. The same rule probably holds good as regards opium, and its alkaloid anarcotine. On this view it may be assumed that moderate consumers of opium, although not rendered absolutely immune against the malarial poison, would be more or less protected from recurrent attacks—and if the attacks returned, they would return less frequently and with mitigated severity. These particulars, I think, adequately explain why opium-eaters are not altogether exempt from malarial fevers. The smaller consumers either lack the means, or they lack the tolerance, which would enable them to take opium in sufficient quantity to contain an efficient protective dose of anarcotine.

The question was often mooted before the Commission, why it was that notwithstanding all this evidence in favour of opium in malaria, medical men in India did not prescribe opium for the cure and prevention of malarial fevers. The explanation is very simple in the light of the facts disclosed above. Opium contains morphia as well as anarcotine. This puts an absolute bar to the use of opium as a general antiperiodic. It could not be so used without the most serious risk of narcotic poisoning. Only persons of proved high tolerance for opium, in other words, seasoned opium-eaters, could with safety take a sufficiently large dose of the drug to bring into efficient play the antiperiodic power of the anarcotine contained in it. This is the reason why crude opium can never take the place of quinine as an antiperiodic medicine—not even in the case of the generality of the Natives of India—still less in the case of European residents in India.

It seems highly probable that some of the other ingredients contained in opium, and especially morphia, are of service to the sufferer from malaria. In the condition termed "malarial cachexia" the poison lingers about the system for months and years—but not in sufficient potency to keep up regular febrile paroxysms. Such persons are liable on slight exposure or chill to have a recurrence of the paroxysms; they are then said to be "down with fever." This state of things is well known in India. The opinion was very generally expressed by the medical witnesses, that in the case of Natives thus affected, the habitual use of even a small dose of opium, or an occasional dose when the emergency arose, served to ward off the provocative chill and thus prevented these relapses.

It was also alleged that opium often acted as an indirect prophylactic against malaria, by checking diarrhoea and dysenteric purging. These complaints greatly reduce the strength of the sufferers, and so render them more susceptible to the malarial poison and to the "chills" which are universally recognised in India as the immediate cause of fresh attacks of fever.

Several medical witnesses deposed that they had often found opium in combination with quinine to act better as an antiperiodic than quinine alone.

Plurality of Malarial Infection.—Dr. Crombie called attention at Calcutta to a matter of great interest concerning the pathology and therapeutics of malarial fevers—namely, the existence of more than one kind of malarial infection. He said: "When one comes to India the first thing that strikes one is what seems to be the rooted and unreasonable objection that the natives sometimes have to be treated with quinine. . . . After a time one finds out that this objection is not unreasonable, and that there are a great many fevers—I might almost say the majority of cases of fever which I have to treat in Bengal—which are not only not benefited by quinine, but which are aggravated by it" (3520). Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel O'Brien said: "Latterly my experience has been enlarged in the treatment of fevers, and I have come to recognise . . . the disadvantage of quinine in many cases, and the undoubted remarkable benefit to be derived from the use of opium" (3606). Surgeon Captain Tull Walsh, speaking from his experience in Orissa, stated that in that province the fevers accompanied by enlarged spleens were not so common as the type of fever not so accompanied—and that he believed that these two distinct diseases had got muddled up under the head of "malaria" (3752-3).*

The recent researches of Laveran in France, of Marchiafava and Bignami in Italy, and of Mannaberg in Germany, come opportunely to Indian inquirers as bearing on the question of the existence of a plurality of type and plurality of infection in malarial fevers. These researches have demonstrated—that the infective material of malarial fevers consists of micro-organisms, living and multiplying in the bodies of the affected persons—and that these micro-organisms are of more than one kind, and give rise to more than one type of fever. Clinical inquirers in India have in this connexion some extremely interesting pathological and therapeutical questions ripe for investigation—and it is not improbable that Indian opium, or rather its chief alkaloid anarcotine, may come to play a larger part in the treatment of Indian fevers in the future than in the past—and that anarcotine may eventually take its place, not as a rival to quinine, but side by side with it, as a twin antidote to malarial poisons, each being superior on its own special ground.

The facts above enumerated go far to account for the diversity of the testimony laid before the Commission on the relations of the opium habit to malaria. It has been shown how small consumers of opium would be less effectively protected than large consumers—and how even large consumers would not be rendered immune against every form of malarial fever. The fact, now established, that malarial fevers are not all of one type throws a new and important light on the subject. The type of malaria prevailing in one district might be amenable to the control of opium, while a different type prevailing in another district might not be thus amenable—and, naturally, the popular belief in the two districts as to the protective or prophylactic power of opium against malaria would vary accordingly.†

It may also be remarked that the non-medical witnesses had not always sufficient knowledge to enable them to distinguish between malarial and non-malarial fevers. Thus some of the witnesses from Assam based their disbelief in opium as a remedy and prophylactic against malarial fever on its inefficacy in an epidemic disease called Kala-azar, which a few years ago caused great ravages in that province. It turns out that Kala-azar is not a malarial fever at all—but a contagious fever of quite a different nature which is not influenced by any anti-periodic remedy. (See an elaborate official report by Dr. Giles on Kala-azar and Beri-beri printed at Shillong, in Assam, in 1890.)

(4.) THE PRACTICE OF GIVING OPIUM TO INFANTS.

One of the most singular outgrowths of the opium habit in India is the custom of administering opium to infants. The practice is an ancient one and prevails extensively

* It is interesting to note that 35 years ago Dr. Palmer surmised the existence of a plurality of malarial poisons. In the communication before referred to (Vol. v., p. 78) he states that in 90 per cent. of the cases of malarial fever treated by him at Ghazipur anarcotine effected a rapid cure, but that in 10 per cent. it proved entirely ineffective. "This class," he says, "contrasts so strongly with the former that I have been constantly led to believe there must be some difference in the character of the fever."

† Parasitic diseases are, as is well known, greatly influenced as regards their incidence by racial distinctions—and this peculiarity appears to apply to some types of malarial fever. In India the common types of malarial fever attack Natives and Europeans impartially; but this does not appear to be the case with all types of malarial fever. I have been informed that there are hill tracts in India which prove highly malarious to the European officials stationed in them, but which are not malarious to the Native inhabitants.

all over India, but especially in the North-Western provinces, in the Native States of Rajputana and Malwa, and in the Bombay Presidency. The practice may be considered as part and parcel of the household, or popular, use of opium. The Commission were repeatedly told that 60, 80, and 90 per cent. of the infants were dosed with opium, and with some castes the custom seems to be universal. The practice is begun in the first few weeks or months of life, sometimes even from birth, and is continued up to the end of the second or third year, and sometimes to the fourth, and very rarely to the fifth year. The dose is usually one-sixteenth to one-twelfth of a grain to begin with, and this is gradually increased to a quarter or half a grain, and even to one or two grains, according to the age and necessities of the child. The dose is generally administered night and morning, sometimes only once a day. In most parts of India it is given by the mother in the form of crude opium, a speck about the size of a poppy seed or pin's head is put into the child's mouth or is mixed with its milk. Sometimes suckling mothers smear their nipples with opium. In Bombay "children's pills," or bala-golis, are extensively sold for this purpose. These pills are now manufactured, in order to ensure purity and constancy of strength, under the supervision of the licensed vendor; they are made of two degrees of strength and contain respectively one-sixth and one-third of a grain of opium each, mixed with a variety of harmless spices.* (Appendix XXIV., Vol. iv.)

When the child reaches the age of two or three years the practice is discontinued. The weaning from opium is usually done gradually; but it is quite complete; and any resumption of the habit in adult life is entirely disconnected from the practice in childhood.

The common purpose for which opium is given to infants by the poor and cultivating classes is to keep the children quiet and free from fret while the mothers go about their work in the house or in the field. Dr. Keegan, at Indore, gave us the following touching glimpse of the practice :—"A peasant woman who has to work in the fields gives her child some opium and puts him in a basket in the corner of the hut, or perhaps, she takes her child with her to the field, puts him in a small basket and gives a little opium to keep him quiet." But this custom is by no means confined to the poor and the peasantry, who cannot afford to provide the mother with additional help in the charge of her children. It is followed pretty generally among the well-to-do classes, and even in the zenanas of the rich, where there is no lack of servants to attend to the duties of the nursery. The reasons given for the practice by the native witnesses were, that the opium not only kept the children quiet and comfortable, but also helped them to digest their milk, that it prevented diarrhoea, warded off chills and fever, served to alleviate the troubles of dentition, and generally helped to keep the children in good health. Qn. 21,935.

The advantages and disadvantages of this custom were a good deal canvassed before the Commission. It was shown that accidental poisoning sometimes attended the practice. Children were occasionally brought to the dispensaries in a state of somnolence or coma, from accidental over-dosing by a mother, or from a child getting hold of a lump of opium or a box of bala-goli pills left carelessly about, and so poisoning itself. Most of these cases issued in recovery, but sometimes fatalities occurred. These accidents were not nearly so common as might have been expected—showing the practised skill of Indian mothers and nurses in the management of the drug. Some of the medical witnesses expressed a doubt whether fatalities from this cause were more frequent in India than occurred at home from opium given to children in the form of soothing syrups and cordials, or dispensed under medical prescription. Dr. Blaney, who was coroner of Bombay for 17 years, could only recall five or six fatal cases of infants being accidentally poisoned in this way. Qn. 26,372.

As regards the general question of the usefulness or hurtfulness of the custom, viewed apart from the risks of accidental poisoning, the opinions laid before the Commission were divided. To European ideas the practice seems very objectionable. The surroundings of child-life in India are, however, so peculiar, in relation to domestic circumstances, to food, climate, and malarial influences, and as regards the exceptional

* The exact quantity of opium in each pill, of the two degrees of strength, is nine-fiftieths and nine-twenty-fifths of a grain. It is to be remembered that Indian opium contains only half the amount of morphia contained in the opium used in Europe for medical purposes.

† In a memorandum on children's pills or bala-golis, presented to the Commission by Mr. McNabb Campbell, collector, of Bombay, it is stated :—"Bombay professional opinion is almost equally divided on the question whether opium is beneficial or hurtful to children. Of 84 statements obtained in 1893 from members of the Grant College Medical Society, 27 were in favour of the use of the drug, 30 were against it, 25 gave no opinion, and two were doubtful" (Appendix XXIV., Vol. iv.)

tolerance for opium of Indian infants, that it would not be safe to judge the custom by European standards.

Indian mothers and nurses, and the Native public generally, have an unquestioning faith in the wholesomeness of giving opium to children, and the accumulated experience of successive generations of parents, extending over hundreds of years, furnishes a body of presumptive evidence which is not to be lightly set aside on the ground of *a priori* considerations. It is difficult to believe that a practice so widely diffused through all grades of society, and carried on under the direct supervision of the vigilant maternal instinct, should have maintained itself so long in credit, if it were on the whole and to any appreciable extent injurious.

Qn. 15,151.
26,672
20,574.
21,882.

The general tenor of the evidence of the members of the Indian Medical Service, who had charge of dispensaries and had supervision of vaccination, and had thus ample opportunities of observing the effect of the habit, was to the effect that the practice was generally harmless and sometimes beneficial. It was shown that the children who had opium given them were just as healthy as those who had not opium given them. Dr. Hendley, at Jeypore, examined, for the purpose of the present inquiry, 100 children who were brought up (without any selection) for vaccination. Of these 78 were being dosed with opium, and 22 had not received opium. All the children of both groups were equally healthy.* Some of the medical witnesses expressed a formal disapproval of the habit, but added that they had not actually seen any evil result from it. Others again condemned the custom and alleged that they had frequently seen serious malnutrition and fatal marasmus and atrophy follow the practice.

Qn. 21,298.
16,902.
19,979-90.
21,951.

It is easy to believe that some minor infantile complaints, such as chronic constipation, might be unfavourably affected by the practice of giving opium to children, and benefited by its suspension, without attracting special notice from medical observers. But it is not easy to believe that serious marasmus and atrophy could, as alleged, frequently arise from a practice so common without having been long ago detected and generally recognised, by medical practitioners and writers in India. Moreover, it is obvious that there must be some contributory factor or factors, in addition to the opium, to account for the production of such cases, otherwise more than half the children in some parts of India would be in a state of atrophy. The most convincing evidence on the occurrence of opium marasmus in infants, was given by Dr. Huntly at Ajmere. He said, "I can recall to my memory a dozen, or perhaps a score, of instances (of marasmus) in which, acting on my advice, the parents stopped the opium, and the child recovered health and plumpness" (21,324). Dr. Huntly was not able to indicate the contributory factors which accounted for these exceptional instances. It is well known that infantile atrophy may occur in otherwise healthy children simply as the result of insufficient breast milk in underfed or unhealthy mothers, or as the result of chronic functional derangements affecting the digestion and assimilation of food.† Children thus suffering would, in India, as a matter of course, be dosed with opium, and even cautious observers might be misled as to the true causal sequence. There is another group of cases, involving waste and emaciation, encountered in India, which might prove similarly deceptive. Children in India are liable, like adults, to the

Qn. 3330-3.

Qn. 18,828.

malarial cachexia, and infants in arms are sometimes found with the characteristic enlarged spleen. Mothers who suffer from malarial fever during pregnancy appear capable of transmitting the disease to their offspring congenitally or through their milk.‡ Such cases would be sure to have opium given them, and might easily be misinterpreted, especially in those instances, and they are not uncommon, where the malarial cachexia is unaccompanied with enlarged spleen.

Qn. 24,674.

In studying this most strange custom of giving opium to infants, it is necessary for the inquirer, if he is to reach valid conclusions, to divest himself of his European ideas concerning opium and infants, to examine the actual facts with an open mind, and, above all, to fully realise the complexity of the etiological problems involved. The following quotation from the evidence of Dr. Arnott, physician in charge of St. George's Hospital, Bombay, will, I think, find an echo in the experience of most medical men in India who have paid attention to this subject. "On infants, who are otherwise well cared for, the use of opium has not the bad effect I was prepared to expect. I have seen many infants to whom opium was habitually given quite well-nourished

* A sect of Shia Mussulmans, called Bhoras, are said not to give opium to their children. Dr. Keegan, speaking at Indore, said of these:—"They happen to be the most unhealthy children in this part of the country, . . . whether it is through not taking opium I do not know, but as a matter of fact the children of the Bhoras are very unhealthy" (21,928-9).

† Prof. Henoeh's description of infantile atrophy from these causes corresponds exactly with the description given of the so-called "opium baby." (*Lectures on Diseases of Children*, Syd. Soc. Ed., Vol. i., p. 72.)

‡ Dr. Cleghorn, who was examined at Lahore, informed me privately that he had encountered enlarged, malarial spleen in *new-born* infants, and verified the fact at the autopsy.

“ and healthy, but others ill-fed and ill-cared for, are emaciated, and, no doubt, among these last there is a large mortality. In such cases, it is not easy to separate the effects of opium from the other causes of infantile mortality in large towns.”

(5.) USE OF OPIUM ON OCCASIONS OF CEREMONY.

In the protected States of Rajputana, Central India, and Gujarat opium is largely employed on various ceremonial occasions. It is so used during religious festivals, on State occasions, at the celebration of marriages, at births and funerals, as a token of welcome to friends, and as a seal of reconciliation between adversaries. A preparation called “amalpani” or “kasumbha,”* is commonly used on these occasions. This is a strained solution of opium in water, and it is drunk in company, as a sort of social solvent, like wine. Opium in the solid form is also distributed, as largesse, by chiefs and hosts to relations, guests, retainers, and the poor. Some of the accounts of these customs laid before the Commission are very curious.

Sir Lepel Griffin thus describes the use of opium as a court observance in Rajputana. “A native Rajah with all his court sitting around him, will call for his attendant, who will pour some of it (opium water or amal-pani) into his hand, and he will drink it off, and every one of the men round him will drink it in the same way” (1585).

A high Native official at Jeypore gives the following account of the ceremonial uses of opium among the people of the Jeypore state. “On occasion of the annual celebration of the religious festivals of Akshay Tij, Holi, and Dusserah opium-eating is looked upon as highly auspicious and conducive to prosperity and happiness. Opium is accordingly distributed among relations, as well as among friends and dependants, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, and the drug is partaken by all concerned as something sacred. Marriage contracts, and the celebration of marriage among Rajputs, are considered neither auspicious nor valid unless opium is eaten on such occasions. Opium is also used on occasions of funeral ceremonies. Moreover, when two inveterate enemies become reconciled and propose to pass the rest of their lives peacefully, they generally partake of opium at each other’s hands; and the practice is recognised as making the tie of friendship inviolable. If either of the two parties decline to take opium, it is understood that he is not disposed to abide by his promises. It is generally the practice among natives of India to offer some refreshments to a friend or acquaintance who comes to pay a visit. Pan-supari (betel and betel nuts), tobacco, and spices, are often presented, but a Rajput would offer opium as an unmistakeable token of friendship and attachment” (20,175).

An officer of the Dholpur State (Rajputana) relates “That opium has been for ages an established institution in the country. It has come to be looked upon as the chief factor in some social customs and usages throughout Rajputana. For instance, it is customary among the Rajputs, at the betrothal ceremony, that the bridegroom should eat or drink opium offered by the bride’s party. The whole company afterwards drink the drug by turn, out of the palm of the host. The extent to which opium has got itself wound up with the daily avocations of the people, as a tradition, will be realised from the fact that among the Thakurs and others high castes, it is invariably seen that before beginning a letter, a prayer is expressed on top of it, asking the addressee to take, on the writer’s account, double the quantity of his daily allowance” of amal-pani (21,655).

Here is a curious picture from Malwa, drawn by the Dewan (administrator) of the Rutlam State: “I should like to add that there is attached to the Palace, at Rutlam, what is called an Abdarkhana, where respectable persons coming to see His Highness or the Dewan are treated with a drink of a solution made of opium (kusumbha). The Jagirdars, as also the servants of His Highness, and citizens who frequent the Darbar office, partake of the drink. If respectable Jagirdars and Thakores are not offered the kusumbha drink, they would feel that they are not treated properly. On a birthday, the Dasora holiday, and at the time of certain darbars, the Thakores, Jagirdars, officers, and others are treated with kusumbha. The darbar is dissolved after all the persons have resumed their seats after having taken the kusumbha. No pansupari, flowers, garlands, &c. are given in such darbars, the kusumbha taking the place of all these things. The Abdarkhana institution has been in existence from time immemorial.

* According to Major Ferris “kasumbha” is thus made in Kathiawar:—“Cut the opium into small pieces, add a little water, mix to a thick consistency, put the mass into a thick woollen cloth, pour cold water on gradually and strain through. Drink the decoction without any addition of sugar, or anything to destroy the bitter taste.” The proportion is usually one part of opium to 20 parts of water (22,577).

During the minority of his late Highness the Political Superintendent of the State had to maintain it, and it has been maintained up to this time, though nowadays it is used principally by persons of the middle class. Formerly it cost much, now the cost is much reduced. The importance of the kusumbha drink is so great that in friendly letters and invitations the Thakores, Rajas, Dewans, and others generally endorse in their own autograph as follows :—"After reading this letter, do you take kusumbha drink as a treat from me in honour of yourself." This request is considered complimentary, and is made by one not inferior in rank to the other. When a friendly letter with such a request is received, the request is in certain cases literally carried out by "at once having a kusumbha party in honour of the person who made the request" (23,232).

Among the occasions on which it is obligatory to take opium, the paymaster of the army of the Native State of Jaisalmer, mentions the following singular instances—"on the visit of a son-in-law to his father-in-law's house"—on "the first removal of hair of a male child among Rajputs and Charans"—"on the parting (or shaving in the middle) of the beard of Rajputs and Charans" (21,128).

In the Native States of Gujarat and Kathiawar similar customs prevail. Major Ferris gives the following account of kasumbha drinking among the Natives of the Kathiawar States :—"Among the Kathis kasumbha is consumed at all funerals, marriages, betrothals, and such like ceremonies. As a fact it is never refused, but there is no religious obligation to take it. Nevertheless if a Kathi has the habit and refuses kasumbha on such an occasion it would cause offence. In cases of reconciliation after a quarrel among Kathis, the drinking of kasumbha, even by those not having the habit, is *de rigueur*. To refuse would be to raise a suspicion that the reconciliation was not sincere. Each party must take some, however little, or the reconciliation is incomplete. It is a necessity almost amounting to a religion for a guest of a Kathi to be given and to accept kasumbha. A failure on either hand is a grave breach of hospitality and respect. Promises and verbal contracts and agreements are sealed among Kathis by the parties drinking kasumbha together. This makes the fulfilment as binding as an oath. When families agree to divide the ancestral property by mutual agreement, without having recourse to documents and the law, the parties drink kasumbha to clinch the undertaking" (22,578).

A Native Inspector of Customs at Ahmedabad gives some picturesque details of the ceremonial use of opium in that district. He says: "The Girasias and Kathis who live in the southern part of this district have always been using and been addicted to the habit of eating opium. . . . Kasumbha is prepared twice a day, that is, in the morning and evening, when poor wasavas (low class labourers) who are habitual opium-eaters, are supplied with opium according to their requirements. This is a mark of generosity. . . . It is a custom among these people that when guests come to them from a distance on any unusual occasion, or on ordinary business, the village barber, on behalf of the guests, invites the resident householders of the village to drink kasumbha. All those that assemble in response to the invitations are supplied with kasumbha by the guests at their own expense, and pieces of opium have also to be given according to the requirements of the persons invited. If one omits to do this, he is not considered respectable. Another class of people residing in this district are the Patidars and Kanbis, who have always observed the following usages. On a wedding occasion one may use opium at his pleasure, but when a respectable old man dies, the use of opium in honour of his memory is indispensable. During the first eleven days after the death of the deceased, when the people of the surrounding villages, with whom such formalities are usually interchanged, come in crowds to offer condolence, kasumbha has to be supplied to them and their servants, and opium is also distributed among them. Afterwards on the last, or thirtieth day, all persons with whom such formalities are usually interchanged, and all relations coming from a distance, assemble. This gathering is called Saraoni, and if expenditure on a large scale is contemplated, it is called Gam Saraoni. The greater the quantity of opium one dispenses on this occasion, the more credit he gets" (23,656).

It appears from the evidence of several witnesses that in Kathiawar, and throughout Gujarat, the ceremonial use of opium is on the wane, and tending to die out. This is attributed partly to the spread of Western ideas and the substitution of alcoholic beverages for opium, and partly to economic necessity. In recent years the price of opium in these districts has risen a good deal, owing to increased taxation upon it. In former times, when opium was almost untaxed, the quantities consumed on these ceremonial occasions was enormous. A Native gentleman from the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad informed the Commission that on the occasion of the death of his grand-

father, in 1851, nearly three maunds, or 240 lbs., of opium were consumed in treating the guests, whereas on the occasion of the death of his father, thirty years later, in 1881, not more than 10 lbs. of opium were used by the guests (22,774-5).

(6.) OPIUM SMOKING IN INDIA.

The use of opium in the way of smoking is a subordinate habit in India; and, as compared with the ancient practice of opium-eating, is relatively modern. Opium-smoking is practised in two ways, namely, as *madak-smoking* and as *chandu-smoking*. The preparation of opium used in these two modes is quite different, and the manner of smoking is also different.

Madak-smoking.—The substance called Madak (or Madat or Muddat) is prepared by dissolving crude opium in water, boiling the solution, and straining through cloth. The strained product is boiled down to a syrup, and then mixed with charred leaves,* of acacia, betel, or guava, so as to form a soft mass. The mass thus obtained is finally divided into little balls about the size of small marbles. Samples of madak balls obtained by me at Calcutta, have a light porous texture, and a carbonised appearance. The balls weigh a little under seven grains each. The quantity of opium contained in madak probably varies in different markets, but from the mode of manufacture it must be always an attenuated preparation as compared with chandu. Judging by the directions for the manufacture of madak given in Vol. IV., p. 521, and Vol. V., p. 87 of the Proceedings of the Commission, the proportion of opium contained in it would seem to vary from about one-third to about one-fourth. Mr. Gregory, the superintendent of the factory laboratory at Ghazipur, analysed two samples of madak purchased by him in the bazaar at Calcutta. They yielded respectively 0·18 per cent. and 0·21 per cent. of morphia. This proportion of morphia indicates that the madak sold in the Calcutta shops only contains about 4 per cent. of crude opium (13,483).

Madak is usually smoked in the ordinary hubble-bubble pipe. One of the little balls is placed in the bowl of the pipe and covered with a piece of glowing charcoal; it is then smoked much in the same way as tobacco.

Chandu-smoking.—Chandu (or Chundoo or Chundool) is prepared by boiling down a strained solution of opium in water in large copper caldrons to a thick consistency. As the concentration proceeds crusts form on the surface of the simmering mass; these are removed in succession as they form. These crusts are again dissolved in water, and the solution is again concentrated by boiling, until, finally, a thick extract is obtained of the consistency and appearance of thick tar. This is the "smokeable extract" used in India by chandu-smokers. It is smoked in the freshly-made, or raw state, without any further preparation; and must be regarded as a coarse form of chandu.† The chandu used in China by the better classes is a much more elaborately prepared article, and is made to undergo, before it is considered fit for consumption, a gradual process of ripening, or maturation, lasting 10 or 12 months, whereby a delicate perfume is imparted to it, which is much prized by connoisseurs in chandu-smoking.‡

Chandu contains a large per-centage of morphia. Mr. Gregory analysed a sample of chandu made with pure opium at the Ghazipur laboratory. He found it to contain 10·17 per cent. of morphia. Two samples of chandu purchased by him in the Calcutta bazaar yielded, respectively, 9·19 per cent. and 9·07 per cent. of morphia. It thus appears that Indian chandu is about twice as rich in morphia as the crude opium from which it is prepared§ (13,479-83).

* In Bombay, madak is made up with the charred husks of a grain called moong. A substance called "green gram" is employed in Southern India for the same purpose.

† It should be mentioned that the common chandu smoked in India, and by the poorer classes in China, has its quality lowered by the use, in the manufacture, of the dejections or "dross" scraped from chandu pipes after they have been smoked. This "dross," which is rich in morphia, is carefully collected, and is largely employed to mix with the pure opium in the manufacture of the commoner sorts of chandu.

‡ A detailed account is given by M. Lalande, in the *Archives de Médecine Navale*, for 1890, of the method of making chandu from Bengal opium at the French Government Factory at Saigon. The process is carried out entirely by Chinese workmen, and is said to be an exact counterpart of the process followed in China for the production of high-class chandu. In the same journal for 1892, is a paper by Dr. Calmette describing the slow spontaneous fermentation which constitutes the ripening of the chandu. The fermentive agent, according to Calmette, is the *Aspergillus Niger*, or black mould, which grows everywhere so abundantly in saccharine media. The chemical results of the fermentation are to destroy the glucose of the opium and to convert the tannin into gallic acid, and to produce, besides, certain aromatic fragrances which impart the desired "bouquet" to the finished article.

§ According to the analysis of Lalande (*l.c.*, p. 69) the chandu made at Saigon, while retaining its full complement of morphia, has only a very reduced proportion of anarcotine.*

Chandu is smoked in a specially constructed pipe and in a peculiar manner. The pipe-stem is composed of a tube of bamboo, about 20 inches long and more than an inch thick. One end is closed, and the other end is fashioned into a thick mouth-piece with a large orifice. About 7 inches from the closed extremity is a round hole, mounted in brasswork, for the reception of the neck of the bowl. The bowl of a chandu pipe is usually made of terra-cotta, and is entirely unlike the bowl of a tobacco pipe. The subjoined diagram will assist the reader to understand the description. The bowl (a) consists of a hollow disc, or chamber, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and about $1\frac{1}{4}$ deep. The upper surface is flatly convex, and at its centre (b) is a minute shallow cup, lined with metal, and perforated at the bottom with a small orifice. This leads to a short canal running through the terra-cotta, and is only wide enough to admit a medium-sized pin. The lower side of the disc is continued into a short neck (c) which fits into the opening in the pipe-stem.*

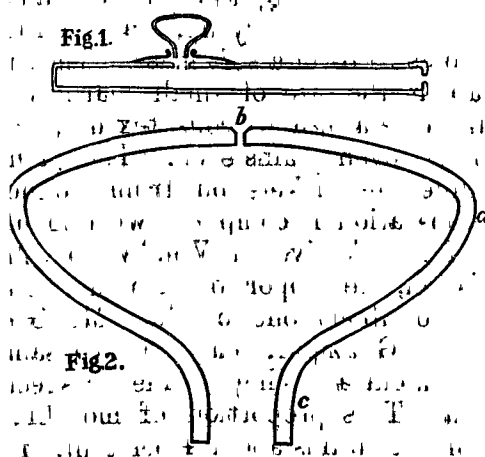


FIG. 1. Vertical section through a chandu pipe, one-tenth the actual dimensions.

FIG. 2. Vertical section through the bowl of a chandu pipe, actual size. a. The bowl. b. The receptacle for the charge of chandu. c. The neck of the bowl.

The chandu smoker proceeds in the following fashion:—Armed with a pointed probe or style he dips the point into his supply of chandu and takes up a suitable quantity which forms a little drop at the point of the style. This he now carefully heats over the flame of a lamp until it dries up into a soft pilule. He next transfers the little pilule to the shallow cup on the upper surface of the bowl. Then, assuming a reclining position, he cautiously applies the pilule to the flame of the lamp, and at the right moment, when the chandu begins to bubble and to emit smoke, he takes a full inspiration and fills his lungs with smoke, and then slowly discharges it. One or two such inspirations exhausts the charge. A practised smoker will smoke 15 or 20 pipes at a sitting.

Opium-smoking in India is the habit of the comparatively few; it is almost confined to the towns, and is scarcely known among the country cultivators. Mr. Stoker, Commissioner of Excise for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, who has had special opportunities of studying this subject, said that "probably not so many as 1 in every 10,000 of the whole population ever smokes opium" (19,527). In the large towns and seaports the proportion of opium smokers is considerably greater than this. In Bombay, with 821,000 inhabitants, Mr. Campbell, collector of Inland Revenue, estimated that before the closing of the licensed houses, in 1892, there were 700 or 800 men who smoked opium in the licensed premises; that is to say, about 1 in 1,100 of the entire population (24,314).

The practice of opium-smoking is generally looked down upon in India as a low and vicious habit. Several of the witnesses thought the practice—and especially that of madak-smoking—injurious to health. Others thought that the injurious effects were not due directly to the smoking, but were due to the associations and surroundings of the habit. These are certainly very bad. The practice of smoking seems to require that it shall be carried on in company, and the premises or "dens" in which opium smokers meet in India are of a squalid and insanitary character. The frequenters of these premises belong to the humbler grades of society. Many of them are, no doubt,

* The above description is drawn up from an examination of four chandu pipes, one bought at Calcutta, two confiscated pipes, kindly given to me by Mr. Westmacott, at Calcutta, and the fourth purchased in Rangoon. All four are essentially alike in construction, but vary in ornamentation. The bowls of the two confiscated pipes are made of brass, and the bowls of the other two are made of terra-cotta.

decent working men, who call for their smoke much as English workmen call for their glass of beer; but these places are also the resort of idle and dissipated and vicious persons—the declassed and homeless waifs and strays who gravitate into large towns. It is easy to understand that such associations and surroundings would be deleterious to the health and corrupting to the morals of the young. Public opinion in India is against these “dens,” and the consumption of opium in any form upon the premises of licensed shops is not now permitted.

The evidence with regard to the effect of opium-smoking on health was less complete and less conclusive than that with regard to opium eating. Proof was given that smokers both of madak and chandu might continue the practice for 10, 20, or 30 years without detriment to their health. No organic disease of any kind was alleged to be producible by the habit. It was shown that opium-smoking was often resorted to for the relief of suffering, especially in cases of asthma, bronchitis, and pulmonary consumption, and that it was easy for unwary observers to mistake the effects of concurrent disease for the effects of opium-smoking. It cannot be said to have been adequately proved that moderate opium-smoking, taken by itself, and apart from its surroundings and from disease or semi-starvation, has a prejudicial effect on health.*

It is a matter of considerable scientific interest to know what the opium smoker really takes into his system. As regards madak smoking we have no positive information. Something, however, is known about chandu-smoking. Chandu is rich in the alkaloids of opium, and especially rich in morphia. These principles are, however, not volatilisable by heat; they are broken up and transformed by heat; and what the chandu-smoker receives into his lungs are the gaseous products evolved by the heated chandu, together with the carbonaceous particles which constitute the visible smoke.

Several Europeans have experimented in their own persons on chandu-smoking, and have recorded their experiences. Most of them report that they perceived no effects whatever, some suffered more or less from headache and giddiness, but none of the accounts I have seen report a distinctly hypnotic effect. Europeans are very sensitive to the hypnotic action of morphia, and their experience, even making allowance for their imperfect mastery of the art of chandu-smoking, seems to show that the enjoyment of the chandu smoker is not due to the absorption of unchanged morphia. That some traces of morphia are conveyed into the lungs of the chandu smoker is, however, pretty certain.† These traces would be carried up mechanically, in the solid form, entangled in the carbonaceous particles of the smoke. But as this smoke is forthwith expelled again there would probably be very little absorption of morphia by the pulmonary tissue.

What the gases evolved by heated chandu consist of we do not accurately know; they are doubtless very complex. But it may be presumed that their effect on the Eastern smoker is kindred, though not identical, with the reviving and exhilarating effect of solid opium on the opium eater. It may moreover be assumed that the reason why Europeans (with rare exceptions) do not experience this reviving effect from chandu-smoking is that they lack the proper constitutional susceptibility thereto, just as they equally lack, as before pointed out, the proper susceptibility to the reviving effect of the opium pill and opium draught.

* The most detailed and circumstantial information, laid before the Commission, on the health of opium smokers in India, is to be found in a publication entitled:—“Lives of Bombay Opium Smokers,” compiled by Mr. Rustomji Jehangir, Chief Inspector of the Bombay Opium Department. This little book contains short biographies of 222 opium smokers, of whom 60 were madak smokers, and 162 chandu smokers. These biographies are printed in full in the Proceedings of the Commission, Vol. IV., Appendix XXII.

† According to the observations of Moissan, made in the laboratory, the ripened chandu used by the better classes in China, yields its smoke at a comparatively low temperature, and he was able to detect the presence of morphia in the smoke, together with some volatile perfumes. The coarser chandu smoked by the lower classes, which is made with opium adulterated with the “dross” scraped from old chandu pipes, requires a higher temperature for the development of smoke, and this smoke contains toxic compounds such as pyrrol, acetone, pyridic and hydropyridic bases. (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, December 5, 1892.) These toxic compounds appear to be somewhat similar with those found in tobacco smoke.

MEMORANDUM II:
ON SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE OPIUM QUESTION IN
INDIA AND CHINA;

By SIR J. B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

VII. App. B.
and C., pp. 28
to 214.

If the questions contained in the Order of reference are read in the light of the preamble and of the speech which the Prime Minister made in support of the amendment which embodies them, it will be evident that the replies must depend not upon the past history of the case in India and China, but upon facts and international relations now existing. Historical arguments have however, been much relied upon in this controversy, and have again been brought forward by some of the witnesses who have appeared before the Commission. The view which some of these witnesses take of the existing facts of the case, seems to be coloured by a view of its past history which, if true at all, is only partly true. Mr. R. M. Dane's two Notes which are appended to this Report, contain a large amount of authentic information, much of which does not seem to have been known to the writers, official or non-official, who have sketched the history of the question in the course of the controversy. None of these writers seem to have been thoroughly acquainted with both the Indian and the China sides of this history. In particular the writers on the China side have generally been ignorant of many Indian facts, and have not sufficiently recognised the necessity of considering Indian interests. It appears to me, that there are some important incidents of the history, upon which certain broad conclusions may be safely formed from a perusal of the authorities given by Mr. Dane. These conclusions are as follows:—

1. The production of opium, the opium habit, and the export of opium to the Straits, China, and the Malay Archipelago, were all established facts in India before, and presumably long before, the first Europeans, the Portuguese, appeared on the scene at the very end of the 15th century. In China, also, before that time there was some home-grown, as well as Indian and Turkish, opium in use, and there are clear indications that the use was not medical only.

The common use of opium as a stimulant seems to have originated among the Mussulmans of Western Asia, probably in connexion with the strict prohibition of alcohol in their religion, and to have been extended by their power and influence to the Nations further East. This will explain the fact that the habit was established in Persia, India, and the Malay countries earlier than in China.

In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries the sea-traders of the different European Nations, which successively joined in the trade round the Cape, all took part in the traffic in Indian opium between India and other countries further East. But throughout this long period the Portuguese and Dutch had a much larger share of this particular trade than the other Europeans, and till close upon the end of it the share taken by British merchants was very small. The Portuguese and Dutch were both before the English in establishing trade relations with China: the Portuguese established their important trading settlement of Macao in 1537, a hundred years before the British made their first attempts to trade with China.

The habit of smoking opium was derived from the habit of smoking tobacco, which the Malays acquired from the Spaniards and Portuguese at the commencement of the 17th century. The Malays and Chinese by the end of that century had invented the opium-smoking habit, and by the year 1729 it had grown so common in some parts of China that it drew down an Imperial edict severely prohibiting opium-smoking shops, and the sale of opium for smoking purposes.

The above conclusions seem to rest securely upon admitted facts, and, if so, it is evident that some of the denunciations which have been used with great effect even lately by leaders of the anti-opium movement are entirely inaccurate and misleading. For example, it has been said that we created the opium trade to China, and then made war to maintain it, and that we did not find the vice in India, but created it to raise a revenue from it.

2. It has frequently been assumed that the edicts against import of opium issued by the Chinese Government were founded simply upon its experience of the great moral and physical injury caused by the habit; and this assumed fact has again been used as strong proof of the actual severity of the injury, and as a reason why Englishmen were morally bound to take no part direct or indirect in a trade which the Chinese Government made contraband on such high moral grounds.

There is no reason to doubt that Chinese views of religion and morality and of the injurious nature of the habit were the principal motives of the earlier edicts, but it would be contrary to fact to assume that the later edicts, and the strong action taken to enforce them, were elicited by these motives only.

The first edict of 1729 prohibited, not the import of opium, but opium-smoking taverns and the sale of opium for smoking purposes. It was issued with the sanction of an Emperor who had a high reputation for religion and morality, and was directed, like previous edicts against tobacco smoking, against a new habit which shocked Confucian ideas of propriety, and was thought to be very injurious. The edict of 1799, which was the first to directly prohibit import, is quoted at length by Mr. Dane. It is a very strong denunciation of the opium habit as morally and physically degrading, and as ruinously expensive. It appears to have been issued by the Governor of Canton: to have had some effect at Canton itself for a year or two; and then to have been neglected. As Mr. Dane says, at the end of his narrative, it was the exportation of sycee silver which actually induced the Chinese Government to exert itself earnestly to suppress the trade. Without that additional motive the interdict against opium would probably have remained, like the Imperial edicts against tobacco, "a luminous manifestation of celestial benevolence." VII. p. 214.

The governing class in China held at that time, and, as is shown by the evidence procured for us lately from that country, often still hold, the idea which long prevailed in Europe that export of the precious metals meant national impoverishment. Whenever, as happened two or three times between 1799 and 1829, the high Chinese officials seemed to wake up to the fact that the import of opium was steadily increasing, and ought to be stopped, there is evidence which indicates that they were not thinking only of opium. It seems clear that the export of silver was always closely connected in their minds with the import of opium, and was apparently the reason which occupied the prominent position. There was an old law restricting Chinese commerce with foreigners to barter, but sometime between 1753 and 1799, the Chinese were prohibited from bartering goods for opium. In this way the drug became contraband, and had to be bought off the ships in a more or less surreptitious way; the Chinese had to smuggle silver out to smuggle opium in. Another reason for this connexion of ideas was that, as between India and China the balance of trade was always, in those times, in favour of India, though with other countries it was greatly in favour of China. About 1829, however, increased imports of all kinds, and of opium in particular, made the general balance of trade with all countries unfavourable to China for the first time in its history, and a real drain of silver began. The currency, which is in copper coin only, was depreciated, and this was much felt, particularly by the official classes. In 1832 a memorial from the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton was sent to the Emperor, in which the drain of silver and import of opium were connected, and the legalisation of the opium trade was recommended for that and other reasons. Though this proposal received censure, a similar one was made in 1836 by a high official at Peking, and by another Governor of Canton for the same reasons. (Papers of 1840.) In reply, in 1837 an Imperial decree was issued, announcing the Emperor's determination to remove the baneful effects of opium, the prevalence of which was leading to a daily decrease in China of fine silver. Finally, when, in 1839, the Special Commissioner Lin demanded surrender of the opium, he mentioned in his orders to the Hong merchants the immense loss of silver exported to pay for opium as the great evil of the trade. It is not surprising, therefore, that Englishmen concerned in the trade were generally disposed to hold the export of silver to be the fact which really led the Government of China from time to time to take action against the import of opium. With that motive they could not of course be expected to have sympathy. VII. p. 74. I. 1309. VII. p. 115.

3. The connexion of British merchants with the trade to China in Bengal opium began to be considerable, as we have already said, in the end of the 18th century. It followed the establishment of the East India Company's Bengal opium monopoly, which arose out of the conquest of Bengal and Behar in 1758. In 1773, Warren Hastings, as the Company's Governor General, was organising, after a time of confusion, a complete system of administration for these Provinces. He then found that, for a long time past, certain persons at Patna, supported more or less by authority, had held a monopoly of purchase of opium from poppy cultivators and petty dealers. Patna was the opium emporium of this part of India, the place from which the sea-traders, at this time principally Europeans, procured the drug, and they could practically only buy it from these monopolists. Here, as elsewhere, the cultivation was free, like that of any other crop, but the business of wholesale purchase and manufacture in the

tracts from which Patna drew its chief supplies, was practically a monopoly, though elsewhere in India that business seems also to have been always free. When the subject of the Patna opium trade came to be discussed by Warren Hastings and his Council in India, and by the Directors of the East India Company in England, the only question was between a State monopoly and free trade. Those who objected to a monopoly did so on the ground that it was unfair to the cultivators, as it diminished the price they could get, and was bad both for trade and agriculture, as with free trade production and export would increase. Warren Hastings and the majority of his Council decided on taking over this monopoly for the State, and their objects, judging from remarks made in various discussions in the Council, appear to have been the following: (1.) To raise a revenue for the Company's Territorial Government. (2.) To keep the agents of the foreign European Companies and interlopers of British or other European nationalities from dealing directly with the poppy cultivators in the interior, as such direct dealings led to disorders and oppression, which the Administration was not strong enough to check. (3.) To keep up the quality of the drug, as free trade and competition were thought to lead to great adulteration by the cultivators. (4.) To have power to regulate or restrict internal consumption if necessary.

The monopoly was leased to a contractor, who had to deliver at Calcutta all the good opium he could collect, for which Government paid him at a low contract price. The opium was then sold, for export only, at public auction to the highest bidder. The Government, therefore, had only appropriated and monopolised the position and profits of the manufacturer. It had nothing to do with the export. It has sometimes been supposed that the British East India Company had previously been engaged on its commercial side in exporting opium to China, and that the monopoly was taken over to enable the Company to control and encourage the China trade. On the contrary, the Company was not exporting opium to China, and had no intention of engaging in that trade, and the measure was not adopted with special reference to the China opium trade. At this time the export of Bengal monopoly opium to Malay countries and elsewhere was still as great, if not greater, than that to China, and in dwelling on the importance to the trade of keeping up the quality of the drug, it is the fastidiousness of the Malay taste which is alone mentioned in the resolution. It seems probable that at this time opium had already begun to be treated as contraband in China, but if so the fact does not seem to have been noticed in the discussion. It has been suggested that, an attempt ought to have been made by the Company's Government to prohibit purchasers exporting to China. But such an attempt would necessarily have been impracticable, for once on board ship and at sea the opium could not be prevented from going directly or indirectly to the best market. There was, in fact, no choice between total prohibition of export of Bengal monopoly opium and selling without reference to alleged destination. At that time our administration of Bengal and Behar was not strong, and the cultivation of the poppy was free: the idea of restricting it came later. The smuggling of opium was also rife in spite of the monopoly, and impossible to put down. The Company held only a small part of India in a precarious way, liable to internal revolt and attacks from outside enemies, European and Asiatic. From all the rest of India, in much of which opium was produced, the drug could find its way to a hundred ports beyond the Company's control. No sane person would then have suggested that such old industries as the cultivation of the poppy, and the opium export trade, in which many European and Asiatic nations, were interested, should be extinguished because the Chinese part of that trade was said to be treated as contraband by the Chinese Government.

The same arguments which induced Warren Hastings to prefer a monopoly again decided the question when Lord Cornwallis re-considered the matter, and again, when Sir John Shore changed Warren Hastings' contract monopoly into the State agency monopoly, which has since existed practically unchanged. State agency was found necessary, because the contract system had proved oppressive, and had almost ruined the industry.

The decision to take over the monopoly, and not to attempt to interfere with the destination of the opium exported, seems to have been a right decision, honestly adopted. The obloquy which, in the course of this controversy, has been sometimes attached to Warren Hastings and his immediate successors for the establishment of the system appears to have been due to imperfect knowledge of the subject. It is true that certain acts of Warren Hastings connected with the monopoly were made the subjects of articles in his impeachment, and in a vague manner this fact has been made to do service in attacking the system. But the charges were not that he had created the monopoly, but that in working it he had disregarded, for corrupt motives, certain instructions of the Directors. Of these charges he was fully acquitted.

4. It has been asserted that, even if the Government of India did not create the opium habit in India and the opium trade to China, it has extended both the one and the other, and that its sole policy has been to make as much revenue as possible out of the drug. The Government has also been charged with a policy of extending and encouraging the production of Malwa opium in the Native States for a similar object. These assertions seem to be clearly incorrect. There does not appear to be any good opening, down to the year 1830, for impugning, from an anti-opium point of view, the policy followed by the Government of India, in respect to opium. From 1830, its policy as regards the export trade changed, as will be explained later on.

The original policy adopted for working the Bengal monopoly was elaborated by Warren Hastings' immediate successors, and seems to have been as follows:—

- (1.) To regulate internal consumption in a restrictive direction.
- (2.) To confine cultivation of the poppy to certain tracts where soil and cultivators would produce the best quality, and where the collection of the raw opium could be carefully supervised.
- (3.) To raise as large a revenue out of the export trade as could be got without materially increasing the supply at Calcutta.

As to (1.) some history of the regulations applying to internal consumption is given in the second Section of this Report. As to (2.), in 1799 a law was passed by which the cultivation of the poppy without a licence was prohibited. By force of this law the cultivation was extinguished at the beginning of this century in British districts generally, and only permitted in parts of Behar and Benares. As to (3.), we find that the number of chests of Bengal opium sold annually by auction at Calcutta in 1787, when statistics begin, till 1830, averaged about 4,000, and showed no tendency to increase till the last five years, though from 1801 the price realised rose immensely, and continued very high. From 1831, however, a large and sudden increase in the supply of Bengal opium began and continued, coupled with a tendency to fall in price. The fact is that, in 1830, the Government of India thought itself compelled to abandon its old policy of a small supply sold at a high price in favour of a larger supply at a cheaper rate. The reasons why it was led to this change of policy appear to be as follows:—The great and sudden rise of the price of Bengal opium, in 1801, must have been due to a decline in the supply of Malwa opium in the foreign markets. The violent civil wars between different Maratha leaders, which had for two or three previous years devastated the territories producing that opium, and thrown into confusion Gujerat and the other country on the Bombay Coast through which it reached the sea, must necessarily have caused such a decline. The attention of the Calcutta Government appears to have been in this and other ways directed to the previous effect of the competition of the Malwa drug, and when, by the war of 1803, the Company had acquired some littoral territory and great political influence on the Bombay side, the Bombay Government was directed to do its utmost to keep down and ultimately extinguish the trade in order to maintain the high price to which the Bengal drug had risen.

At this time the Company had no influence over the country where the bulk of the Malwa opium was produced, so, till 1820, the efforts to extinguish the trade (which are described in the third Section of this Report, and more fully in Mr. Dane's Memorandum) were directed to the establishment of a cordon to prevent the opium reaching the coast, and the enactment of laws to prevent British subjects or British ships having dealings with it. Though not very effective outside our own territory, which was then very small on the Bombay side, these efforts, aided by the continued confusion in the Malwa country, had considerable results, and the price of Bengal opium kept very high. After our war of 1818 against the Marathas, the position was changed, as the Malwa opium-producing countries came into political relations with our Government as allied and protected States. It was no longer possible to absolutely ignore their interests and their equitable claims.

No one, therefore, at this time suggested that we should attempt to prohibit the production of exportable opium in these States, either by agreement or by compulsion. Neither course appears to have been considered open to discussion. Moreover, the Directors in England had always expressed much doubt of the fairness of the indirect measures already adopted against the trade, and had commented on the hardships caused by them to the agricultural and commercial classes concerned in this old industry. It was also known, by this time, that the trade could not be extinguished by any cordon we could establish, though it could be much crippled by it. The Malwa opium still found its way to the coast and Portuguese ports by smugglers' paths and the circuitous routes through Sindh. For all these reasons, and because it was foreseen that an increase in poppy cultivation must follow from the pacification of the

Malwa country and the high price of opium abroad, some new plan was seen to be necessary if the price of Bengal opium was to be kept up. The plan suggested was to monopolise the purchase of Malwa opium for export, and so get the whole supply of exportable Indian opium, Bengal and Malwa, under control, and command prices in the foreign market. The total export could be kept in this way no greater or even less than before, and though the commercial classes interested in the old private Malwa export trade might suffer, the injury to the Rulers of the Native States and their agriculturists would be alleviated.

It was first attempted to effect this by empowering Government agents in the Malwa country to purchase annually not more than 4,000 chests of opium. They were to buy it out of the produce likely to be exported, as being in excess of demand for internal consumption. As these agents, being unaffected by the cordon, could send what they bought safely and by easy routes to Bombay, while native purchasers could only get their opium to the coast by difficult and circuitous routes, it was thought that the Government agents would be able to outbid others and yet buy at moderate rates, and so establish a practical monopoly of the export trade. This plan, however, failed, as fondness for the trade and the high prices in the foreign market made the native dealers compete keenly, and extension of cultivation could not be checked. An attempt was then made to secure the same object by inducing the Native States concerned to enter into Treaties whereby the production in their States, for export and home consumption, should be limited to certain quantities, and the quantity for export should be sold to the Government of India at certain moderate prices. This plan was resisted by some of the States, and very unwillingly accepted by others. After making us very unpopular with the people and Princes of these States, it also had to be abandoned for reasons given at length in the third Section of the Report. In 1830, therefore, the Government of India reluctantly abandoned all idea of monopolising the export of Malwa opium in addition to that of Bengal, and established what is known as the transit duty system. To enforce this system they kept up the cordon as before, but allowed the Malwa drug to pass through it to Bombay for export by certain routes only on payment of a duty. The direct revenue obtained by this duty was only a secondary consideration: the main object of the system was to do what could still be done to keep up the price of Bengal opium by putting a duty on Malwa opium, and to regulate the passage of the latter drug to the sea, and so prevent its being smuggled wholesale into British territory. The Directors in England cordially agreed, when the matter came before them, that the change to the transit duty system was necessary; and in the final report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, presented in 1832, the policy of the change was said to be beyond a doubt.

5. I think I have shown in the last paragraph that down to 1830 the policy of the Government of India was strongly restrictive in respect both to production of Bengal opium for the Calcutta export market and export of Malwa opium from the Bombay side. In that year the Government reconsidered the whole case, and appear to have decided that a change of policy was necessary, and to have come to the following conclusions: (1) That it was not possible to control the Malwa trade by a monopoly; (2) that with peace secured and no check but the transit duty (which at that time had necessarily to be put very low, as it could be evaded), the export of Malwa opium would steadily increase, and the price of Bengal opium go down in the foreign market; (3) that to prevent the possibility of the Bengal opium being driven out of the foreign market, and to make good the loss of revenue from the expected fall in its price, it was necessary to abandon the old policy of not increasing the supply of Bengal opium in the Calcutta market. The Government, in fact, made up their minds that in future the Calcutta export market must be allowed a supply which would enable it to compete favourably on commercial terms with the Bombay export market.

To carry this out they directed their Behar and Benares opium agents to invite applications to cultivate poppy in tracts and villages, other than those to which they had hitherto restricted it. The import of opium from the Native States of Oudh and Nepal, which had previously been absolutely prohibited, was also temporarily allowed for sale to Government only. In these ways the quantity of Bengal opium put up for export sale at Calcutta by Government was at once largely increased. It was almost at once double what it had been before, and four times as great in a few years; and from this time the quantity went on increasing rapidly in answer to a keen demand at high prices, though not so high as those which had ruled from 1801 to 1830. The export of Malwa opium also went on increasing, and for the next 15 years was about equal in quantity to that from Bengal. The steady rise in quantity was not checked

by Chinese edicts or even by war with China, and did not begin to abate till it was affected in 1854-55 by the great extension of poppy cultivation in China.

It is evident from what has been said above that the year 1830 was a most important epoch in the history of the Bengal monopoly. Whether the new working policy then adopted, of increasing the supply of Bengal opium in competition with the Malwa trade to the extent of the Calcutta export market demand was justifiable, is, no doubt, open to question. In defence of the Government of India, it must be first remembered that it was not even asserted at this time that any Government had used force against China in support of the trade. Nor can it be fairly assumed that that Government, which was familiar with the use of opium in India, had reason to consider the drug an article which must be regarded as a poison and on a different plane from other dangerous stimulants like alcohol, for example. Till 1868 opium could be sold at any village shop in England, and was so sold largely in the Fen districts. No doubt the Government of India was well aware that the increasing demand came from China, where the article was contraband, but down to 1830 the Chinese Government had shown little or no sign of anxiety to enforce the edict, and the merchants who took the drug to the China coast found an eager market, and had no difficulty in disposing of the drug to Chinese, who landed it with the connivance of Chinese officials.

The practice was, in fact, so different from the assumed law that the sincerity of the Chinese Government was generally doubted, and the matter was commonly regarded as, at most a dispute between it and the Chinese people, which they had to settle for themselves. Moreover, the Government of India was bound to carefully consider the interests of its Indian subjects, for whom it held in trust the revenue derived from the Bengal monopoly. If it lost that revenue by keeping down the supply of Bengal opium at Calcutta, and so preventing the Calcutta exporting merchants from competing with the Malwa trade, it would do British India harm, and, perhaps, not diminish the quantity of opium in China, as the supply of Malwa and Turkish or Persian opium was likely to increase in proportion. The demand in the interior of China was also known to be already met in part, at least, by home growth.

By increasing the supply in Calcutta the Government of India only did what private manufacturers would have done under the same circumstances, as a matter of course, if the business had been in their hands; they would have been guided simply by the demands in Calcutta, and would have declared themselves not responsible for what the exporting merchants did with the opium, or for what Chinese buyers and Chinese officials did in disobedience to the Government of China. Whether the Government of India, with the facts before it as they stood in 1830, was bound on moral grounds to act differently, seems not an easy question to answer with confidence. It had long before, for motives which then seemed good, appropriated the manufacture of an important product of British India as a State monopoly; having got—wisely or unwisely—into that position it was not free to disregard Indian interests and commercial considerations. If any of the self-governing Nations of the civilised world had found themselves in the same position, I think that the most they would have done would have been to abandon the monopoly, and set free the cultivation and manufacture by way of relieving their Government of direct responsibility. It is, perhaps, a pity that this was not done in India in 1830, but there were great difficulties in the way; and it would have been of no benefit to the Chinese Government's policy of exclusion, and certainly injurious to the Indian revenue, and to the power of regulating and restricting consumption in India. It must also be again pointed out that the whole export of opium was not to China, and that Bengal opium could only be prevented from going to China by stopping the whole export. Once on board ship the drug would go to the best market, which was China. Even if a law had been made prohibiting British subjects and British ships from taking it there, and a British preventive service had been organised on the China coast to enforce such a law, it would have only meant a transfer of the trade, at Calcutta or mid-way, to ships flying other flags. The Chinese Government was known to be as incapable of itself stopping Chinese smuggling along its coasts as it had been of stopping Chinese piracy. So long ago as the year 1633, the Chinese Government had to ask the Dutch to help them to put down Chinese pirates, and partly succeeded only with their help. In the present century such piracy has been checked almost entirely by our ships of war.

6. We now come to the consideration of the war between China and England of 1840-2, which is commonly called the opium war. It has been commonly asserted and believed that the cause of this war was on the part of the Government of China the wish to stop the trade in Indian opium, and on the part of the Government of England the wish to maintain it in the interests of the revenue of India. There will always be room for difference of opinion as to the degree to which the opium

trade was the cause of the war; no doubt in its double form of opium smuggled in and silver smuggled out the trade was a principal cause; but even in this double form I think that it was not the sole or even the main cause of the war on the side of China, and that it cannot be said, with any truth, that England went to war to maintain the opium trade.

The main cause, in my opinion, was the persistent, radical, and irreconcilable difference of view between British representatives and merchants on the one side, and the Chinese governing class on the other, as to the following matters:—The facilities of trade and conditions of residence in China properly demandable, the subjection of British subjects to Chinese law courts, and the proper extent and form of official or diplomatic relations.

From 1757 when the trade was confined to Canton, the policy of the Chinese Government was to allow our merchants to trade to that port, provided that the concession did not involve getting into relations with us other than commercial, and provided that we could be kept at arm's length in a submissive attitude, such as the Dutch adopted at Nagasaki till Japan was forced open, and the Portuguese at Macao.

It can easily be understood that apart from mere ordinary arrogance and dislike of foreigners, the Chinese governing classes had motives for their policy which were from the first not without reason, and which the experience of subsequent years did not seem to weaken. They knew what had happened, or was happening, to other countries like Japan, the Phillipines, India, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, and Burmah, from intercourse with Europeans of different nationalities.

Rightly or wrongly the British merchants and their representatives resented the Chinese policy, and persistently kicked against the restrictions imposed.

VII. App. C. If the account of our relations with China from 1757 to 1840, given in Mr. Dane's Memorandum, and supported by extracts from authentic documents, be carefully read, it will be seen that there was all along constant friction; that the part thereof due to the contraband trade in opium was for a long time very trifling, and though great in the last two years, only secondary even then.

In point of arrogance of tone there was not much to choose between either side, but the high Chinese officials seem to have wished to be fair and accommodating, provided they could do it without relaxing their policy in essentials.

In the various controversies the Chinese seem to have been right in some and wrong in others, and there were cases in which neither party could be said to be in the wrong, such, for instance, as the frequent refusals of the British to make over British subjects charged with homicide to be tried by Chinese law and Chinese Courts.

With this increasing friction, British trade and power and pretensions also greatly increased as time went on.

VII. p. 98. As early as 1829 it is evident from an edict of the Emperor and the papers connected with it that the British were regarded as the most "fierce and unruly," and "proud and domineering" of all the foreigners, and that the Chinese Government was making up its mind that it would probably have before long to expel them from Canton, and put an end to their trade. The British demands which elicited this edict had nothing to do with opium, but the edict shows that the Emperor had that trade in mind, and consoled himself for the loss of duties which expulsion of the English would involve by reflecting that the stoppage of the drain of silver due to the opium trade, would be a good set off.

From this time to the end of 1838, the wish to check the opium trade and consequent drain of silver was no doubt one strong cause of the increasing tension which prevailed, but the main cause was the determination of the Chinese Government to maintain their exclusive policy, which determination was only confirmed by the efforts we made to force ourselves into closer and freer relations.

Down to 1834 the Chinese Government had hopes of maintaining their policy without violent measures. In that year the British Government abolished the East India Company's China monopoly, and the Supra-cargoes, its commercial representatives, and sent out diplomatic officers of much higher position under the name of Commissioners in China, with demands for direct diplomatic relations, and for new trade concessions. The Chinese Government rightly understood that this meant a decided step on our part to break down their policy. Naturally they assumed in reply a stiffer and more obstinate attitude than before. From this time till the end of 1838, though their action wavered as to maintaining prohibition of the opium trade, it never wavered as to their main point, our retention in the position in which they had from the first wished to keep us as regards commercial intercourse and diplomatic relations. Mr. Lay says in his Note that it was the claims we advanced as regards

diplomatic relations in 1834, and which Lord Palmerston again insisted upon in 1836, which were the real cause of war. Sir Thomas Wade in his evidence conveys much the same meaning in the reverse way, by saying that it was the refusal to grant proper diplomatic relations which made war inevitable. These are men experienced in dealing with the governing class in China, who have studied the history of those times on the spot. It seems evident that though China aimed her first blow in 1839 at the opium trade, that was not her main point. Being determined to resist our demands, which had nothing to do with opium, she saw that resort to force was inevitable, and that to boldly stick to her old policy and make no concessions was the safest course to adopt. Her hesitation as to treatment of the opium question therefore disappeared, and she undertook to put that trade down by force; partly no doubt as a measure she much desired to effect for its own sake, but also as a counter-move, and the one best suited in her opinion to bring our authorities and our merchants to their senses. We did not treat the violence to our representative and the whole British community at Canton by which China got possession of the opium as a cause of war; nor did we then advance a claim for compensation. It was not till a year later, when the Chinese had rejected all our overtures, declared all trade at an end, and fired on our ships, that we declared war. We went to war then not to uphold the contraband opium trade, but to dispute the right and power of China to expel us with insult and stop all trade. It may be noted that the same conclusion as to the main cause of the war was held by General Gordon, whose letter of 1882 to Mr. Boulger on the opium question has often been published. He wrote as a friend of China and an enemy of the opium trade, and his knowledge of Chinese Statesmen and indisputable honesty makes his evidence of much value. In that letter he said that "The opium wars were not about opium; opium was only a *cheval de bataille*; it was against the introduction of foreigners, a political question," and the following quotation from a letter to the "Christian World" from Dr. Griffith John, a missionary of 35 years' standing, dated Hankow October 6th, 1891, is to much the same effect. It may be mentioned that in the last memorial to the Secretary of State for India, of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, this gentleman's arguments against opium are quoted at length, and he is stated to be one of the most competent and experienced observers of Chinese affairs. After discussing the prevalence of riotous assaults on missionaries, and saying that the root of the opposition experienced by them was to be found, not so much in the feelings of the people as in the anti-foreign policy and attitude of the governing and literary classes, he refers further on to the first war with China as follows:—

As to the hatred of the foreigners, missionaries included, among the literary and official classes, there can be no doubt in regard to it. But this hatred is not a thing of to-day. It existed long before the first Protestant missionary set his foot on the soil of the Celestial land. The hatred of the foreigner, be he missionary or be he layman, among the literary and official classes, is a deeply-rooted and fondly-cherished sentiment. Our first war with China is generally regarded in its relation to the opium trade, as springing out of this trade, and waged in order to obtain indemnity for the losses sustained by the surrender of the opium. But it may be justly regarded in another light, namely, in its relation to the immoderate assumptions of the Peking Court, and the haughty, contemptuous, and insulting bearing of the Chinese officials in their intercourse with all foreigners from the beginning. The principle which guided them in their intercourse with foreigners is given in the following translation of one of the Chinese maxims:—

"The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled by the same principles as the Chinese. Were any one to attempt to control them by the great laws of reason, it would lead to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings understood this well, and therefore ruled barbarians by misrule. Hence to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and best way of ruling."

It is perfectly clear that no beneficial results could possibly accrue from arguing with a people who could think, speak, and act in this way. While their extravagant pretensions remained unrepelled, all overtures on the part of a foreign Government would be rejected with disdain. No great Power, however, could possibly submit long to such insults and humiliations as England was called upon to submit to in the persons of her representatives; and hence war, apart altogether from the opium traffic, was inevitable sooner or later.

One other opinion to the same effect may be quoted from the evidence procured from China for the Commission through Her Majesty's Minister in China, and appended to our proceedings. The Reverend John Macintyre, missionary of the United Presbyterian Church, Scotland, who has resided for more than 20 years in China, and who thinks it would pay the British Government, even now, as a matter of policy, "to back out" of the opium trade, writes in para. 15 of his evidence, as follows:—"Merchants used to grumble that so much silver went out of the country."—"I never, at any time, believed it was a matter of morality with the Chinese. It was a question of interfering with their fiscal arrangements."—"I mean to say I disbelieve the loud talk about morality in which Chinese statesmen have, from time to time, indulged when they speak on the so-called opium war and the use of opium. The opium war was a war in which the Chinamen fought to keep out the foreigner as such. I regret that we took the opium with us. Had we dropped

" it then we should have had an unequalled position to-day in China. But the
 " opium was an accident of the war. Nothing but war could have brought the
 " Chinese of that day to acknowledge us as belonging to the *genus homo*, and not
 " only so, but as subjects of a free and independent Sovereign, and a power infinitely
 " superior to themselves. That to my mind was the subject of the war."

7. It has been argued that though the main cause of the war on the part of China was not opium, and though we did not go to war to maintain that trade, or demand that it should be legalized or tolerated as a condition of peace, yet after all the practical result of the war, was to force opium upon China by intimidating the Chinese Government from stopping the trade. The first answer to this is that the Chinese Government was never before or after the war capable of stopping the import of opium. It was capable of making a spasmodic effort at one place, and of temporarily stopping the trade there by burning of Chinese ships and boats, capital punishments and bastinado, and other such rough and violent measures, but the only result was that for the time, the foreign opium ships moved off to other points of the coast, and sold there to a fresh set of Chinese smugglers. It had no proper preventive service, no honest or active body of officials, and was not supported by any popular action in the matter; the Chinese Government, in fact, was always as incapable of stopping in any permanent way the smuggling in of opium as it was of stopping permanently the smoking of the drug in China.

To force opium upon the Chinese people in the simple sense of the words was, of course, always impossible. No foreign shipper of opium could have sold an ounce of opium on the coast of China if there had not been a Chinaman ready to buy. There were always Chinamen eager to buy at high prices, and at any risk. There is no doubt, however, that the view that a policy of non-interference with the import of opium had been practically forced upon the Chinese Government by the war became a popular belief among the Chinese after the war, and has been since held by many Englishmen and other foreigners, and is expressed, for example, in General Gordon's letter, from which I have quoted above. I think, however, that the evidence shows that this view, if true at all, is only true to a very limited degree. To the extent that after the war, as before the war, we refused to ourselves attempt to repress the contraband opium trade off the coasts, or in the inner waters of China, or to stop the export of Malwa and Bengal opium from India, it is true that we forced the trade on her, but not otherwise. It is, however, evident that the difficulties in the way of our undertaking to put down the trade, even in Indian opium only, were immense if not insurmountable. These difficulties have been described above in paragraph 5 of this section, in considering the arguments which may be used to excuse the increased production of Bengal opium after the year 1830. The only effectual way would have been to stop all export of Indian opium, which was no doubt physically possible after the annexation of Sindh in 1843. That is the measure now advocated by the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and the existing reasons for and against adopting it are considered in the Seventh Section of the Report.

That we did not in any other sense force toleration of the trade on China after the war, or attempt to hinder her from herself taking all legitimate measures for stopping it, seems proved from the Parliamentary Papers of 1840 and 1857, and from the text of the Treaties. Opium remained contraband, but the trade went on more vigorously than ever. Though strong action was taken by the British Government under the Treaty to attempt to confine all British trade, opium included, to open ports, and so limit the area which the Chinese had to guard, and though the British High Commissioner and British Consuls frequently sent information to the Chinese officials of European smuggling operations in the inner waters and suggested action, the Chinese officials remained inert. It is no doubt possible that the Chinese did not believe altogether in the honesty of our official attitude, and thought it dangerous to take strong measures against Europeans, but this is no good explanation of the fact that they were equally inert in acting against the native smugglers, boatmen, or merchants, and did nothing to prevent their transporting opium to the towns where it was openly sold. They failed in the same way to respond to the American Minister's suggestions, and consequently, as Mr. Reed stated in 1859, the clause in the American Treaty forbidding Americans from engaging in the opium trade was ineffective. In short, for some reason or other, for which the British Government does not seem responsible, the policy of the Chinese Government at this time was not to take action to stop the trade. Sir Henry Pottinger, the British Plenipotentiary, within a month after the execution of the Supplementary Treaty of the 8th October 1843, wrote as follows to Lord Aberdeen:

"I cannot help thinking that everything has now been done that is possible, or that China can expect from us, to assist her objects in this respect; and it is further my duty to inform Her Majesty's Government that whatever may be the terms in which the trade in opium is spoken of in this and other official communications that are placed on record, I have the strongest causes for doubting whether even one in a hundred of the officers of the Chinese Government is at all disposed to check the trade;"

And Keying, who, after being Chinese Plenipotentiary with Sir Henry Pottinger, had become High Commissioner at Canton, recorded his opinion in 1844 that opium smokers were innumerable, and that it was impracticable to prohibit the habit.

The popular belief mentioned above that the Chinese Government was forced by the war of 1840-42 to tolerate the trade was greatly due to the fact, that by Article IV. of the Treaty it was obliged to compensate the owners of the opium destroyed by its orders in 1839. That article runs as follows: "The Emperor of China agrees to pay the sum of 6,000,000 dollars as the value of the opium which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March 1839, as a ransom for the lives of H.B.M. Superintendent and subjects who had been imprisoned and threatened with death by the Chinese high officials." Though the manner in which the delivery of the opium from the ships at Lintin was enforced put the Chinese Government in the wrong it is unfortunate that it was held necessary to compensate the owners, but it appears that the reason for this course was that Captain Elliot made a promise of indemnity to all owners, in or not in the power of the Chinese Government, to induce them to join in the surrender. The bill, therefore, had to be paid either by England or China, and in the circumstances the English people were not prepared to accept the liability.

8. It is admitted that our second war with China of 1856-58 had nothing to do with opium; the incident which was the immediate cause, and the preceding controversies which had led to extremely strained relations between the two Powers, were unconnected with this trade, which was going on smoothly. But the voluntary character of the legalisation of the opium trade by China which followed the war has been denied, and it has been asserted that we took advantage of her defeat to apply pressure which she could not resist. I think it can be shown that, though legalisation was suggested as it had been before, nothing of the nature of pressure was used, and that the measure was adopted because the Chinese Government recognised that as it was not in its power to stop the trade or check the habit, the wisest course was to regulate the trade and derive a revenue from taxing it. They must have known this after the first war, but as General Gordon suggests in his letter to Mr. Boulger already quoted, they appear to have been prevented from then changing their traditional policy towards the opium trade principally by pride and fear of loss of prestige in China. This consideration disappeared after the second war, for the Treaty which they were forced to agree to by that war contained conditions much more injurious in their opinion to the prestige and interests of China than a change of policy in regard to opium, and accompanied by no countervailing advantages of revenue. When therefore the revision of the tariff came to be discussed they, of their own accord, proposed to admit opium as a duty-paying article, and all the conditions they suggested were agreed to.

A short account of the negotiations which followed the hostilities of 1856-58 will establish the view here expressed.

In the instructions issued for the guidance of these negotiations to Lord Elgin by the British Government the points included in the demand to be made on the Chinese Government bore no reference to opium, but laid stress on the execution of the stipulations of the former Treaty as regards Canton, and on the necessity of obtaining recognition of the residence of an accredited Envoy at Peking or of his occasional visits to that city, with the right of corresponding direct with the high officials at the capital. In a supplementary letter of the same date, Lord Clarendon explained more fully the provisions regarding commerce which the Government considered desirable. The paragraph relating to opium runs as follows:—

"It will be for your Excellency, when discussing commercial arrangements with any Chinese Plenipotentiaries, to ascertain whether the Government of China would revoke its prohibition of the opium trade, which the high officers of the Chinese Government never practically enforce. Whether the legalisation of the trade would tend to augment that trade may be doubtful, as it seems to be carried on to the full extent of the demand in China, with the sanction and connivance of the local authorities. But there would be obvious advantages in placing the trade upon a legal footing by the imposition of a duty, instead of its being carried on in the present irregular manner."

In approaching the Court of Peking after the operations against Canton, Lord Elgin gave prominence to the questions of access to Peking, the regulated circulation of foreigners in the Empire, and the advantages of relaxing the existing restriction of legal trade to a few ports, which had occasioned the rise of a large contraband.

Elgin
Papers, 1859,
pp. 1-4.

p. 182.

Elgin
Papers, 1859,
pp. 325-30.
pp. 330-6.
pp. 345-6.
pp. 399-404.

The need of revising the tariff, owing to variations in the prices since 1843, and of suppressing illegal transit duties, was also pointed out, and, finally, the advisability was mentioned of ensuring better treatment of Christian missionaries, a point specified by Lord Clarendon as one which should, if possible, be gained. The letter met with no response, and the advance on Tientsin followed. In the negotiations that ended in the Treaty concluded at that place, the proposals regarding admission to Peking were alone prominent, though that of allowing foreigners to visit the interior on passports was accepted, but not for immediate execution. The Treaty itself did not deal with the tariff, but provision was made for the revision of that of 1843 through authority separately delegated by the two Powers.

The subject of opium was not mentioned in the Treaty, and was not even discussed by the Plenipotentiaries at Tientsin. Lord Elgin's dislike of the opium trade is well known; he has explained why he refrained from then introducing the subject in a letter to Mr. Reed, the American Minister, from which the following passage may be quoted:—

“Not because I questioned the advantages which would accrue from the legalisation of the trade, but because I could not reconcile it to my sense of right to urge the Imperial Government to abandon its traditional policy in this respect under the kind of pressure we were bringing to bear upon it at Tientsin.”

The Treaty was signed on the 26th June 1858. The negotiations for the revision of the tariff began some time later, and were concluded on the 8th of November. The revised tariff arrangements were thus signed by Lord Elgin and the Chinese Commissioner five months after peace had been restored and the foreign armaments withdrawn from the Peiho. These facts, and the character of Lord Elgin and his strong views on the subject, are sufficient proof in themselves that the action of the Chinese in legalising opium was voluntary. As additional proof the testimony of Messrs. Lay and Oliphant, recorded in 1880, and quoted by the Government of India in their despatch of 1881, may be cited. Their evidence is of such value and importance that it is advisable to save the trouble of reference by quoting it here; Mr. Lay says:—

Times, 22nd
Oct. 1880.

“All the negotiations at Tientsin passed through me. Not one word on either side was said about opium from first to last. The revision of the tariff and the adjustment of all questions affecting our trade were designedly left for after deliberation, and it was agreed that for that purpose the Chinese High Commissioner should meet Lord Elgin at Shanghai in the following winter. . . . In the meantime the preparation of the tariff devolved upon me, at the desire of the Chinese no less than of Lord Elgin. When I came to opium I inquired what course they proposed to take in respect to it. The answer was ‘we have resolved to put it into the tariff as *yang yoh* (foreign medicine).’ I urged a moderate duty in view of the cost of collection, which was agreed to.”

Mr. Oliphant's letter bears date three days later; he writes:—

Times, 25th
Oct. 1880.

“I was appointed in 1858 Commissioner for the settlement of the trade and tariff regulations with China, and during my absence with Lord Elgin in Japan, Mr. Lay was charged to consider the details with the subordinate Chinese officials named for the purpose. On my return to Shanghai I went through the tariff elaborated by these gentlemen with the Commissioner appointed by the Chinese Government. When we came to the article opium, I informed the Commissioner that *I had received instructions from Lord Elgin not to insist on the insertion of the drug in the tariff, should the Chinese Government wish to omit it. This he declined to do.* I then proposed that the duty should be increased beyond the figure suggested in the tariff, but to this he objected, on the ground that it would increase the inducements to smuggling. . . . I trust that the delusion that the opium trade now existing with China was ‘extorted’ from that country by the British Ambassador may be finally dispelled.”

China
Papers, 5 of
1871, p. 432.

In Parliament and elsewhere certain words used by Sir Thomas Wade, in a despatch written from China in 1868, have been often quoted as proof, that, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, the legalisation of the opium trade was a concession extorted from China by force, against the conscience of the nation, and in defiance of the moral convictions of its educated men. If, however, the whole despatch is read, it will be seen that Sir Thomas Wade was referring to the concessions which we demanded from the Chinese Government as conditions of peace, and which were embodied in the Treaty of 26th June 1858, and specially to the liberties and protection conceded to missionaries and their converts, and the demand for embassies at Peking. There was no party among the Chinese people in any way in favour of these concessions, and, rightly or wrongly, we distinctly extorted them by force from the Chinese Government; on the other hand, we made no such demand for the legalization of the opium trade, and if, after the Treaty of Peace was concluded, any suggestion in favour of such a measure was advanced from our side, the evidence shows that it must have been done informally and without the least pressure. The legalisation of the trade did not increase it, and unless it is assumed that the Chinese were able to stop the contraband trade, and likely to do so, it cannot be said that the measure was

profitable to our Government, or to the Indian revenue. It was the revenue of the Imperial Government of China that gained by it. Nor can it be assumed of the Chinese nation as a whole, or of the Chinese educated class, that there was no party in favour of the trade or its legalisation. The smoking habit pervaded all classes, and was particularly common among the official and educated class, and without the active aid of Chinese smugglers, merchants, and officials the contraband trade would, of course, have been an impossibility.

As another proof that the Chinese Government agreed to the measure of their own free will, it may be noted that Mr. Reed, the American Minister, after personal investigation of the case, fell in with Lord Elgin's view that the legalisation of the trade was the right course to adopt in the interest of China, and the American Government, therefore, promptly agreed to the new tariff. Yet, previously, the American Government had always shown a disposition to side with China against us in this and other matters.

The provisions regarding opium in the agreement of November 1858, made in the circumstances above mentioned, include the imposition of an import duty of 30 taels (about 10*l.*) per chest. It was a condition that whenever the drug was moved from the port of arrival it must be accompanied by Chinese alone. This was in order to prevent Europeans pushing the trade in the interior, and to keep it, when outside the areas of the foreign concessions or settlements of the open ports, entirely in Chinese hands, and fully subject to Chinese control.

For the same reason the passport system laid down in the main Treaty was not to be applicable to trade in opium; nor, again, were the restrictions placed on the limit of the Li-Kin, or transit duty, in the case of other goods extended to that article. Finally, at the revision of the tariff, which could be demanded by either party to the Treaty at intervals of 10 years, opium was to be exempted from the rules limiting increase of rates of import duty that applied to other merchandise.

Sir Thomas Wade informed the Commission that Lord Elgin was prepared to agree to any rate of duty, however high, so that the trade was regularised. The limit was obviously the point at which smuggling could again become profitable. The rate fixed was double that imposed on other merchandise, and as Mr. Oliphant's evidence quoted above shows, the Chinese Commissioner refused to put it higher on the ground that it would induce smuggling. This import duty, it must be remembered, only covered import to the foreign concessions at the open ports; on the opium leaving those concessions, the Chinese Government was free by the agreement to impose on it any rate of Li-Kin, or transit duty, it liked. There was no limit as regards opium, and no privilege of paying an extra half rate and getting a certificate freeing the parcel through all Li-Kin collectorates to destination. In both these respects opium was denied the privileges which were conceded to other goods. In fact, the Chinese Government under the tariff agreement which followed the Tientsin Treaty got all it asked for as regards opium, and was free if it liked to confine the drug to the foreign concessions by prohibitive rates of Li-Kin duty. It was too wise to make the attempt, as it knew that the drug would then be smuggled in from other directions, and that import duty, as well as Li-Kin duty, would be lost.

In short, the whole character of the provisions legalising the import of opium in the agreement of November 1858, is another proof that the arrangement was voluntary.

It was the wisest arrangement which the Chinese Government could make under the circumstances, and this is the opinion which was expressed by no less an authority than Mr. Gladstone in a speech made in 1870. Hansard
201, p. 516.

9. After the trade was legalised in 1858, questions about opium only appear in negotiations in connexion with the revision of the tariff, which either Government had the right to propose at certain intervals. In this way there were negotiations in 1868, and, again, at Chefoo in 1876. On the first occasion the Chinese Commissioners were apparently anxious that our Government should stop the trade altogether by prohibiting all export from India, but failing that, they had no wish to alter the arrangements made in 1858 for legalising the trade, and were satisfied with a moderate increase of the import duty. In considering the statements which Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Thomas Wade made in the course of the negotiations of 1868, it must be remembered that they were doing their best for China in opposition to the Indian officials, whose business it was to protect the interests of India. On the second occasion, in 1876, the policy of the Chinese Government seemed to have changed. Their Commissioners expressed no wish that the trade should be stopped, and seemed anxious to improve the system of collection and increase the revenue. Accordingly

they gladly accepted an arrangement proposed by Sir Thomas Wade, which was expressed in the Chefoo Convention as follows:—

“On opium, Sir Thomas Wade will move his Government to sanction an arrangement different from that affecting other imports. British merchants whose opium is brought into port will be obliged to have it taken cognizance of by the Customs and deposited in bond, either in a warehouse or receiving hulk, until such time as there is a sale for it. The importer will then pay the tariff duty upon it, and the purchasers the Li-Kin, in order to prevent the evasion of the duty. The amount of the Li-Kin to be collected will be decided by the different provincial Governments according to the circumstances of each.”

The reasons why the Convention of 1868 was never ratified, and which long prevented the ratification of that of 1876, are fully explained in Sir Thomas Wade's evidence.

In the latter will be found a full account taken from a formal report recorded at the time, of an important interview which Sir Thomas Wade had at the Chinese Foreign Office, on 16th January 1881, with the Minister who was then virtually Foreign Minister of the Empire. Sir Thomas asked him what was the policy favoured by the central Government in respect to opium, native and foreign, pointing out that policies which seemed to be diametrically opposite were being followed in the different Provinces of the Empire. We quote in full the record of the reply to this question, and of the further conversation which passed, as it seems to throw much light upon the views which have been recently held by the Chinese Government.

“The Minister addressed replied that the question was not an easy one to answer. He did not think that the Central Government had gone so far as to formulate a policy at all. Speaking from a general point of view, however, he might say that if the habit of opium-smoking could be universally and at once abolished, the Chinese Government would be ready and willing to sacrifice the revenue that was at present derived from opium. All sensible men were nevertheless agreed that this was an impossibility. The habit of opium-smoking was beyond the reach of prohibition, and the idea was how to turn it to account. The only way in which it could be turned to account was by making it a source of revenue, and the revenue thus derived was indispensable. There were, moreover, so many other matters that needed reform before the opium question was taken in hand, that it might safely be said that the abolition of opium had not entered the minds of those entrusted with the government of the Empire. Sir T. Wade went on to say that many persons, notably the foreign missionaries in China, had been urging on the British Government through various channels the advisability and the equity of abandoning their connexion with opium. Suppose, for as yet it was a pure supposition, that the British Government were eventually to effect a gradual diminution of the opium trade from India, by limiting the import to an increasing degree, year by year, until the trade was abolished altogether, did the Minister think that such an arrangement would meet with the approval of the Chinese Government? The Minister addressed, who again protested that the question was a difficult one to answer, replied that in his opinion such a plan would be useless. As long as the habit existed, opium would be procured somehow, and if it did not come from India it would be procured elsewhere. Any serious attempt to check the evil must originate with individuals. As long as men wanted to smoke and insisted on smoking, they would smoke, and a spontaneous abandonment of the habit on the part of the people would regulate the supply. Nothing short of this would do any good, and philanthropic efforts to check the evil in the manner suggested by Sir T. Wade would affect the revenue only, without in any way reaching the root of the mischief.”

China, 5 of
1885.
(C.—4448.)
China, 3 of
1886.
(C.—4735.)

The negotiations for the ratification of the arrangement in the Chefoo Convention regarding opium were later on transferred to London and conducted by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Chinese Ministers at the Court of St. James. They were somewhat protracted, owing to the necessity, on the part of the latter, to refer certain points to Peking, but were concluded in 1885, and the result embodied in an additional article to the Chefoo Convention. In the footnote* the text of all the

* *Main Clauses of the Additional Article to the Chefoo Convention, ratified 18th July 1885.*

2. In lieu of the arrangement respecting opium proposed in clause 3 of Section III. of the Chefoo Agreement, it is agreed that foreign opium, when imported into China, shall be taken cognizance of by the Imperial Maritime Customs, and shall be deposited in bond, either in warehouses or receiving hulks which have been approved of by the Customs, and that it shall not be removed thence until there shall have been paid to the Customs the tariff duty of 30 taels per chest of 100 catties, and also a sum not exceeding 80 taels per like chest as Li-Kin.

3. It is agreed that the aforesaid import and Li-Kin duties having been paid, the owner shall be allowed to have the opium repacked in bond under the supervision of the Customs, and put into packages of such assorted sizes as he may select from such sizes as shall have been agreed upon by the Customs authorities and British Consul at the port of entry.

The Customs shall then, if required, issue gratuitously to the owner a transit certificate for each such package, or one for any number of packages, at the option of the owner.

Such certificate shall free the opium to which it applies from the imposition of any further tax or duty whilst in transport in the interior, provided that the package has not been opened, and that the Customs seals, marks, and numbers on the packages have not been effaced or tampered with.

Such certificates shall have validity only in the hands of Chinese subjects, and shall not entitle foreigners to convey or accompany any opium in which they may be interested into the interior.

5. The Chinese Government undertakes that when the packages shall have been opened at the place of consumption, the opium shall not be subjected to any tax or contribution, direct or indirect, other than or in excess of such tax or contribution as is or may hereafter be levied on native opium.

In the event of such tax or contribution being calculated *ad valorem*, the same rate, value for value, shall be assessed on foreign and native opium; and in ascertaining for this purpose the value of foreign opium, the amount paid on it for Li-Kin at the port of entry shall be deducted from its market value.

material clauses of the article is given. The Chinese Government obtained all the concessions it asked for, and the Secretary of State for India, in communicating the result to the Government of India, in his despatch No. 7, of 22nd January 1885, made the following remark:—"You will observe that the Chinese Minister's Memoranda of March 12th, 1883, and of September 27th last, admit unreservedly that the agreement now under negotiation is of the Chinese Government's own proposing, and includes all that they desire." VII. p. 214.

10. The arrangement of 1885 works smoothly, and no notice of desire to terminate it, or to re-consider the opium question, has been received from China, though two opportunities have occurred. The Chinese Government has not been without encouragement to re-open the question. The Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade has more than once addressed it direct, and urged it to act, and Sir James Fergusson, speaking on behalf of Her Majesty's Government in the House of Commons on the 10th April 1891, said, "The Chinese at any time may terminate the Treaty on giving 12 months' notice, and to protect themselves they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether. This, I think I may say, that if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend 1l. in powder and shot, or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force opium on the Chinese." Hansard 352, p. 316.

The natural conclusion from the above brief account of the negotiations subsequent to 1868, is that there is no reason to believe that the Chinese Government at present wishes to re-open the settlement of questions connected with the opium trade attained in 1885, or that it would be afraid to take the initiative if it had the wish. This conclusion is also supported by the opinion given by Her Majesty's Minister at Peking, Mr. O'Connor, in a letter to the Commission, dated February 6th, 1894, which is in the Appendices. Sir Thomas Wade, and Mr. Lay, C.B., also express the same opinion in their notes and evidence. Nor do any of the unofficial witnesses, whose evidence has been sent to us from China, assert the belief that the Chinese Government wishes to move in the matter. V. p. 229.

J. B. LYALL.

February 25th, 1895.

(Footnote—continued.)

6. It is agreed that the present Additional Article shall be considered as forming part of the Chefoo Agreement, and that it shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted therein word for word.

It shall come into operation six months after its signature, provided the ratifications have then been exchanged, or if they have not, then on the date at which such exchange takes place.

7. The arrangement respecting opium contained in the present Additional Article shall remain binding for four years, after the expiration of which period either Government may at any time give 12 months' notice of its desire to terminate it, and such notice being given it shall terminate accordingly.

It is, however, agreed that the Government of Great Britain shall have the right to terminate the same at any time should the transit certificate be found not to confer on the opium complete exemption from all taxation whatsoever whilst being carried from the port of entry to the place of consumption in the interior.

In the event of the termination of the present Additional Article, the arrangement with regard to opium now in force under the Regulations attached to the Treaty of Tientsin shall revise.

8. The High Contracting Parties may, by common consent, adopt any modifications of the provisions of the present Additional Article which experience may show to be desirable.

MEMORANDUM III. ;

By Mr. HARIDAS VECHARIDAS.

I am in some doubt as to how I can best put on record a few comparatively trifling particulars with regard to which I differ somewhat from the conclusions at which my colleagues have arrived, as I fear that any attempt on my part to dissect any portion of the Report and introduce into the body of it phrases expressing my own view, will not only spoil the harmony of thought and composition, but will, perhaps, not meet with the approval of my colleagues. I agree with almost all the decisions given on the chief points of reference. Thus, if the Right Honourable Chairman will permit me, I would venture to submit separately a few observations on those points where I think my own views require a little more elucidation.

2. Had the policy of the Government of India with regard to its relations with opium not been assailed from a moral point of view—had the people of India not been impressed with the idea that any reduction in the Indian revenue effected by the proposed abolition of the production and sale of opium would have to be met by fresh taxation—had they not been afraid that the inquiries by the Opium Commission would probably result in a further restriction to the supply and sale of opium which would deprive them of the privilege of conveniently using it in many ways;—and had a number of Christian Missionaries as well as a few others not been somehow or other strongly prejudiced against the use of opium except for purely and authoritatively medical purposes—I am confident that opium would have been shown before our Commission with greater justice to itself, as regards its capability of doing both good and harm, than what we have been able to learn of during our Inquiry. I believe it is fair to say that opium was introduced to us by both sides in a more or less exaggerated form with respect to its faults or otherwise.

3. Bearing this in mind, I should be disposed to pass over without too careful scrutiny the whole of the evidence which bears the marks of exaggeration, whether medical, military, or missionary. I would, on the other hand, lay great stress on the evidence given on behalf of the Native States, where opium is grown and also where it is not grown, and by the people in general, who have expressed their desire not to prohibit the production and sale of opium as proposed, and also their unwillingness to bear any tax to make up the loss in the Indian revenue that would be caused by the enforcement of the proposed prohibition of the product and sale of opium. So far as can be seen from the evidence before the Commission, the laudable endeavours of the disinterested and philanthropic associations at whose instance the Commission has been appointed have not been successful in making out a case against the use of opium in a manner that would necessitate such prohibition. But the evidence has shown us very conclusively that any further restriction against the use of opium would contribute towards the increase of the use of alcohol, which is admitted by all parties to be much more injurious and mischievous than opium, not to speak of its objectionable character in a majority of cases from a religious point of view. But it is greatly to be wondered at and regretted that this has not adequately drawn the attention of Government, inasmuch as they have adopted much more stringent measures against the use of opium than that of alcohol. For instance, it is illegal to sell or to keep more than from two to ten tolás of opium, while country liquors can be sold or kept up to a gallon without hitch or hindrance, and any quantity of European liquors can be imported as well as sold and kept even without a license. We have also evidence to show that the use of alcohol is spreading far and wide. It strikes the people of this country as unfair that before any attempt is made to relieve India from the effects of alcohol, which is comparatively a far more injurious and objectionable article, there should have been a movement, disinterested and sympathising as it is, to suppress the use, except for medical purposes, of a stuff like opium, which is admittedly far less harmful and objectionable so far as India is concerned. I would now leave it to the British people, noble-minded and sympathetic as they are, to see their way to adopting effective measures to check the exportation of European alcohol to India.

4. As regards the exportation of Indian opium to China. To abolish it would result in a great loss to Indian revenue. This loss the Indian people are unwilling and unable to make up by accepting the imposition of any additional tax. They have no voice to

check or reduce the expenditure made in India or in England to be borne by India, which is admittedly poor and already over-taxed, while its resources are constantly drained off to foreign countries without adequate and substantial return from them. It may also be mentioned that India is a dependency of England, while China is not that of India. Under these circumstances it cannot be for a moment imagined that those British people, who have disinterestedly taken up this cause for the good of India and China, would ever expect India, helpless as it is, to extend its generosity, at a great loss, towards China, in the manner proposed before the Commission. Again, viewing this point in another light, it is the Chinese Government that should take stringent measures against the importation of Indian opium, if it believes that it is either injured or ruined by accepting the drug from India. This it can well do now when it has been publicly announced before Parliament on behalf of the British Government that the Chinese Government are under no Treaty obligations to accept Indian opium, if they choose to refuse it. But if the Chinese Government, from past experience, still entertain any fears as to the *bonâ fide* carrying out of the authoritative announcement made before Parliament, I would suggest that an official communication might be sent from the British Government to the Chinese Government, informing the latter that any action on their part towards the stoppage of the importation of Indian opium into China, would be unhampered by the treaty obligations entered into by them with the British Government. I am, however, afraid China would not be prepared to do so, so long as it allows an extensive growth of opium on its own land, and also accepts importation of the drug from Turkey and Persia. Thus any attempt from outside for the benefit of China, would, if I have been able to see through the subject correctly, be ineffective, unless China takes the initiative in adopting the strictest measures, first against the cultivation of opium on its own land, and then gradually against the importation of the drug from foreign countries.

5. Though I am not prepared to agree altogether to the reasons stated in Section VII. of the Draft Report, in support of the Bengal Opium Monopoly, I feel inclined to acquiesce in its continuance so long as no better, or less objectionable, way of the manufacture and sale of opium has been brought to the notice of the Commission. But from the evidence before us I see reason to believe that the convenience and interests of the improvident and ignorant opium cultivators have suffered in the interests of the monopoly. The zeal of the officers engaged on the monopoly establishment, with some exceptions, appears to have been mostly directed to secure the interests of Government.

6. In addition to the recommendations made in the Draft Report therefore, I would propose that a general notification should be issued, and promulgated in such a manner as to make its contents fully and correctly known to the cultivators concerned, to the effect that they are not in any way bound to cultivate opium, that it is altogether optional for them whether to continue growing opium or to give it up, as it may suit them from time to time. It was objected to this during our Inquiry that such a notification would result in the decrease of opium cultivation, and consequently in a great loss to the opium revenue. But evidence was produced before the Commission to establish that the opium crop is the most paying of all other crops; and if that is the case, I fail to understand why fears should be entertained of a decrease in opium cultivation from any number of notifications of the tenor proposed. Such a notification would, in my humble opinion, be the only way of knowing the real wishes and convenience of the cultivators concerned as to growing opium. My proposal is based on the simple principle that when a cultivator pays fixed rent for his land, he ought to have, as a matter of right, full and unfettered discretion as to what kind of crop he should grow on the land. If any considerable number of cultivators within the opium monopoly district gave up the cultivation of opium, Government should either extend the limits of the territory now under the opium monopoly or find another part of the country where cultivators are willing to grow opium. But to make the cultivators of a particular part of the country grow opium against their wish is, as it were, to realise a revenue at their expense for the benefit of the rest of the British Indian subjects.

7. I am sorry to be unable to endorse the opinion expressed in Section VI. of the Draft Report as regards the Vaidas and Hakims who practice in Brahmanic and Musalman methods of medicine. They are, I must admit, not surgeons, but very good physicians in their own way, and, so far as my own experience and knowledge go, not at all less careful in treating their patients than those practising according to European methods of medicine. These Vaidas and Hakims, more or less, undergo a regular course of study in books of medicine which show the properties of different medical

stuffs, and describe the prescription and preparation of the same. These men may, in my humble opinion, be much more safely entrusted with dispensing opium than the common ignorant opium farmers or vendors under the present system. I am against the prohibition of the use of opium except for medical purposes, not because I think that no arrangement could be made to carry out prohibition, but because it appears to me to be neither desirable nor necessary that such a prohibition should be made under the present circumstances.

8. I think the system of local option against the free use of opium might be introduced in India as a tentative measure. The Government of His Highness the Gaekwád of Barodá has, of late, introduced this system in connexion with some undesirable caste customs. Government might legislate an enactment on this subject, and let those who choose to come under the law, apply for its enforcement, as was once the case for municipalities. Such an enactment would eventually lead to another—and a more beneficial one—for the check of the increasing use of alcohol.

9. As regards opium-smoking, I do not think orders such as have been already issued to check it will practically bring about the desired result. We have found from evidence that the practice of opium-smoking goes on all the same by simply arranging to be just beyond the technical scope of the restrictions made in such orders. The practice of opium-smoking is generally condemned; but nothing short of its abolition by law will, in my humble opinion, put an end to it. It is most desirable that it should be made penal. There were some cases before the Presidency magistrate of Bombay, where the accused were acquitted only because there were in a house, say, eight persons, and the quantity of opium used by them for smoking did not exceed the total of what each of them was allowed by law to possess. This is in my view plainly ridiculous. Under the present state of law, the opium-smokers can indulge in their vicious practice with impunity. To remove this difficulty a strict law should be made prohibiting opium-smoking in any form and under any circumstances, and thus frustrating the attempts of the lovers of opium-smoking as well as those interested in the opium trade to escape from its clutches.

10. Knowing as I do, as a Native of India, the feelings of the Natives in general regarding the habit of opium-smoking and its effects, I do not feel myself justified in entertaining any fears like those expressed in Section VI. As the evidence has shown that the habit of opium-smoking is confined to a very small number of people, and that it is disreputable, I feel the more convinced as to the necessity of prohibiting it by means of legislation, so that it may not gradually increase. This weighs with me so much that with every deference to the views expressed in para. 195, I feel constrained to differ from them.

11. I do not see why the practice of opium-smoking can not be made illegal when gambling has been so treated. I do not find in the Bombay Act No. IV. of 1887 any restriction as to the number; but a qualification is made as regards the place of gaming. Such a qualification I would propose to remove in the case of opium-smoking. This meets the objection raised at our private sitting in Bombay against the practicability of my above proposal.

12. With regard to the estimated loss the opium-producing States would suffer, should the cultivation of opium in those States be discontinued. I may be allowed to bring prominently to the notice of the Right Honourable Chairman and my colleagues that the States concerned submitted these figures showing roughly estimated loss only because they were asked to do so. But almost all of them asserted that they would not be willing to undertake the abolition of the cultivation of opium in their territories for any amount of compensation, unless they were forced by Imperial orders to do so. Under these circumstances there remains no question of compensation.

(Signed) HARIDAS VEHARIDAS.

Junagadh,
24th January 1895.

ANNEXURE IV.

MINUTE OF DISSENT, BY MR. HENRY J. WILSON, M.P.,
WITH NOTES AND APPENDIX.

1. As I am unable to concur in the report prepared by my colleagues, it is necessary that I should submit a statement of my own views upon the principal subjects of the inquiry. I desire to do so as briefly as possible.

2. The resolution of the House of Commons in pursuance of which the Commission was appointed was proposed by Mr. Gladstone, and carried by 184 to 105. The minority, consisting mainly of those who may be described, for brevity's sake, as the Anti-opium Party, desired the appointment of a Commission for a very different and more useful purpose than that which was finally recommended by the resolution of the House. NOTE A.

3. The 722 witnesses who appeared before us may be roughly divided into three classes, 191 who disapprove of the general use of opium, or are opposed for various reasons to the present opium system, or anti-opiumists; 487 more or less approving that system, or pro-opiumists; and 44 neutral or unclassified, including those who appeared purely for statistical or other evidence of a restricted character.

4. The anti-opiumist witnesses who were Natives of India were, generally speaking, not equal to the pro-opiumists in wealth and social position, but were not on that account less able to represent the habits and opinions of the great mass of their fellow-countrymen. This class includes a majority of the native journalists, lawyers, teachers and professors. Of qualified non-official native medical practitioners, a considerable majority were either anti-opiumists or somewhat undecided in their views. An enormous majority of the medical and other Christian missionaries who appeared before the Commission also gave anti-opium evidence.

The pro-opiumists, on the other hand, represented the great majority of the official classes, both European and Native, including military medical officers, together with many titled personages, landowners, and persons who considered that their financial interests were at stake.

5. A change appears to have come over official statements in reference to opium within the last few years. These were, until very recently, almost invariably condemnatory of the drug. Illustrations of this are given in the Notes, and it will suffice to make here one quotation only. On the 24th October 1817 the Directors of the East India Company, writing to the Governor-General, referred to their desire "to restrain the use of this pernicious drug," and went on to say, "were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except strictly for the purpose of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind." NOTE B.

It will be seen from the evidence, some of which is hereafter referred to, that a very considerable body of officials now adopt a decidedly altered tone. No definite cause has been assigned for this change, but it is impossible to dissociate it from the financial difficulties of India, and from the pressure of the anti-opium movement in England having been increasingly associated with the discussion on the reduction of Indian expenditure.

PRODUCTION OF OPIUM.

6. The production of opium in British India is not specially mentioned in the reference to the Commission, but it seems desirable to make some allusion to it.

So far as British India is concerned, the interest may be said to be almost confined to what is commonly known as the "Bengal Monopoly System,"*

* The "Bengal Monopoly System" provides 98 per cent. of the opium produced in British India. The remaining 2 per cent. is produced in the Punjab and Ajmere-Merwara. As to opium produced in the Native States, see pars. 42-47.

under which the cultivation of poppy is (for the convenience of surveillance) concentrated in two areas, known as the Behar Agency, with its head-quarters and factory at Patna, and the Benares Agency, with its head-quarters and factory at Ghazipur. The cultivation is by Act XIII. of 1857 restricted to cultivators who have received license to grow poppy.

Vol. II., p. 325.

On the average of the last three years (1890-1 to 1892-3), as to which returns were supplied, 243,605 acres of poppy were grown in the Behar Agency, and 229,574 acres in the Benares Agency, making together 473,179 acres.

Taking the average of the same three years, the licensed cultivators, numbering 1,247,941, delivered to the officials 78,944 maunds of opium, or about 57,995 cwts., for which they received Rs. 15,774,607, say, 854,457l.* including certain advances made before sowing or delivery.

5254-8, 10,807-8,
12,226, 12,963,
18,679, 19,535.

From these figures it will be found that the average cultivator delivered about 5·20 lbs. and received Rs. 12·64, say 13s. 8½d.* It is claimed that the cultivator is greatly benefited by getting an advance "without interest," but this advance is under 6s. and for only part of the year, so that at 5 per cent. per annum the interest would amount to less than 2¼d. per cultivator.

NOTE C.

See Note C.

Return, C. 3378,
"Opium negotiations
with China," 1882.
Vol. II., 5900 to
5904.

7. It is said that there was a time when the poppy was a generally remunerative, and, therefore, popular crop. But it is certain from the correspondence which took place in 1881 between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, that it was not then by any means universally popular.

Vol. V., App. I.
NOTE D.

In 1883 a Commission was appointed to inquire into the administration of the Opium Department, and from official correspondence which arose out of the report of that Commission it is perfectly clear that in some districts many of the ryots were reluctant to undertake the cultivation of the poppy.

13,521 to 13,534.

The Commission of 1883 made numerous recommendations for improving the position of the poppy cultivator, but most of their recommendations have been neglected by the authorities.

2767, 6282, 10,909,
13,397, 11,362-3,
19,093.
NOTE E.

There is still difficulty in obtaining the quantity of ground desired by the Government, and methods, which in India are called "persuasion" and in England compulsion, have to be resorted to.

The evidence showed that this compulsion is greater in the Behar than in the Benares Agency; it is natural, also, that it should be greater in the places where the poppy is least productive.

(a) 13,457.

(b) 13,579.

(c) 2927, 3249,
19,343-4, 19,535-7,
10,795-6, 14,942,
19,126.

It is the duty of the zilladars, the lower officials of the Opium Department, who are distributed all over the opium districts, to induce the people to apply for licenses and advances and to bring them to the weighment places. Mr. Gregory called this "coolie driving" (a), and although he afterwards said it meant only to collect them (b), I fail to reconcile this kind of driving or collecting with anxiety on the part of the people to obtain the alleged privilege of cultivating (c).

The most conclusive evidence on this subject is furnished by what has happened since the Commission left India. The Indian Revenue Department's Resolution No. 2208, 20th April 1894, comments on the decrease in the area of cultivation, giving among other reasons the competition of other crops, and states "that the price of opium paid to cultivators will have to be increased in order to keep pace with the rise of prices of other produce." In accordance with this, the price paid to the cultivators has been raised 20 per cent., viz., from Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 per seer. This proceeding in the present condition of Indian finance is in curious and suggestive contrast with the official evidence presented to the Commission as to the profitable, and therefore popular, character of poppy cultivation.

(d) 2920, 19,131,
19,537.

8. The official witnesses denied that compulsion was practised (h). Mr. Forbes, who holds the important position of Commissioner of Patna, stated

* Here and elsewhere the value of the rupee has been taken at 1s. 1d. English.

(^d) "as far as I know the cultivators grow it entirely of their own free will." (^e) 10,829.
 He also said that the charge of compulsion had taken the officials by surprise. (^e) 12,079, 5399.
 "The charge, in my opinion, arises entirely from the ignorance of the gentlemen, who, no doubt in good faith have conceived an entirely mistaken idea of the relations between ourselves and the inhabitants generally of the country" (^f). (^f) 12,156.

Yet at the same time he informed the Commission that, in consequence of a rumour from Calcutta only a week before, he had been making special inquiries into the allegations, and that in that short time he had heard of three cases, as to which he undertook to make further and strict inquiry (^g). (^g) 12,079.

It appears from Lord Brassey's remark (Q. 12,081) that Mr. Forbes had already spoken to him on the subject, and it was dismissed at the time by Lord Brassey's statement to Mr. Forbes:—

"You have assured me that you will not allow the matter to be neglected, and that if there is anything wrong the man shall be punished."

The result of these inquiries has been communicated by Mr. Forbes since our return to England, and will be found in Appendix XXXII., Vol. V., a perusal of which, and of Note F., will show that a zilladar, or inferior officer of the Opium Department, was seriously implicated in one case, that Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent of Shahabad, was compromised in two cases, and Mr. Skrine, who holds the important office of Collector of Bhagalpur, was guilty of direct interference and pressure for the purpose of promoting opium cultivation.

NOTE F.

There is no evidence that any official has been subjected to any censure or discipline.

9. Exactions of every kind are practised by the zilladars and other subordinate officials on the ryots. The Commission of 1883 reported, "Every seer of opium which a cultivator delivers pays toll to the amlah (subordinate official) and from every rupee which a cultivator receives a per-centage is deducted for their benefit." It was admitted by official witnesses that illegal exactions have continued (^e), that little attempt is made to detect them (^d), and it is too plain from Mr. Wace's cautious answers, that even some European officials (^e) are not altogether free from suspicion.

Report, 1883, par. 638.

(^e) 10,851, 12,336,
 12,149.
 (^d) 12,325.
 (^e) 10,899, 10,901.

10. Cases were reported to us (^f) showing that the officials of the Opium Department, not content with the severe law providing ample punishment for offences, take upon themselves to summarily destroy the crops of cultivators who have, or who are supposed to have, neglected to grow the full quantity of poppy for which they have taken advances. One very interesting and suggestive case of this kind, of which full particulars are given in the Notes, was proved beyond all doubt, and no attempt was made to disprove the others.

(^f) 11,355-89.
 12,396-454.
 20,444.*

NOTE G.

Resolution of Revenue Department, No. 2208, of 20th April 1894, states that in nearly 70 per cent. of the cases of alleged infraction of the opium laws in the Aliganj Sub-Division in the year 1892-3, "departmental punishment was inflicted on the offenders, who were all opium cultivators, instead of sending them up to the criminal court." If this means that cultivators have been summarily punished as in one of the cases above referred to, it is much to be regretted that the Government of Bengal should, since the Commission left India, have expressed its approval of "the course adopted in the Aliganj Sub-Agency of punishing opium cultivators departmentally."

COMPENSATION ON TERMINATION OF POPPY CULTIVATION.

11. Some of the Government witnesses (^a) as well as persons financially interested (^b) suggested that if the Bengal monopoly system should be terminated, compensation ought to be paid to the zemindars and ryots. It has become common to speak of "prohibition" in connexion with this matter, but it must be remembered that prohibition has already been enacted by the

(^a) 2080, 5254,
 14,398, 26,832.
 (^b) 14,441, 13,943-60.

* The petition, which is not printed, alleges that part of a wheat-field was "unsowed" by officials of the Opium Department.

(^c) Vol. II., pp. 527 and 531. 2943.

Opium Acts of 1857 and 1878 (^c), and cultivation is punishable except in the case of persons duly provided with annual licenses under stringent conditions..

(^c) 19,117, 14,932.
(^d) 19,109.

Cultivation has been terminated through the greater part of British India by general prohibitory enactment. It has also been terminated frequently and extensively simply by the non-issue of licenses. This course has sometimes been adopted, wholesale, in a given locality for the purpose of "facilitating excise" (^e), or because it is "unremunerative to the Department." (^d) This termination by the non-issue of licenses has also been continually practised when the accumulation of reserve stock, the falling off of the export trade, or other reasons, rendered such a course desirable in the interests of Government. (^e)

(^c) 2943 and 3019.

In none of these different cases has any compensation whatever been made by Government either to the zemindars or to the ryots. (^f)

(^f) 3020, 2123, 13,754, 19,153, 14,938, 5775.

(^g) 13,694, 17,369.
(^h) 5333, 10,821, 6095.

(ⁱ) 5306-9, 6130, 5569, 6172, 8514-5, 14,371.

(^k) Vol. IV., p. 512, par. 12.

12. It was also contended by some witnesses that termination of poppy cultivation must needs be accompanied by reduction both of land revenue (^g) and of rents payable by the ryots. (^h) But repeated questions failed to elicit evidence of a single case of reduction of rent, (ⁱ) and only one instance was laid before us (so far as I know) in which a reduction of land revenue (^k) was said to be consequent on termination of poppy cultivation. In this solitary case the reduction was not made till after the lapse of some 14 years, during which period many other causes may have affected the assessment.

CONFLICTING POLICIES.

2086. Hansard, Vol. 352, p. 343.

13. In the opium debate in the House of Commons, on the 10th April 1891, the late Mr. W. H. Smith, the then Leader of the House, stated, "the course which this Government has taken, and which all Governments have taken during the last few years . . . has been to diminish the area of cultivation in India;" and Sir James Fergusson, speaking on behalf of the India Office, said: "I freely admit that the Government of India have never denied that it would be very desirable that this source of revenue should be altered. They have taken means to reduce it. They have diminished the number of licenses, and they diminished the area on which the poppy was grown. One million acres * less are now under poppy in Bengal than 10 years ago."

2088. Hansard, Vol. 352, p. 323.

2086.

2077.

2087.

2089.

Sir David Barbour, Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, having had his attention called to these utterances, said in reference to Mr. Smith's statements: "I should hardly say that he is speaking there of the policy of the Government of India. I should say he was speaking of the policy of the Home Government, and, I must say, I was not aware until that statement was made that it was the policy of the Home Government." He also said: "As regards the export of opium from Bengal, the policy has been for some time to sell about the same amount every year, neither diminishing that amount nor increasing it. This means, of course, that the average area under cultivation would remain about the same, rising or falling a little according to circumstances." In reply to other questions he said: "It is not to be wondered at that members of the Government at home should not be perfectly informed of the facts. . . . I believe that on various occasions inaccurate impressions have been conveyed to" the House of Commons.

From this it will be seen that the important statements made by Ministers in the debate in question were entirely erroneous as to the policy really being pursued. They were also erroneous as to the actual facts. The average area under cultivation for the decade ending 1362-3 was 338,153 acres; 1872-3, 475,048 acres; 1882-3, 518,625 acres; and for 1892-3, 512,663 acres.

The resolution proposed by Mr. Gladstone and adopted by the House of Commons on the 30th June 1893 was based upon the same kind of erroneous information, because it pressed "on the Government of India to continue

* Hansard gives "one million acres," which is evidently a mistake. Other reports give 100,000.

“ their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy, and the “ production and sale of opium.” Two different Ministries, and two different Parliaments, were entirely misled as to the action of the Government of India.

THE PRINCIPAL PURPOSE FOR WHICH OPIUM IS PRODUCED IN BRITISH INDIA.

14. The main purpose of the production and sale of opium in British India unquestionably is to supply the Chinese and other Eastern markets.

The average production of opium in British India during the last three years as to which returns were supplied was 54,707 cwts., of which 49,512 cwts., or 90·5 per cent., was “intended for export to China and the Straits Settlements, “ technically known as *provision* opium ”; the remainder “intended for consumption in India, technically known as *excise* opium,” was 5,195 cwts., or 9·5 per cent. Of that which is exported to the Straits Settlements, a large proportion is re-shipped to China. Practically the whole of the Government opium thus sent to China and other Eastern countries is used for the purpose of smoking. That this practice of smoking is in the highest degree prejudicial, morally and physically, to those who indulge in it is established beyond all reasonable doubt.

Vol. II., p. 345, para. 6-7.

15. English officials resident in China and the far East have for the last 100 years continuously referred to opium smoking as a cause of moral and physical destruction. (See Note H.)

NOTE H.

The Chinese Government and Chinese officials have used similar, or even stronger language. (See Note J.)

NOTE J.

From the time when the earliest Christian missionaries became acquainted with the habits of the Chinese, down to the present year, they have persistently borne testimony to the same deplorable facts. (See Note K.)

NOTE K.

The oral^(a) and written^(b) evidence presented to the Commission is overwhelming in its force against the opium habit in China. Sir Thomas Wade^(c) who said that “ the treatment of the question by the Anti-opium Association “ engages me on the other side ” said also at the same time “ no man who has “ lived the time that I have in China, and who has been in contact with Chinese “ of all kinds, can deny that the excessive use of opium in that country is an “ exceeding misfortune to that country.” Such extenuating evidence as reached us is mainly negative in its character, and vague in its terms. The evidence of medical missionaries (Dr. Maxwell, Rev. Hudson Taylor, M.R.C.S., and others), after years of daily contact with the people, was not only definite and specific, but is in the main confirmed by the written opinions of other medical men received by the Commission. The majority of the English officials in China who sent answers to the questions agree in this condemnation. One of the questions sent was whether, if the Indian opium supply was stopped, the people would take to alcohol. The replies, in the proportion of about 40 to 6, are that it would not have this effect.

(a) 165, 214, 287 380, 430, 450, 498, 549, 609, 639, 673, 751, 790, 825, 1509, 1638, 1863, 1961.
(b) Vol. V., pp. 212-243.
(c) 1285.

214, 380.

It would occupy too much space to refer at length to the consular, missionary, and other evidence from China, which will be found in Vol. V., App. XXVI., but it is abundantly manifest that opium in China is a gigantic national evil.

16. It is, therefore, impossible to avoid the conclusion that it is altogether unworthy for a great dependency of the British Empire to be thus engaged in a traffic which produces such widespread misery and disaster. It is known that the cultivation of opium is now largely carried on in China, with the connivance, if not the express permission of the authorities, and without throwing any doubt on the sincerity of the desire of Chinese statesmen to rid their country of the blight of opium, it is impossible to say, especially in the present condition of the Chinese Empire, whether the cessation of importation of Indian opium would be accompanied or followed by any serious attempt on the part of the Chinese Government to exclude opium from other sources, and to prohibit its cultivation within the limits of their own empire. But however that may be, a traffic which is contrary to the principles of humanity cannot be justified on the ground that, if we do not engage in it, it will fall into the hands of others who have no such scruples.

Q. 11.

17. The effects of the consumption of opium in the Straits Settlements and other places in the east are substantially the same as already described in the case of China. A similar objection, therefore, exists to its production and sale for these other localities and nationalities.

18. The result of careful consideration of this part of the subject is that in my opinion the opium trade with China and the far East should be prohibited.

19. Sir James Fergusson, speaking as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Government, declared on the 10th April 1891, in the House of Commons, that—

Hansard, Vol. 352,
p. 316.

"The Chinese at any time may terminate the treaty on giving 12 months' notice, and to protect themselves they may increase the duty to any extent they please, or they may exclude it altogether. This, I think I may say, that if the Chinese Government thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, or shut out the article altogether, this country would not expend one pound in powder and shot or lose the life of a soldier in an attempt to force opium upon the Chinese."

Vol. I., App. IV.

Exception was taken to the accuracy of the first part of this statement by some of the witnesses opposed to the trade. A memorandum from the Foreign Office shows that Sir James Fergusson was mistaken in saying that China could free herself from all treaty obligations in the matter by giving 12 months' notice. The remainder of Sir James Fergusson's statement is sufficiently explicit as regards the policy of Her Majesty's Ministers at the time, but it is very important that the British Government should make a definite declaration in that sense to the Chinese Government.

THE CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM IN BRITISH INDIA.

(^a) 26,040, 21,116,
25,903.
(^b) 26,060, 20,323.
(^c) 26,040, 26,802.
(^d) 20,212, 20,323.
(^e) 18,480-4, 26,040,
27,389.
(^f) 26,060.
(^g) 4512.

20. Opium is consumed in three ways (^a); —I. By eating (^b) in the form of small portions, or pills; II. By drinking decoctions of the crude drug, known as *kasumba* (^c) and *amal pani*; or an infusion of poppy heads, or capsules called *post* (^d); III. By smoking preparations of opium, known as *chandu* (^e) (the Chinese form) and *madat*, or *madak* (^f), or *gooli* (^g). The first method (eating, or more correctly, swallowing) is that by which far the greatest quantity of opium is consumed.

The evidence laid before us as to the prevalence of the opium habit was very contradictory. Many witnesses, including some of the most important officials, gave evidence which tended to show that the habitual use of opium is widely prevalent amongst the various populations. This view was urged upon us by repeated statements that the consumption is so necessary to the happiness, well being, and even life of the people that it would be impossible to contemplate prohibition, or even any serious increase of restriction of the supply, because the result would not improbably be such general discontent as would amount to serious political danger. (See Note L.)

NOTE L.

Evidence of a directly contradictory character was given by many other witnesses, including a considerable proportion of natives of India, who may reasonably be supposed to be better acquainted with the habits of their relations, friends, and neighbours than officials, and especially highly placed officials, can possibly be. In order to arrive at some conclusion upon this conflicting testimony, it will be convenient to form some opinion as to what may be considered an average consumer's daily dose, and then to examine the actual statistics of consumption.

NOTE M.

21. The particulars given in the Notes show that the average quantity taken daily by each adult male consumer is about 20 grains. Taking this in conjunction with the evidence of many Government witnesses as to the very wide prevalence of the habit, the impression conveyed to the mind must be that there is a consumption far in excess of anything that is shown by the actual statistics.

NOTE N.

An examination of the statistics for each province shows that in Assam, where the consumption is largest, the quantity of opium issued is only sufficient to supply 20 grains daily to one person out of 52 of the entire population, while in the province of Madras, at the other end of the scale, the supply is only sufficient for one person out of 521 of the population.

NOTE O.

But greatly as the provinces differ from each other, various localities in these provinces differ still more widely, for while in Calcutta the consumption is equal to 20 grains daily for one person out of 26, in Tippera it will only provide the same quantity for one person out of 8,588.

It is clear from the Notes above referred to, and from the evidence on which they are founded, that the popular ideas which seem to prevail among Europeans in India are entirely irreconcilable with the actual facts.

Even if it could be shown that the average consumption of individuals is less than 20 grains, the argument is not materially affected. Moreover in these calculations no allowance is made for legitimate medical use, nor for the practice which is said to prevail of giving opium to animals.

Vol. V., p 127.
20,828.

USE OF OPIUM BY THE TROOPS.

A general impression has prevailed, and important witnesses (a) gave (c) 872, 1559. evidence as to the general use of opium by the native troops, and especially by the Sikhs. The evidence taken in India shows this to be a delusion. Major-General Sir Robert Low, K.C.B., in command of the Oudh District, stated (b) that the highest number of opium-eaters reported in any one regi- (b) 14,110-2. ment under his command was 20; in the Ghoorka regiment only two consumers; and in another, none. Evidence was given by other military witnesses as to the consumption of opium by Sikhs in 12 corps. As to two of these, (c) it was stated that opium was consumed by all. In two cases (d) (c) 14,117, 18,641. the proportion appears to average about 33 per cent. In eight cases (e) the (d) 18,688, 17,017. proportion varied from 1.3 per cent. to 6.5 per cent., or an average of 3.1 (e) 19,704, 14,147, 15,751, 19,393, 17,059, 16,948, 7108, 17,017. per cent. Colonel Jamieson, although a decided pro-opiumist, admitted (f) (f) 14,163. that the Rajputs in his regiment, as a rule, do not take opium. Official information (g) shows that while 23 regiments, including two Sikh regiments, (g) Vol. II., p. 453. made no arrangements for the supply of opium while on service, 3 lbs. were taken by the 23rd Bengal Infantry as sufficient for two years, and small quantities taken by the 32nd Bengal Infantry and the 3rd Sikh Infantry were brought back untouched.

NO ANALOGY BETWEEN ALCOHOL IN ENGLAND AND OPIUM IN INDIA.

23. In whatever way the statistics are looked at, they show that there are in India vast tracts where a mere fraction of the population are consumers of opium. In England, on the other hand, the great majority of the people are more or less consumers of alcohol. Any attempt therefore to treat the case as analogous is entirely fallacious; in the one case we have a nation of consumers, in the other a nation of abstainers.

PURPOSES FOR WHICH OPIUM IS CONSUMED.

24. It may be plainly stated at the outset that there is a general consensus of native opinion (a) in almost all parts of India against the habitual use of opium by the healthy and able bodied. (a) 13,336, 17,513-4 18,836, 20,133, and 24,987, 28,061, many others.

25. The importance of opium, as a remedy in certain diseases, has never been disputed. It is daily used in many parts of India, not only for specific ailments, for which it would be prescribed by European practitioners, but in many other cases, with the object of relieving pain, although it may have no permanent effect on the cause of the pain. The theory was advanced by some witnesses (b) that the habitual use of opium for non-medical purposes must have originated in the case of each consumer for the purpose of repressing some positive ailment, or to avoid disease which climatic or other conditions render probable. In accordance with this theory evidence was given before us (c) as to the belief of the natives, in many malarious districts, that opium is a prophylactic against fever, and that such belief was shared by many Europeans, (d) principally military medical officers. On the other hand, this view was strongly controverted by other witnesses, (e) including medical practitioners, both European and Native, who disputed the value of opium as a prophylactic against malarial fever, or as a remedy in the disease, and as regards many parts of India there was no such belief amongst the natives. (f) It was clearly established by the evidence that the habit of consuming opium is practised by a certain portion of the inhabitants in many parts of India for purposes which have no relation to the actual presence or even fear of disease. Many men begin the consumption of opium at about the age of 40, (g) under the impression that the system is stimulated and the declining bodily (b) 13,089, 17,283, 28,107, 21,878, 2147, 4992, and many others. (c) 3657, 19,528, 25,583, 27,574. (d) 2188, 3404, 3606, 21,901-2, 28,141, 9516-7. (e) 4710-5, 13,116, 5837, 16,558, 16,902, 19,203, and many others. (f) 8642, 4280, 9132, 9852, 13,382-3, 18,195, and many others. (g) 3943, 12,576, 4060, 26,061, and many others.

powers preserved by its use. Under these circumstances, it does not appear to incur popular disapproval.

26. There is a special and licentious purpose for which opium is taken, and when it is habitually used by young and healthy men it is usually for this purpose, which is universally reprobated as vicious and degrading. (See Note P.)

NOTE P.

(^h) 10,038, 15,762,
19,192, 20,990.
(ⁱ) 8596-9, 8612,
9848, 18,253, 19,029,
23,457, and many
others.

27. Opium is in some districts frequently taken by persons requiring to make special or unusual exertion (^h) in enterprises involving fatigue and exposure, while others entirely deny that any advantage is derived from such use, (ⁱ) and on the contrary maintain that the stimulation which it affords is merely temporary and delusive. This idea as to the benefit of opium under such conditions is similar to the belief which formerly prevailed in England as to the use of alcohol in the like circumstances, but which the experience obtained in Arctic and other arduous enterprises has now proved to be delusive.

20,982, 21,577,
23,656, 24,659.

28. The drug is also used in some provinces and castes as a mark of friendship and hospitality in connexion with family and social ceremonies.

(^h) 23,104, 25,367,
13,994, 15,672,
11,808, 3502, and
many others.

29. To infants from the time of birth until they are three or four years of age opium in minute doses is habitually given in many parts of India, (^k) partly with the impression that it protects them against disease, but chiefly in order to keep them quiet, and prevent them from crying in the absence of the mothers when engaged in household or field work.

(^k) 16,266, 21,577.
23,261, 25,876.
(^l) 16,902, 21,298,
23,491a, 26,619,
25,894.

This practice is defended (^a) in general terms by several witnesses, and strongly condemned (^b) by many who are specific in their enumeration of the evils which follow. The best excuses offered are the poverty and the ignorance of the parents.

(^l) 24,671, 25,865,
26,674.

Vol. IV., p. 498.

In Bombay there is an extensive use of Bala Gooli, (^l) that is pills made of opium mixed with other drugs and spices for the use of children. This is at present carried on under the sanction of the authorities, which in my opinion should be withheld.

(^m) 16,231, 20,990,
21,987.
(ⁿ) 22,776, 23,750,
26,429.

30. The practice of drinking the decoctions or infusions of opium, already alluded to, is somewhat restricted. It appears to be mainly confined to Rajputana and the Punjab, and to be chiefly associated with social and ceremonial observances. (^m) There is some evidence that this use is declining. (ⁿ)

SMOKING OPIUM.

(^o) 3510, 16,546.
(^p) 16,766-7, 28,082,
18,564, 27,065.
(^q) 27,388, 3843,
15,698, 19,527,
16,012, 17,705.
(^d) 27,467, 20,698,
11,858, 21,870, 21,812.

31. The smoking of chandu and madak is usually a social (^a), as distinguished from a personal, habit, and appears to be principally confined to the cities and large towns (^b). It is almost universally admitted to be injurious and demoralising, is practised by the vicious and degraded (^c), and is generally reprobated (^d).

(^e) Vol. II., p. 396.

In view of the evils attending the habit, smoking on licensed premises was forbidden throughout British India (^e) on the 25th September 1891.

5008, 15,170-72,
16,684-709, 26,948.

Secretary of
State's letter, Vol. II.,
p. 396.

Evidence was given that smoking clubs, so-called (though without any pretence of paid membership), existed before the issue of this prohibition, and have multiplied since. Very little effort had apparently been made to suppress them. There appears to be no reason why the authorities should not have taken steps to acquire any further powers which were needed for this purpose as they were invited to do by the Home Government.

Three missionaries and a newspaper editor at Bombay having exposed certain incidents connected with the sale of opium were proceeded against for defamation by the manager of the opium farmer in that city. At one of the trials which took place after we left India, Mr. Cooper, the presiding magistrate, stated in his judgment, "it is admitted that during the last Mahim fair there were five or six of these clubs opened at Mahim, and the statement in the article regarding the mismanagement of these clubs appears to be true." In the course of these proceedings, the following remarkable evidence was given by the chief opium inspector at Bombay:—
"There are about 150 clubs at Bombay. . . . I do not think the opium-

" smoking clubs at Bombay and at Mahim are undesirable. . . . I do not think the opium-smoking establishments should be shut up, therefore we have not tried to shut them up." It is noticeable that since the imprisonment of the missionaries the opium officials at Bombay have instituted proceedings against several of these so-called clubs, and have obtained convictions against them.

The question of dealing with unlicensed opium-smoking clubs in India has been compared to that of preventing illegal sales of alcohol in clubs in England. There is this important difference, that the question in England is how to prevent the consumption in unlicensed places of beverages which are not disapproved by public opinion generally. In India it is a question of stopping a practice under all circumstances which incurs almost universal reprobation. 26,218, 26,948.

PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF THE HABITUAL USE OF OPIUM.

32. A large body of evidence of a conflicting character was given on this subject. Many medical and other witnesses stated that the habitual use of opium in any form for other than medical purposes is decidedly deleterious. NOTE Q.

Other witnesses, including a majority of the official doctors, deny that there are any evil consequences from opium-eating in moderation, some maintaining that it produces no evil effects and others alleging that it is actually beneficial.

Allusion has already been made (paragraph 25) to the controversy as to the value of opium as a prophylactic against malarial fever. Copious references to important medical evidence will be found in the Notes, showing that this prophylactic theory is an entirely new one; not taught in the medical schools; never heard of by many practitioners; that opium is not used or recommended by many of those who have heard of the theory; that many practitioners who profess to believe in it prefer other remedies; that other practitioners, both pro-opiumists and anti-opiumists, deny altogether that opium does possess any such prophylactic properties; and that vast numbers of the people have no knowledge of or belief in opium as a preventive of fever. NOTE Y.

It is incredible that if the highest medical and other authorities in India seriously believed in this prophylactic use of opium that they should have allowed so many members of the medical service to remain in ignorance of it. The opinion of the Government of Madras was indicated when a complaint was made that they were teaching the people of certain tracts to rely on opium as a febrifuge, for they replied that so far from that "we are doing all we can to gradually wean them from their hereditary habit of using it on all occasions." "Consumption of Opium in India," C.—6562, 1892, p. 52.

It is admitted on both sides that habitual consumers, who are unable to get the usual dose at the usual hour (e), besides suffering pain and inconvenience, are for a time, incapacitated wholly or partly for the discharge of their ordinary duties. (e), 2173-6, 12,902, 20,331, 23,606, 27,916, and many others.

MORAL EFFECTS OF THE HABITUAL USE OF OPIUM.

33. As to the moral effects there is the same diversity in the evidence, for while a large number of witnesses declare that the use of the drug is detrimental morally, leading to idleness, inactivity, weakening of control over the will, and bad habits generally, other witnesses maintain that in their experience these results have not been observable. NOTE R.

It is obvious that the positive testimony of those who have witnessed the evil of which they speak is not displaced by the evidence of any number of witnesses who have not observed the injurious effects of the drug on other people. It is admitted on all hands that the opium habit obtains an imperious sway over those who become subject to it. It is surely playing with words to contend that a mastery so powerful is not lowering to the moral nature of man.

SOCIAL EFFECTS.

NOTE S.

34. Violent crimes are not attributed to opium, but there was a good deal of evidence that there is, in the case of the habitual consumer, an imperious craving for the periodical dose which constantly leads him, when he is poor, to resort to petty thefts in order to obtain money for the purpose of getting opium.

This allegation again was denied by certain Government witnesses, but we had no evidence that it is the practice to inquire into the original cause of petty theft; indeed one witness distinctly stated that it was not.

8770.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

10,868, 4200, 4235,
12,391-2, 26,770,
19,331, 27,102,
23,511, 25,954,
27,569, 28,114.

35. It is universally admitted, even by pro-opium witnesses, that the injurious effects of opium appear much sooner and more markedly in the case of the poor than of the rich, because the latter are able to provide themselves with abundance of good and rich food, which appears to counteract the action of the opium.

NOTE T.

Nor is it denied by pro-opium witnesses that excessive use produces evil results both physical and moral. It is clear from the evidence that the excessive use is largely a matter of time, because as soon as a moderate dose fails in its effect, as it usually does sooner or later, the quantity must be increased.

5832, 8805, 15,145,
17,177, 19,032,
25,522, 2151, 25,960,
26,613, and many
others.

The fact of this tendency to increase the dose was attested by the evidence of a large number of witnesses on both sides. The anti-opium witnesses were practically unanimous on this point, and were supported by not a few of those who defended the practice of eating opium. But other pro-opium witnesses denied this tendency to increase beyond a given point. How this point is to be determined, except indeed by dangerous experiment, was not explained.

12,484, 15,912,
19,228.

The difficulty of discontinuance or even diminution of the habitual dose becomes greater in proportion to the length of the period of indulgence, until at last cessation becomes almost impossible.

NOTE U.

COMPARATIVE EFFECTS OF OPIUM ON NATIVES OF EUROPE AND OF INDIA.

36. The question has been raised as to whether the consumption of opium is a matter of race, whether there is any reason why opium is consumed more in the East than in the West, and whether there is any difference in the tolerance (to use the medical term) of the inhabitants of Europe and of India.

NOTE V.

The evidence presented to us shows that if there be any difference, Europeans possess greater tolerance.

INDIAN MISSIONARY OPINION.

2302-4.
23,329.

37. In some Christian denominations in India there is actual prohibition, and in others a general understanding against the admission into church membership of converts who indulge in opium. This fact is strong proof of the sincerity of the opinions of the missionaries of those denominations, for it is obviously not to their interest to unduly restrict the number of their converts, and it is clear that they would not do it but for substantial reasons.

(^a) Vol. II., p. 314.
Vol. II., p. 460.
Vol. V., p. 137.

Several memorials were forwarded to the Commission from missionaries and others interested in mission work. Some of them (^a) expressed strong views against the use of opium and the present opium system, these views being supported by some of the signatories appearing personally as witnesses. Other memorials (^b) took a less unfavourable view, and it is important to observe that none of those who signed these latter memorials offered themselves as witnesses, and consequently were not subjected to any examination of their views and means of knowledge.

(^b) Vol. II., p. 438.
Vol. V., p. 138.

(^c) 2238, 2589, 2756,
6921, 11,015, 13,958,
21,382, 21,463, 23,308,
23,332, 23,456, 25,521,
26,434, 26,539, 27,822,
4278, 7739, 10,611,
19,894, 21,297, and
21 others.
(^d) 8652, 17,246.
(^e) 5457, 16,902.

Of the 45 missionaries and others closely associated with them who appeared before us as witnesses, and submitted to the test of cross-examination, 41 (^c) condemned the use of opium, two (^d) may be said to have occupied neutral or indefinite positions, and two others, (^e) one of whom declared himself an "abolitionist on purely moral grounds," to some extent defended or at least extenuated the use of opium.

See also Vol. I. Q. 26.

RECOMMENDATION AS TO THE PROHIBITION OR RESTRICTION OF THE GENERAL
USE OF OPIUM.

38. The balance of evidence shows that the non-medical use of opium is usually injurious to the consumer, and I am of opinion that much may be done to discourage the common use of the drug.

The Minutes of Evidence contain a large body of testimony showing that prohibition or restriction would be approved by the mass of the people in many parts of India. More than a hundred witnesses (three-fourths of whom were natives of India) were in favour of prohibition, in addition to a number of others who desired some form of restriction, short of prohibition.

The difficulties in the way of any further restriction propounded by some of the witnesses appear to me greatly exaggerated.

It is contended that, were further restriction attempted, it would be impossible, except in the large towns, to find persons to whom the sale for medicinal purposes could be entrusted. But the present regulations authorise the issue of druggist's and doctor's licenses, and these are granted to hakims and vairs practising eastern systems of medicine. In Bengal alone, 1,264 of these licenses were issued in 1892-3.

Vol. II., pp. 427
and 467.

Vol. II., p. 429.

As the people of India are in the main abstainers from the drug, and its consumption is not general, except in certain districts, some form of local veto on the common sale, ought, I think, to be adopted. It might also with great advantage and with popular approval be made applicable to alcohol.

I would further recommend a change of system by which the present opium contractors or vendors, who profit directly in proportion to the amount of opium they sell, should be replaced by official vendors, with fixed salaries.

So far from having any inducement to push the sale of the drug they should be directed, as far as possible, to discourage the non-medicinal use, and regulations should be laid down authorising them to refuse to supply persons whose relatives or friends complain that it is improperly used. All opium sold should be labelled "Poison," as in England, and should be accompanied by a caution, printed in the vernacular and in English, against its use for non-medical purposes. These official vendors would usually be natives of India, on moderate salaries. They should be located in places suitable for supplying the legitimate medicinal requirements of the people and be vigilantly supervised.

The alterations suggested, if properly carried out, would undoubtedly be an important step towards the reduction of the consumption.

RECOMMENDATION AS TO PROHIBITION OF OPIUM SMOKING.

39. Although very diverse views were laid before the Commission as to the habitual use of opium by eating and drinking, there was a striking consensus of disapproval of smoking as an injurious and degrading practice. Not only did the anti-opium witnesses attribute the worst effects of opium to the habit of smoking, but practically the whole of the witnesses who justified or palliated the practice of habitually eating moderate quantities emphatically condemned smoking in all its forms, as being unquestionably injurious and pernicious, and constituting a low and vicious habit.

2761, 3510, 4921,
5001, 5913, 3343,
6341, 10,840, 14,228,
15,723, 19,594,
19,757, 20,047,
25,288, 28,025, 4444,
21,590, 21,812,
21,655, 26,271,
14,416, 16,009,
16,688, 17,422-3,
18,536-8, 22,033,
26,057, 21,870.

Most of these pro-opium witnesses were in favour of further reduction of the facilities for smoking, and some of them approved of its total prohibition.

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Crombie said :—

3529.

" I think there is a consensus of opinion among all, including opium-smokers themselves, that the chandu and madak manufactures should be abolished."

The Hon. A. Cadell, member of the Revenue Board, North-West Provinces and Oudh, while approving of opium eating, said :—

19,097.

" Opium smokers are, if belonging to the upper classes, debauchees, and if belonging to the lower classes, disreputable persons, with a tendency to crime, caused not by any tendency of opium in that direction, but by the irresistible character of the vice and by the necessity felt to gratify a vice which is an expensive one. . . . There is also a general feeling among the more respectable classes against opium smoking."

19,098.

See Note W.

NOTE W.

40. Regarding the evidence on this particular subject as remarkably distinctive in its unanimity and conclusiveness, I consider that nothing short of absolute prohibition will satisfy the requirements of the case. The only proper action of the Government in accordance with public opinion should clearly be—

I. To discontinue all licenses in respect to preparations of opium for smoking

II. To make unlawful—

- (a) the manufacture, sale, purchase, or possession of chandu, madak, and other preparations of opium for smoking purposes;
- (b) the manufacture, sale, purchase, or possession of materials, utensils, or apparatus for making or smoking such preparations of opium;
- (c) the association of two or more persons at any place for the purpose of smoking opium or any such preparations.

The administration and enforcement of such a law prescribing proper penalties for breaches thereof ought to be easy and effectual, for the evidence of any actual offence must be readily obtainable.

The fear has been expressed that a prohibitory measure of this character would open the way to inquisitorial and domiciliary visits by the police, and their possible bribery by the more influential and wealthy opium smokers. But the existing law is similarly open to be used in an objectionable way, and absolute prohibition, is not liable to any greater objections than those which apply to more partial and inadequate measures of repression.

BURMA.

41. The case of Burma is exceptional and must be referred to separately.

Most of the British officials in Burma have frankly recognised the evil effects of the consumption of opium in that country, as well as the practically unanimous opinion of the Burmese people against its public sale, and notwithstanding serious revenue considerations, have strongly advised restriction or prohibition. The Government of India has yielded slowly and apparently with reluctance to the advice given by its own officers in Burma, and to representations made from Great Britain. New regulations came into force on the 1st January 1894. As a general rule the possession of opium, except for medical purposes, is now forbidden to Burmans. This rule is absolute in Upper Burma. In Lower Burma natives were allowed some months during which they might register themselves as consumers, and thus become entitled to purchase opium. The desire of the authorities in Burma that registration should be made compulsory for foreigners as well as for Burmans ought, in my opinion, to be acceded to. In some districts the sale of the drug to foreigners and registered Burmans is still in the hands of farmers. In other districts a system of retail sale by official vendors is being tried. This will, I think, be found to be a distinct improvement upon the old system of licensed shops. In every other practical way the consumption of opium should be restricted to the legitimate medical requirements of the people.

Sir David Barbour, in speaking of the special measures which had been taken to check the consumption of opium in provinces where its use was believed to be excessive (including Burma), said, "I am not at all sure now that those measures have not been carried too far, but they have been adopted to a great extent in deference to English public opinion."

The whole history of the sale of the drug in Burma under British rule; of the protests of the people of that country against it; and of the reluctance of the Indian Government to listen to their entreaties, furnishes, in my opinion, most powerful testimony to the need and to the value of the expression of English public opinion in these matters.

The Burmans are clearly entitled to demand that their wishes should be respected, and their right to the protection they have so long asked for should be fully recognised.

MALWA OPIUM.

42. The term Malwa Opium is employed to describe the opium produced in the Native States in the west of India, either for consumption in India or export from the port of Bombay.

6658, 6691, 6777-8,
7585, 8341-2.

I., p. 354, pp. 463-79.

6659, 8021.
Vol. II., p. 537, par. 5.
Vol. II., p. 545, par. 26.
Vol. II., p. 635, Rules
23, 24.

2108.

Vol. II., p. 650, par. 7.

A great part of this opium is produced in the ill-defined tract of land known as Malwa, comprising several Native States, the soil and climate of which are said to be specially favourable to the growth of poppy.

The extension of British territory in India has been so managed as to cut off the poppy-growing States from communication with the sea; and the transit of opium through British territory has been prohibited, except under an elaborate arrangement of passes, granted by British officers on payment of a heavy duty, and by certain duly authorised routes. This pass duty is not the subject of any agreements or treaty stipulations, but is imposed at the will and pleasure of the paramount power. It was fixed on the 1st October 1862 at Rs. 600; was raised on the 16th July 1877 to Rs. 650; on the 15th September 1879 to Rs. 700; on the 28th June 1882 it was reduced to Rs. 650; on the 5th July 1890 further reduced to Rs. 600; and on the 1894 was raised to Rs. 650. The amounts realised from this source, together with the quantity of opium, are as follows :—

Vol. II., p. 347.

Average of 3 Years.	Rx.	Chests.	Duty per Chest. Rs.
1883-84 to 1885-86 - -	2,498,455	41,008	650
1890-91 to 1892-93 - -	1,753,110	32,510	600

Vol. II., pp. 342 and 347.

These figures are in part taken from a table which will be found in Vol. II., p. 347, which shows that while the quantity of opium exported from Bombay has been considerably declining, that which is diverted for local consumption has been somewhat increasing.

THE NATIVE STATES.

43. No good purpose would be served by a detailed statement of the treaties and agreements made in regard to opium with the numerous Native States. They are described in App. X., Vol. II. By pressure, which they were not in a position to resist, most of these States have been induced to consent to arrangements the aim of which has been to safeguard and increase the revenue which the East India Company and the Indian Government have obtained from opium. In many cases it has been arranged that the rulers of Native States shall prohibit the cultivation of the poppy, and so regulate the traffic in opium as to increase the revenue of the State at the expense of their subjects. There is no evidence that in any of these States compensation has ever been given to cultivators or traders whose interests have been interfered with.

44. As to the power to stop the transit of opium through British territory, Sir Lepel Griffin said, "Of course you can prohibit the export." Sir D. M. Barbour said, "I think the export to China could practically be stopped," but he was confident smuggling into British territory could not. The Hon. W. Lee Warner, in his memorandum, lays down that "interference with the internal affairs of Native States has been justified in the past, either (a.) when adopted in the interests of the states, or (b.) when adopted in the interests of the British Government." He marshals instances "under class (a.)" into six recognised grounds, including (vi.) to check offences against natural law or public morality." The suppression of seizing people for sorcery, and abolition of suttee, are given as instances.* Mr. Warner holds that opium does not come under any of these heads. Colonel Trevor, agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, was asked, "would not it be an

1543.

2082.

Vol. IV., p. 495.

20,794, 20,839.

* In India, as elsewhere, officials are too much disposed to dread reforms and innovations. The case of suttee affords an illustration. Hunter, in his *Indian Empire*, page 475, says: "In spite of strenuous opposition, both from *Europeans and natives*, Lord W. Bentinck carried a Regulation in Council on the 4th of December 1829, by which all who abetted suttee were declared guilty of culpable homicide." Hunter also refers to other reforms which "were distasteful to the covenanted service, and to the officers of the Army," and adds that Lord Bentinck "was supported by the Court of Directors, and by the Whig Government at home."

“ injustice not to allow ” the produce of the States to be transmitted through British territory, and replied, “ I do not quite see that. If you think a thing is bad, you are not bound to give a passage through your territory.”

22,301.
Vol. IV., p. 117.
22,935.

16,265.

16,271.

16,289.

16,372.

45. Certain Native States, including such important ones as Indore, Baroda, and Bhopal, consider that interference or prohibition in regard to opium would be outside, or contrary to, treaty engagements. Some of the Sikh States, on the contrary, took a different position. General Sardar Ratan Singh, of the Jind State, said, “ if the Government prohibits the use of opium in British territory, similar orders could be issued in the Jind State.” He was not sure whether such a thing would be viewed as interference. Lala Dewa Singh, of the Nabha State, was asked what compensation, if any, His Highness’ State would be fairly entitled to in the event of prohibition, and replied “ As the prohibition is entirely beneficial to the people, this State does not wish for any compensation for the loss of revenue resulting from such prohibition.” Pandit Sarup Narian, of the Faridkot State, gave a similar answer.

46. The fact that in the face of a greater falling off in the supplies of Malwa opium than of Bengal opium the Indian Government has, since the visit of the Commission, materially increased the payment to the Bengal cultivator and put an additional burden of duty on the Malwa produce, shows more clearly than any official evidence that the right of dealing at will with the export trade, Native as well as British, is quietly claimed and exercised by the paramount government.

47. It is not possible to treat the suggested claims for compensation placed before the Commission seriously. Though compiled at the instance of the Indian Government and revised by its political officers, they neither deserve respect nor criticism. A few illustrations must suffice. The Tonk State in claiming Rs. 132,900 for loss of land revenue, Rs. 59,919 for Customs revenue, and Rs. 94,600 for traders’ profits, claims Rs. 104,030 for compensation for money lenders ! One item in Colonel Abbott’s summary is, “ extra expense of living on account of great rise in price of opium ” Rs. 489,873.

Vol. IV., p. 394.

20,922.

20,945.

Vol. IV., p. 395.

In the State of Bundi, the average out-turn for the 12 years ending 1892-3 is given at 1,007 maunds ; for the last half of that period at 371 maunds. (In the last year it was only 93 maunds.) Yet compensation is claimed for an annual trade of 2,000 maunds, and Colonel Abbott reports that the “ Political officer, Lieut.-Colonel Thornton . . . considers the Durbar’s estimate of the losses, direct and indirect, both to itself and its subjects, as accurate as it is possible to make them under existing circumstances.”

Vol. IV., p. 407.

Vol. IV., p. 407.

In the Central Provinces, Sailana claimed Rs. 160,475 for land revenue. Lieut.-Colonel Robertson estimates it at Rs. 60,000. The State claims Rs. 128,380 for cultivators. He reduces this to Rs. 40,000. Of Multhan the same officer writes, “ Losses to cultivators and traders were not given by the State, they were assumed by me.”

It is clear that the evidence thus brought before us can be of no assistance if claims in equity should be seriously advanced by these States.

CONCLUSIONS.

48. The form of the questions submitted to the Commission makes it difficult to give categorical answers, but in reference to the paragraphs thereon I reply :—

- I.—(a.) That the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited, except for medical purposes.
- (b.) Such prohibition should not be forcibly imposed on the Native States, but the example of the British Government should be supported by such influence as may legitimately be employed.

II. The existing arrangements with the Native States in respect to the transit of opium through British territory depend absolutely on the will of the paramount power, and appear to have been dominated throughout by the financial policy of British India. When the Chinese trade from British India has been brought to an end, as I

hold it certainly should be, and when licenses to cultivate are no longer granted, licenses for the transit of opium through British territory may justly be withheld.* There is no legal claim for compensation. Any equitable claims must be tested by further inquiry and reliable evidence.

- III.—(a.) There is no precedent for compensation to landlords or cultivators on the termination of opium cultivation, and there would be no claim for compensation for withholding further licenses.
- (b.) Adequate information was not placed before us as to the cost of additional preventive measures, but the general statements that were made appear greatly exaggerated.
- (c.) The revenue derivable from opium has been for some years NOTE X. declining, and can no longer be safely relied upon. (See Note X.)
- IV. It is desirable to replace the present opium contractors and vendors by official vendors, with instructions and discretion to restrict the sale. I recommend the entire prohibition of smoking.
- V. The consumption of opium obtains more or less extensively amongst the races and in the localities most fully represented before the Commission. Little or no evidence was tendered from large districts where its non-medical use is little known. It is clear that the opium habit so far from being common amongst the people generally is relatively exceptional in British India. It is a vice in Calcutta and the large towns, but certainly not of the majority of the populations. It is common amongst the Rajputs and to a less extent the Sikhs, but the sweeping statements made as to its universal use by them are quite untenable. Women are seldom addicted to the habit. The moral effect is hurtful in tarnishing and weakening the will power of the user: the physical effect is generally injurious in proportion to the amount taken and to the inability of the consumer to protect himself against it by plenty of good food.
- VI.—(a.) The people of India do not, so far as regards the greater part of that country, regard the use of opium for non-medical purposes favourably.
- (b.) The people of India maintain that they are already taxed to the very limit of their ability, and that they are unable and unwilling to submit to any additional burdens.

Serious consideration should promptly be given to the question of reducing the expenditure now borne by the people of India.

49. In these pages I have given my conclusions on the evidence presented to the Commission. As stated in a Memorandum accompanying this Dissent, I do not think that the whole of the facts were presented to us with the impartiality and completeness due to such an inquiry. The Report adopted by my colleagues appears to me to partake more of the character of an elaborate defence of the opium trade of the East India Company, and of the present Government of India, than of a judicial pronouncement on the immediate questions submitted to us. On this ground also, as well as for the reasons already given, I am unable to join in it.

50. One of the last paragraphs in the Report (No. 274) refers to me, and includes the following sentence:—"We regret that in the discussions which took place during the preparation of our Report we were not placed in possession of the views of our colleague."

It will be seen by a letter to the Chairman from myself, a copy of which is appended, that I was distinctly precluded by him from taking part in the discussions referred to. At the first subsequent meeting of the Commission, I referred to my letter, and to Lord Brassey's desire that I should refrain from discussion. Lord Brassey intimated that I had correctly stated his wishes. I do not therefore understand the propriety of this reflection, by the majority, on the course which I took at the Chairman's direct instance and request, with the concurrence of four other colleagues. NOTE Z.

18th March 1895.

HENRY J. WILSON.

* Legitimate medical requirements are not here alluded to.

B.—NOTES TO MR. WILSON'S DISSENT.

NOTE A. to par. 2.—RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS (30TH JUNE 1893) WHICH LED TO THE APPOINTMENT OF THE COMMISSION.

"That having regard to the strong objections urged on moral grounds to the system by which the Indian Opium Revenue is raised, this House presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the production and sale of opium, and desires that an humble address may be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to report as to:—

- "1. Whether the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and whether such prohibition could be extended to the Native States.
- "2. The nature of the existing arrangements with the Native States in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, and on what terms, if any, these arrangements could be with justice terminated.
- "3. The effect on the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium taking into consideration (a) the amount of compensation payable; (b) the cost of the necessary preventive measures; (c) the loss of revenue.
- "4. Whether any change short of total prohibition should be made in the system at present followed for regulating and restricting the opium traffic and for raising a revenue therefrom.
- "5. The consumption of opium by the different races and in the different districts of India, and the effect of such consumption on the moral and physical condition of the people.
- "6. The disposition of the people of India in regard to (a) the use of opium for non-medical purposes; (b) their willingness to bear in whole or in part the cost of prohibitive measures."

NOTE B. to par. 5.—OFFICIAL OPINION OF OPIUM.

Lient.-Colonel James Tod, political agent to the Western Rajput States, in his work on the "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan," written in 1820, published in 1832, writes:—

"This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajput of half his virtues. (Vol. I., p. 644.)
 "This drug, which has tended more to the physical and moral degradation of the inhabitants than the combined influences of pestilence and war." (Vol. II., p. 630.)
 "Execrable and demoralising plant" (poppy). (Vol. II., p. 634.)

Mr. C. A. Bruce, superintendent of the tea plantations in Assam (prior to 1840), refers to opium as the—

"Dreadful plague which has depopulated this beautiful country . . .
 "This vile drug has kept and does now keep down the population . . .
 "Few but those who have resided long in this unhappy country know the dreadful and immoral effects which the use of opium produces on the native."

Mr. A. Sym, 11 years in the opium district of Gorakhpur, and for a time in charge of the opium agency there, wrote in 1840:—

"The health and morals of the people suffer from the production of opium. Wherever opium is grown it is eaten, and the more it is grown the more it is eaten, . . . its pernicious effects are visible on the population of the opium districts, particularly in the neighbourhood of the depôts . . . One opium cultivator demoralises a whole village."

Hansard,
vol. 68,
p. 380.

Hansard,
vol. 68,
p. 382.

A resolution by the Government of Bombay in 1881:—

"Ordered that the following letter be addressed to the Government of India:—

" . . . on the question of the expediency of permitting the cultivation of the poppy in Sind. . . .
 "III. I am at the same time to state that this Government consider there are very strong objections to the introduction of an industry so demoralising in its tendency as opium cultivation and manufacture into a province where it is at present unknown. . . .
 "It has already been tried in Gujarat, and the result was widespread corruption and demoralisation.

"At present the consumption of opium in this Presidency is very limited, but if the cultivation of opium and manufacture of opium were permitted, every village might have its opium shop, and every cultivator might contract the habit of eating a drug which is said to degrade and demoralise those who become addicted to it. On the ground of public morality, therefore, his Excellency the Governor in Council would strongly deprecate the grant of permission to cultivate the poppy in Sind, or in any other part of this Presidency."

NOTE C. to par. 6.—SHORT DESCRIPTION OF THE GROWTH OF POPPY AS IT AFFECTS THE INDIVIDUAL RYOT.

[The figures are not the same as in par. 6, because there the agencies are dealt with together, and here separately.]

In the Benares Agency.

In the month of September he proceeds to the head-quarters or weighment place of the district in which he lives, a distance, on the average, of about 20 miles, to receive license to cultivate a specified plot for the growth of the poppy, the plot being usually only a small portion of his farm or holding, averaging .61 of a bigha, equal to .38 of an acre, or 1,839 square yards. He receives at the same time the first advance of Rs. 3.66 (or, taking the rupee at 13d., 3s. 11½d.), being at the rate of Rs. 6 per bigha. Returning home, he prepares his ground and sows the poppy seed. Q. 29

When the crop is a few inches above the ground he sometimes, not always, gets a further advance, not exceeding Rs. 1.22, or 1s. 3¾d., being at the rate of Rs. 2 per bigha. In February or March when the seed capsules or heads are formed, he lances or slits them, and carefully scrapes off the exuding juice or opium, which is preserved in earthen pots until April, when he again travels with it to the weighment place, where he delivers it to the officials of the Opium Department. II. 1

The average weight received from each cultivator is 2.77 seers, or 5 lbs. 11.17 ozs., and the payment on account which he then receives averages, say, Rs. 7.93, or 8s. 7d.

The opium is then forwarded to the factory at Patna, in the case of the Behar Agency, or to Ghazipur in the case of the Benares Agency. The "consistence" or proportion of moisture in the opium is there ascertained. An account is made out, and in July or August the cultivator, travelling again as it appears to the weighment place, receives the balance due to him, averaging, say, Rs. 1.06, or 1s. 1¾d., the price being calculated at the rate of 5 Rs. per seer, equal to 2s. 4¾d. per lb. av. for opium of 70 degrees of "consistence." A somewhat higher or lower price will be paid in case it contains more or less than 30 per cent. of water. The total average amount paid to each ryot for opium is 15s.

In the Patna Agency.

In the Bihar or Patna Agency the ryot is in a worse position. He has to deliver his opium with 5 per cent. less moisture. Other arrangements of the Agency are less favourable to him. The land is less productive. The total amount of opium he weighs in is only 4 lbs. 11·70 ozs., for which he receives only 12s. 5½d.

NOTE D. to par. 7.—EXTRACT FROM CORRESPONDENCE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE OPIUM DEPARTMENT.

"The railways and other means of communication which have been opened out, and the ever growing demands of the commerce of the country, have completely changed the state of affairs. Opium has lost its place as the most lucrative crop a cultivator can grow. . . . The Board are of opinion that much may be done to improve the popularity of the opium cultivation. . . . In conclusion I am to state that the policy the Board would recommend may briefly be summarised as follow:—I. An adequate price to be paid for crude opium, to be settled from time to time with reference to the competition of other crops. . . . IV. Adequate salaries to be paid to the native establishment and the abolition of all illegal gratification strictly enforced."

(Letter from Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 19th January 1884.)

NOTE E. to par. 7.—ON DIFFICULTY OF MAINTAINING POPPY CULTIVATION.

Mr. Kemble, opium agent, of Bihar, in his Annual Report of the Agency for the year 1890–91, says:—

"There can be no doubt that since the opening of the Bengal and North-Western Railway the difficulty of maintaining the cultivation of such a delicate crop as poppy has largely increased." (Par. 7.)

He adds that competition of other crops

"is becoming so keen that our department now have difficulty in maintaining their position." (Par. 8.)

Mr. Rivett-Carnac, opium agent, Benares, in his Annual Report for 1890–91, speaks of certain districts where the cultivation of the poppy is popular, but of others where the cultivators have "for the present lost heart," and of other cultivators as "gradually withdrawing from the industry." (Par. 6.)

Similarly in his Report for the year 1891–92, Mr. Kemble (Bihar) says:—

"We cannot be surprised at the disinclination generally of the cultivators to take advances. . . . The other main cause which tended to reduce the settlements was the difficulty in obtaining good lands for our cultivation, owing to the competition of other crops." (Par. 8.)

He quotes Mr. Christian, an officer of long experience, as saying:—

"The good lands are no longer under the poppy cultivation, but have either gone to indigo or other better paying crops. The crops that are competing with poppy, in fact, I ought to say, that have swamped and overcome it, are tobacco, potato, haldi, chillies, and other garden produce." (Par. 9.)

In his Report for 1891–92 Mr. Rivett-Carnac again discusses the competition of other crops, but takes a less gloomy view of the prospects of the opium department, than his colleague, Mr. Kemble.

NOTE F. to par. 8.—OFFICIAL INQUIRIES ON COMPLAINTS OF COMPULSION (OR PERSUASION) IN REGARD TO THE CULTIVATION OF POPPY.

In the first case referred to by Mr. Forbes, Mr. Lyon, settlement officer, had reported that certain officers had been bearing pressure to bear.

A deputy magistrate, Maulvi Syed Ali Hosain, who was directed to make an inquiry on the subject, gives the statements of a number of ryots.

"Bansi Mahton states: My brother is khattahdar of this village. His name is Tulsi . . . the former zilladar (since transferred) induced us to cultivate poppy, and told us to try for this year. The land is not capable of producing opium . . . he (the zilladar) took my brother to Hajipur; my brother was unwilling to go, and he said that we would not grow opium . . . He (the zilladar) did not threaten us with punishment if we did not grow, but he pressed us to do so by taking my brother to Hajipur for receiving dadni (advance)."

Shaik Hidayat Ali, says that the Zilladar Rheda Bux—

"Insisted Tulsi to receive dadni (advance for poppy) . . . he stayed three or four days to persuade us to grow opium . . . he did not beat any of us . . . his fault was to compel khattahdar to receive advances, we had since fear that if we did not cultivate we would be falsely proceeded against by zilladar."

Gudri Mahton, referring to the zilladar, says:—

"I cannot say that he told each and every villager to grow opium, but he did me."

Tulsi Mahton says:—

"He (the zilladar) told me that we must grow opium. He advised us to cultivate poppy, as we had no mind to grow this year. He said that I must go to receive advances."

Other ryots made no complaints. Some said they cultivated willingly. It was suggested by them, or to them, that the zilladar stayed so long in the village because it was raining.

The Deputy Magistrate, reporting on the case, says:—

"What the zilladar, seems to have done was that he insisted a little too much upon the khattahdar to receive dadni (advances), and holding out good hopes for the poppy growth owing to rains," and he points out "that there was no kind of violence used by him in compelling them to grow opium."

It is instructive in the face of these statements that Mr. Hare in enclosing the report and depositions says:—

"No touch or trace of any attempt at compulsion appears." Vol. V., p. 356.

Mr. Forbes in his letter says that—

"Market garden produce has admittedly of late years begun to compete successfully with opium. Cases of this kind must therefore be expected to occur." Vol. V., p. 355.

This seems to show that compulsion, which is called in India "persuasion," is expected as a matter of course.

THE SECOND CASE REFERRED TO BY MR. FORBES.

Rai Jai Prakash Lal Bahadur, C.I.E., dewan (chief officer) of the Dumraon Raj, was interviewed on the 28th and 29th of August 1893, by Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent of Shahabad, and Mr. Sen, assistant sub-deputy agent, in reference to the "reluctance of the cultivators to engage the full area" desired or required by the Opium Department. It was arranged that the dewan was—

"To use his influence with some of the ryots of the Raj to induce them to continue the cultivation . . . by using influence he only meant persuasion; that he had merely asked the ryots of certain villages for his sake to try cultivation for one year (this year) longer, and that they had consented to do so." Vol. V., p. 355.

It is further explained that this influence or persuasion was exercised by a circular letter issued to the

tahsildars of the Raj, directing them to use their endeavours to help poppy cultivation.

A copy of this circular has been asked for, but has not yet been produced.

Vol. V.,
p. 359.

It appears further that Mr. Christian had a conversation himself with one of these tahsildars, who explained "the kind of help given by the Raj." So far as I understand, it amounts to this: that land was to be taken from one man and given to another for opium, if he would grow poppy; that if one man possessed a well another was to be allowed to take water from it to grow poppy, and that rent was to be reduced by the middleman to a ryot who would grow poppy.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the dewan was, as Mr. Forbes states, unwilling to give evidence. His position was extremely embarrassing.

Vol. V.,
p. 355, par. 4.

Mr. Dane says that the dewan "attended at Bankipur on the first day that the Commission sat there" (January 3rd). If this means that he was present at the sitting and was ready to be called it does not accord with Mr. Forbes' statement.

Vol. V.,
p. 372.

Mr. Dane and Mr. Forbes agree that this important witness was present on a later date (January 6th). On neither occasion was his presence known to the Commission generally. It was most important that he should be heard, and no explanation has been given as to why any member of the Commission was kept in ignorance of his presence.

Vol. V.,
p. 355, par. 5.

THE THIRD CASE REFERRED TO BY MR. FORBES.

Mr. F. H. B. Skrine, collector of Shahabad, and subsequently of Bhagalpur, had an interview about the middle of August 1893 with Mr. Christian, sub-deputy opium agent, already referred to, who desired—

Vol. V.,
p. 360.

"My co-operation in restoring the area under poppy to its normal. He told me that . . . the opium agent of Behar, had instructed him to consult me on the subject."

Mr. Skrine undertook to issue a circular, but delayed it for about a fortnight, when he was reminded of his promise by Mr. N. C. Sen, assistant sub-deputy agent. He says:—

Vol. V.,
p. 361.

"Thereupon I addressed a circular . . . to the sub-divisional officers of Bhabua, Buxar, and Sasaram, and the manager of D. & D. Kumar's Ward Estate, in which I informed them that it was the policy of the Government to extend opium cultivation in wards and Government estates. I asked them to give the sub-deputy opium agent a list of villages in their charge which contained land suitable for sowing opium, and to instruct their tahsildars to use their utmost efforts, in co-operation with the sub-deputy opium agent, to induce our ryots to take opium advances."

Vol. V.,
p. 361.

Mr. Skrine, being called to account, makes various statements in palliation of his conduct, which he does not attempt to defend, and Mr. Commissioner Forbes admits that—

Vol. V.,
p. 356.

"Things were pushed further than they ought to have been." Mr. Skrine's orders being "such as I should certainly not have approved had they come to my notice; nor are they warranted, so far as I am aware, by any instructions that have ever been issued by Government or by the Board of Revenue."

NOTE G. to par. 10.—POTATOES UPROOTED AT BARNI, NEAR PATNA.

On the 19th December 1893, Mr. Gennoe, assistant sub-deputy opium agent, destroyed a plot of potatoes at the village of Barni, near Bankipore, on the allegation of a zilladar that this was land on which the cultivator had engaged to grow opium. Evidence to this effect was given before us on the 6th January 1894 by my son and Mr. Gupta.

12,386 to
12,484.

On the same day we were informed by Mr. Tytler sub-deputy opium agent, in the presence of Mr. Forbes, the Commissioner of Patna, Mr. Rivett-Carnac, opium agent at Benares, and other officials, that it is not lawful under any circumstances to pull up the crops.

At the request of the Commission a further inquiry was subsequently made, and the report of this inquiry has been forwarded to us since our return from India. The report shows that as a matter of fact the cultivator had committed no offence whatever. Mr. Wace says:—

12,269.

Vol. V.,
p. 140.

"I have very little doubt that he lost his potatoes because he did not see the zilladar."

The Assistant Sub-Deputy Agent attempted, in a letter sent by him to Mr. Wace, to justify his action by reference to a rule and a form in the Opium Manual. Mr. Wace points out that the rule does not cover this case, that the form is irrelevant, and that the official in question had not availed himself of an opportunity given him to produce witnesses on his own behalf.

Vol. V.,
p. 142.

Vol. V.,
p. 141.

Vol. V.,
p. 142.

NOTE H. to par. 15.—CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM BY ENGLISH OFFICIALS RESIDENT IN CHINA AND JAVA.

Sir George Staunton, who was in China from 1792 to 1816, referred to opium as "an article of vicious luxury," and said:—

"The best lands of India might have been made to produce that which was beneficial to man, instead of being devoted to the cultivation of such a pernicious article."

Hansard,
1840, vol. 53,
p. 743.

Sir Stamford Raffles, who died in 1826, said:—

"The use of opium, it must be confessed and lamented, has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power in degrading their character, and enervating their energies, as long as the European Government, overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country."

Mr. Montgomery Martin, Colonial Treasurer at Hong Kong, refers to opium as—

"Desolating China, corrupting its Government, and bringing the fabric of that extraordinary Empire to a state of more rapid dissolution."

Report H. of
C. on China
Trade, 1847

Sir Harry Parkes refers to opium as "a baneful article."—See his life by Stanley Lane Poole, Vol. I., p. 421.

Mr. L. E. Oxenham, late British Consul in China, says:—

"Do the Chinese . . . desire the continuation of the trade now? Would the Chinese Parliament vote for such a traffic? No one with any knowledge of China would answer in the affirmative. The opium is equally denounced by the Government, by the Confucian literati, and by the Buddhist and Taoist priesthood."—"Society of Arts Journal," April 1892, p. 485.

Society of
Arts
Journal,
1892, p. 485.

NOTE J. to par. 15.—CHINESE OFFICIAL CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM.

Sir Robert Hart, G.C.M.G., who is in the service of the Chinese Government as Director of Customs, in the special report on opium issued in 1881, said:—

"Chinese who have studied the opium question are opposed to a traffic which more or less harms smokers. . . . They do not find in . . . the revenue produced . . . any sufficient reason for welcoming the growth of the trade, or for desisting from the attempt to check the consumption of opium."

The Chinese Foreign Office wrote to Sir Rutherford Alcock in July 1869 :—

East Indian
Finance
Committee,
1871.

"That opium is like a deadly poison, that it is most injurious to mankind. . . . The officials and people of this Empire . . . all say that England trades in opium because she desires to work China's ruin, for (say they) if the friendly feelings of England are genuine, since it is open to her to produce and trade in everywhere else, would she still insist on spreading the poison of this hurtful thing through the Empire?"

Sir Rutherford Alcock, at that time Her Majesty's Minister at Pekin, said in reference to this :—

"He had no doubt that the abhorrence expressed by the Government and people of China for opium was genuine and deep-seated."

In a letter in the "Times" of July 29th, 1881, Li Hung Chang, then Grand Secretary and Viceroy of China, said :—

"I may assert here once for all that the single aim of my Government in taxing opium, will be in the future, as in the past, to repress the traffic . . . never to desire to gain revenue from such a source."

"China,
Commercial
and Social,"
vol. II.,
p. 187.

Mr. Montgomery Martin, Colonial Treasurer of Hong Kong, states that the Emperor of China had remarked :—

"It is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison. Gain-seeking and corrupt men will for profit and sensuality defeat my wishes, but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people."

NOTE K. to par. 15.—CONDEMNATION OF OPIUM BY MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

The Rev. Dr. Medhurst, one of the earliest missionaries of the London Missionary Society, which was the first Protestant Society to enter China, in his "China" (London, 1838), says :—

"Those who have not seen the effects of opium-smoking in the eastern world, can hardly form any conception of its injurious results on the health, energies, and lives of those who indulge in it. . . . In proportion as the wretched victim comes under the power of the infatuating drug, so is his ability to resist temptation less strong, and debilitated in body as well as mind he is unable to earn his usual pittance, and not infrequently sinks under the craving of an appetite which he is unable to gratify. . . . Those who grow and sell the drug while they profit by the speculation would do well to follow the consumer into the haunts of vice, and mark the wretchedness, poverty, disease, and death which follow the indulgence, for if they did but know the thousandth part of the evils resulting from it they would not, they could not, continue to engage in the transaction."

Vol. I., p. 33.
Vol. I., p. 39.

Numerous testimonies were communicated to the Commission by the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and by the Secretary of the China Inland Mission, all testifying to the evil effects of opium.

Vol. V.,
p. 353.

See also an important memorial signed by 17 Chinese Missionaries of all denominations (including two Bishops), and all of more than 25 years standing in China.

NOTE L. to par. 20.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO ALLEGED EXTENSIVE USE OF OPIUM AND POLITICAL DANGER FROM INTERFERENCE.

Sir Joseph Fayrer, K.C.S.I., M.D., says :—

"It is well known that over large areas of country in India, by tens of thousands of people, opium in moderation is habitually used by the natives."

Dr. K. C. Bose, President of the Calcutta Medical Society, says :—

"Amongst the permanent residents of Calcutta only 10 per cent. of the people actually take opium, whilst amongst those who come from other portions of the country nearly 20 per cent. use opium in some shape or other."

Rai Sheo Rux Bogla Bahadur, merchant and banker, representing the National Chamber of Commerce, says :—

"About 70 or 80 per cent. of both Rajputs and Sikhs take opium as a daily ration."

Surgeon-Colonel Cleghorn, M.D., Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals in the Punjab, says :—

"I fancy that about 50 or 75 per cent. of the inhabitants of Lucknow take opium."

Mr. J. J. S. Driberg, Excise Commissioner of Assam, says :—

"Bearing in mind the conditions of the climate, and the fact that opium has been consumed in the Province from time immemorial, so that it has now become a necessity of life, it is certain that any attempt to stop consumption or even to limit or reduce it more than has been done in the past 10 years would have a disastrous effect on the physical condition of the people."
"Then you say that stopping it would depopulate whole tracts?—Yes."

Sir Charles Crosthwaite, K.C.I.E., Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, says :—

"There is no doubt that the people use opium very largely, not in great quantities, but very widely. I think nearly all of them give it to their children, and believe that it is necessary."
"My opinion is that we could not actually prohibit the use of opium except for medical purposes without a very large and oppressive force, and without an inquisition into the habits of the people which would be very unpleasant to them, and would make the Government, I think, exceedingly unpopular."

The Hon. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I., Member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, says :—

"I hold that, in a political point of view, total prohibition would be so dangerous, and would alienate so large a body of Her Majesty's subjects in India, as to be impossible. . . . The dissatisfaction would be enormous, and I am not prepared to say that, fanned as it would be by professional agitators, it would not amount to disaffection, and require the presence of more British troops in India."

The Hon. T. D. Mackenzie, Commissioner of Customs, Salt, Opium, and Abkari, Bombay, says :—

"In my opinion to prohibit the sale of opium in British India, except for medical purposes, would be to invite a general rising all over the country against what would be regarded, and, in my mind, justly regarded as cruel and causeless oppression."

See also Q. 4999, 6059, 14,059, 15,700, 15,703, 19,530, 20,425, 27,029, 27,036, &c.

NOTE M. to par. 21.—AVERAGE OF OPIUM TAKEN BY ADULT MALE CONSUMERS.

The analysis of the evidence of 85 witnesses shows that :—

			Grains.
The average of what 31 witnesses consider strictly moderate use is	-	-	7.77
" " 34 " customary use	-	-	15.12
" " 20 " excessive use	-	-	41.00
Thus the 85 witnesses give a gross average of	-	-	18.53

But we have more precise information from three medical witnesses :—

Grains.

Average of Dr. Huntly's record of - - - - - 100 cases = 20·89

" " Surg.-Lt.-Col. Hendley's record of - - - - - 4,409 " = 21·5

" " Dr. Ram Roy's record of - - - - - 215 " = 26·4

Gross average of - - - - - 4,724 " = 21·7

In view of these figures, it will probably be pretty near the mark to take 20 grains as the fair average daily consumption of each adult male consumer; and that this is not, in the opinion of the authorities, an unreasonable or excessive allowance is clear from the fact that 20 grains is the authorised ration to soldiers on service, and the further fact that in Burma 45 grains a day appears to be the official estimate for each smoker.

Vol. IV.,
p. 404.
Vol. IV.,
p. 381.
Vol. II.,
p. 425.

Vol. II.,
App.
XXVII.,
p. 452,
6510-3.

NOTE N. to par. 21.—TABLE SHOWING CONSUMPTION OF OPIUM BY PROVINCES.
Columns 2 to 6 are to be found in official statements; Columns 7 to 11 are calculations therefrom.

In order of Col. 9.	Province.	Area.	Population (1891).	In 1892-93.		To each Shop.		Annual Con- sumption of Opium per Head.	Daily Dose for 1 per Cent. of Popu- lation.	Con- sumption is equal to 20 grains daily to One Person out of
				Shops.	Amount of Opium issued.	Area.	Popula- tion.			
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
		Sq. Miles.			Lbs.	S. Miles.		Grs.	Grs.	
1	Assam - -	49,004	5,476,833	882	109,741	55	6,209	141	38·6	52
2	Berar - -	17,718	2,897,491	478	37,876	37	6,062	91	24·9	80
3	Bombay - -	77,275	15,985,270	845	108,980	91	18,918	47	12·9	155
4	Sindh - -	47,789	2,871,774	300	18,052	159	9,572	44	12·3	166
5	Punjab - -	110,667	20,860,913	1,780	125,292	62	11,153	42	11·5	174
6	Central Province -	*81,300	*10,046,540	†1,663	52,248	58	6,041	34	9·3	214
7	N.W. Provinces	83,286	34,254,254	853	74,984	97	40,157	24	6·6	304
8	Oudh - -	24,217	12,650,831	188	27,217	129	67,291	15	4·1	486
9	Bengal - -	151,543	71,346,987	‡2,095	159,171	73	34,056	15	4·1	486
10	Madras - -	141,189	35,630,440	\$1,034	119,470	136	34,459	14	3·8	521
	Total -	783,988	212,021,333	10,118	833,031	—	—	—	—	—
Average of British India - - -						77	20,955	27	7·4	270
Bengal (excluding Calcutta) - - -								12½	3·4	589

* Excluding proprietary estates. † Including 518 temporary licenses.
‡ Excluding 1,264 druggists' licenses. § Including 30 poppy-head licenses.

NOTE O. to par. 21.—TABLE SHOWING EXTREMES OF LARGE AND SMALL CONSUMPTION IN
SELECTED LOCALITIES.

Province.	District.	Reference.		Popula- tion.	No. of Shops.	In 1892-3.		In 1892-3.			To each Shop.			
		Vol.	Page.			Amount sold.	Annual Consumption per Head.	Daily Dose for 1 per cent. Population.	Consumption is equal to 20 grains daily to one Person out of	Popula- tion.	Yearly Amount sold.	Amount sold Daily (365 Days per Annum).		
												Oz. av.	No. of 20 Grain doses.	
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
Bengal -	Calcutta -	II.	434	874,450	101	Maund s. c. 419 9 0	lbs. 34,493	Grs. 276·14	Grs. 75·6	26	8,658	lbs. oz. 341 8	14·42	315
" -	Jessore -	"	"	1,888,827	51	24 7 0	1,989	7·37	2·0	990	37,036	37 0	1·62	35
" -	Dacca (Div.) -	"	"	9,844,127	188	92 27 0	7,025	5·42	1·7	1,347	52,363	40 9	1·77	39
" -	Tippera -	"	"	1,782,935	7	2 26 0	218	·85	·2	8,588	254,705	31 2	1·36	30
Bombay -	Ratnagiri -	IV.	280-1	997,090	8	—	272	1·91	·5	3,822	124,636	34 0	1·49	33
" -	Broach -	"	"	326,930	50	—	8,762	187·61	51·4	39	6,538	175 4	7·68	118
Central -	Damoh -	"	521	325,613	—	6 30 11	557	11·97	3·3	610	—	—	—	—
" -	Wardha -	"	"	400,854	—	49 19 14	4,073	71·12	19·4	102	—	—	—	—
N.W.P. -	Ballia -	V.	93	942,465	—	2 27 0	220	1·63	·4	4,478	—	—	—	—
" -	Benares -	"	"	921,943	—	140 14 0	11,548	87·60	24·0	83	—	—	—	—
Oudh -	Hardoi -	"	"	1,113,211	—	14 8 0	1,168	7·35	2·0	993	—	—	—	—
" -	Lucknow -	"	"	774,163	—	143 24 0	11,815	106·84	29·2	68	—	—	—	—
Punjab -	Jhang -	"	119	436,841	39	Seers. 192	395	6·33	1·7	1,153	11,201	10 2	44	10
" -	Ludhiana -	"	"	648,722	105	7,966	16,366	176·82	48·4	41	6,178	156 1	6·84	150

NOTE P. to par. 26.—ON LICENTIOUS PURPOSE FOR WHICH OPIUM IS CONSUMED.

Numerous witnesses declared that a special purpose for which opium is taken is for prolonging sexual indulgence.

Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, C.I.E., says :—

6327. "The chief of these pleasures which allures men to the use of the drug is what I may call sexual endurance.

6334. "They (smokers) told me that this invariably was the origin of . . . the pernicious habit."

Assistant-Surgeon Shah, chief medical officer of Junagadh State, says :—

24,119. "Opium is commenced for sexual enjoyment."

Mr. Jagat Narian, B.A., pleader of Lucknow, says :—

15,672. "It is taken for immoral purposes by 80 per cent. of the opium eaters here."

See also 2594, 12,654, 13,994, 18,210, 26,286, 26,542, and many others.

General Sardar Ratan Singh, member of the Council of Regency of the Jind State, says :—

16,262. "Those who commenced the use of opium for the sake of pleasure in their youth are looked down upon by society, and are considered as using it for licentiousness."

See also 18,313, 2594, 18,264.

NOTE Q. to par. 32.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO INJURIOUS PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Rai Lal Madhub Mookerjee, Bahadur, L.M.S., President of the Calcutta Medical School, says :—

8895. "It produces slow, steady, and certain degeneration of the human system, abundantly evidenced by the digestive disorders and emaciation that attend its use."

Nil Ratan Sircar, M.A., M.D., Fellow of the Calcutta University, Lecturer on Forensic Medicine in the Calcutta Medical School, says :—

5833. "The power of resistance of disease generally becomes diminished, and the opium-eater becomes pre-disposed to some diseases, for example, cold, bronchitis, diarrhoea, dysentery, and dyspepsia."

Mr. Isan Chandra Roy, M.B., says :—

13,009. "The attenuated body, the peculiar withered and blasted countenance with a characteristic gait, will reveal the opium eater at a glance. His digestive organs become highly disordered, and he scarcely eats anything. His mental and bodily powers are destroyed. In fact, he becomes impotent."

The Rev. Colin S. Valentine, LL.D., L.R.C.P., and L.R.C.S.E., &c., Principal of the Agra Medical Missionary Training Institute, when asked, "What are the results of the habit, physical, mental, and moral?" replied :—

9,907. "Deterioration in all three points. The appetite is taken away, the digestion is impaired, there is congestion of the various internal organs, congestion of the lungs, constipation and diarrhoea consequent upon it, pains all over the body. A man in the habit of eating opium is upon a lower standing than a man in perfect health."

Brigade Surgeon J. H. Condon, M.D., M.R.C.S., &c., says :—

16,551. "Physically, it reduces strength, though like alcohol it gives a sort of fictitious strength for a short time; after a time varying with the amount eaten daily, they become emaciated and debilitated, miserable-looking wretches, and finally die, most commonly of diarrhoea induced by the use of opium."

Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel A. Cameron, M.D., says :—

13,672. "Even when used in moderation for non-medical purposes, the habit is not to be defended. Unless required for some bodily ailment a man is better without it. Its habitual use, except in the smallest

"quantities, causes emaciation and enfeeblement of the body, saps the energy and dulls the mental faculties."

See also Q. 4042-4, 4718, 9360-3, 16,282, and many others.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO NON-INJURIOUS PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Surgeon-Major R. Cobb, M.D., says :—

"I believe the moderate use of opium to be quite an innocuous habit." 3704.

Surgeon-Colonel R. Harvey, M.D., M.R.C.P., &c., says :—

"The moderate way in which the great majority take it not only does them no harm, but does them a great deal of good." 3420.

Mr. Sita Nath Roy, banker and zemindar, and secretary to the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, says :—

"The general impression, bordering on conviction, is that the moderate use of opium is beneficial; that it is a panacea for many diseases, and that its tendency is to prolong life." 2706.

Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Purves, F.R.C.S.E., says :—

"I generally agree that the moderate use of opium in this country is rather beneficial than otherwise." 3662.

See also 9524, 12,610, 15,907, 19,228.

NOTE R. to par. 33.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO INJURIOUS MORAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Dr. Mookerjee says :—

"Its mental and moral effects are none the less harmful, and none the less marked. It most certainly tarnishes the moral nature of man, weakening his mental control over his will, and thus causing him to be the prey of the evil and vicious habits of lying and stealing." 8805.

Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel Cameron, M.D., says that :—

"The general opinion amongst natives themselves is that in positions where energy, alertness, a clear head, or a good memory is required, an opium-eater is not to be trusted." 12,573.

Ram Kali Chaudhuri, retired Subordinate Judge, and late member of the Legislative Council of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, says :—

"The results of the habit of opium-eating, whether considered physically, mentally, or morally, are bad and condemnable. The consumer, as a general rule, becomes both physically and mentally weak and inactive, and as a consequence loses courage, and his moral conduct suffers so far as it depends on the energy of body and mind, such as the performance of duties requiring activity. In the early stage of the habit sexual virtue is disregarded, where the initial motive was to increase sexual vigour." 13,191.

Dr. Manohar Prasad Tewarie, L.M.S., says :—

"Its use in any of its forms deadens the intellect, impairs the physical and moral sense, induces laziness, immorality, and debauchery." 15,146.

See also 9129, 9962, 10,496, 11,684, 18,706, and many others.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO NON-INJURIOUS MORAL EFFECTS.

The Hon. Sri Ram Rai, Bahadur, M.A., B.L., member of the Lieutenant-Governor's Council, says :—

"In no way, so far as my experience goes, does it lead to moral degradation."

Surgeon-Major J. Anderson, M.B., says :—

"In my experience it does not in any way lower the moral tone, nor does it develop a propensity for gambling or sensuality."

See also 26,757, 19,228, 23,303, &c.

NOTE S. to par. 34.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO INJURIOUS SOCIAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Dr. Isan Chandra Roy says :—

“They must satisfy their opium craving; they are necessarily driven to have recourse to all sorts of vicious acts, such as petty thefts, pickpocketing, &c.”

3,191. Judge Ram Kali Chandhuri (already quoted) says :—

“Where there is little or no means, the habit leads the consumer to commit petty thefts and trickeries.”

See also 12,569, 3,413, 9,173, 25,490, 16,902, and many others.

QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO NON-INJURIOUS SOCIAL EFFECTS OF OPIUM.

Sir John Lambert, K.C.I.E., Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, says :—

5090. “I fail to discover any connexion between opium and crime of a serious nature.”

Mr. James Mouro, C.B., formerly Commissioner of Police in Bengal, now engaged in missionary work, says :—

5463. “The conclusion which I came to from wide experience was that so far as regards crime, opium has no perceptible influence in causing it.”

See also 3184, 14,414, 19,749, 19,797, 25,583.

NOTE T. to par. 35.—PRO-OPIUMISTS' EVIDENCE AS TO PHYSICAL EFFECTS OF EXCESSIVE USE.

Surgeon-Major J. Anderson, already quoted, says :—

14,226. “When taken to excess it causes both moral and physical deterioration. It produces emaciation, gastric disorder, loss of appetite, gives premature senile expression, and no doubt shortens life. Morally, over-indulgence makes the victim idle and timid and engenders a habit of exaggeration.”

Surgeon-Major G. W. P. Dennys, civil surgeon in the Punjab for many years, says :—

18,731. “A confirmed excessive opium eater is generally a physical and mental wreck, emaciated to an excessive degree, and incapable of performing any ordinary work. He is a deplorable object to behold. Excessive opium eaters have no stamina whatever, and succumb to comparatively trivial ailments.”

Mr. G. B. Prabhakar, L.R.C.P., a medical practitioner of Bombay, says :—

25,989. “Opium when taken in excess impairs the digestive system in general, engenders lazy habits, causes dulness of intellect, and produces anæmia and emaciation.”

See also 12,608, 24,675, 25,657, 26,022, &c.

PRO-OPIUMISTS' EVIDENCE AS TO MORAL EFFECTS OF EXCESSIVE USE.

Lieut.-Colonel A. J. F. Reed, in command of 29th Punjab Infantry, says :—

18,706. “The habitual (i.e., excessive) opium eaters are marked men in the regiment, and are not trusted like the rest.”

Surgeon-Major T. R. Mulroney, M.D., referring to those taking opium in large doses, says :—

15,918. “They are regular drunkards, a depraved lot, generally belonging to the criminal class, thieves and burglars.”

See also 24,087, 26,022, &c.

NOTE U. to par. 35.—DIFFICULTY OF DISCONTINUANCE OF HABIT.

The personal experience of Mr. Datta may be usefully cited :—

“I took opium myself for three months, for chronic diarrhoea and dyspepsia. The first day it acted like

“magic, but gradually the dose had to be increased, until I used to take 20 grains of it. I recently felt the after effects and thought of relinquishing. It took me some time before I gave it up by gradually reducing the doses.”

“If I did not take opium at the regular time, when I was used to taking it, I was seized with nausea, pains all over the body, a sort of uneasiness which cannot be described, a bad scalding sense of uneasiness all over the body. Even if I took a lesser dose the diarrhoea would reappear, and with greater violence. I could not retain the smallest quantity of food, and I was not able to work.”

“It took me about four months to relinquish the habit, gradually reducing the dose all that time. I took other remedies to restore my health. I had to place myself under other treatment.”

There is abundance of other uncontradicted evidence to the like effect.

See also Q. 2593, 18,927, 25,513, 5913, 16,219, 28,168, and many others.

NOTE V. to par. 36.—COMPARATIVE EFFECTS OF OPIUM ON NATIVES OF EUROPE AND OF INDIA.

Surgeon-General Sir Wm. Moore, K.C.I.E., Q.H.P., was asked by Sir Wm. Roberts :—

Q. “You would not admit it was due to some profound constitutional difference.” 1061.

A. “No, I don't think so.”

Q. “But of course you would not be positive.” 1062.

A. “I do not think the constitutional difference has anything whatever to do with it.”

Surgeon Major-General Rice, head of the Indian Medical Department, says :—

“I have satisfied myself in my professional practice that Europeans are more tolerant, that is, require larger doses of opium than natives, bulk for bulk.” 2199.

Dr. Rice further says :—

“To produce the same effect from a medicinal dose of opium in a European you would have to give a larger quantity of it than you would to a native.” 2200.

Hon. D. R. Lyall, C.S.I., says :—

“The ordinary native takes an amount of opium that would be almost laughed at in England as a dose of opium.” 3205.

Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel J. McConaghey, M.D., was asked by Sir W. Roberts :—

Q. “Have you been able to notice, or been led to the opinion, that there is a difference between the European constitution and the constitution of the natives of India, in their relation to opium?” 12,626.

A. “I do not know that there is much difference.”

“I have had Europeans under my treatment who were quite as much addicted to the use of the drug as natives.” 12,631.

“Taking the population of the Europeans I meet with, it will be very nearly the same proportion.” 12,632.

Dr. G. R. Ferris, M.R.C.S., was asked by Sir W. Roberts :—

Q. “Has it never struck you that there was a difference of tolerance, depending upon race or climate, or food, or the environment of Europeans on the one hand, and of the inhabitants of India on the other?” 4402.

A. “No. In Calcutta I have seen the greatest quantity taken by Europeans. The maximum I have seen has been taken by a European.”

Lieut.-Colonel A. J. Wilcox, M.D., was asked by Mr. Mowbray :—

Q. “Have you had any experience of Europeans taking opium in this country?” 19,259.

A. “Yes. I have stated that the worst cases I have met with have been Europeans.”

Q. “You think that the effect of opium on the Europeans who take it is worse than on the natives?” 19,262.

A. “I do not think so. These cases I speak of were cases of extreme abuse.”

See also 3387, 21,298, 19,363, 24,706.

NOTE V. V. to par. 38.—QUOTATIONS AND REFERENCES AS TO PROHIBITION OF OPIUM, EXCEPT FOR MEDICAL PURPOSES.

8309. Rai Lal Madhub Mookerjee, Bahadur, President of the Calcutta Medical College, approves of the production of opium for medical use only :—

"To that extent and no further."

5344. Dr. Nil Ratan Sircar thinks it would be desirable to prohibit the sale of opium, except for medical purposes :—

5345. "So far as I can gauge public opinion, they (the people of India) will support it (prohibition)."

Dr. Isan Chandra Roy says :—

13,108. "I am for limiting the use of opium strictly for medical purposes. Its use as a narcotic indulgence should be prohibited by laws."

13,163. "And you believe that such a prohibition would be received with favour by the people?—Yes."

19,519-21. Babu Bepin Behari Bose, M.A., a barrister at Lucknow, is in favour of prohibition, except for medical purposes, and says that such action would be supported by the general opinion of the country :—

19,522. "The opinion of the country is very settled on this point—that opium eating is not good at all."

18,305-6. Pandit Gopi Nath, assistant manager of three newspapers, and secretary of two bodies of orthodox Hindus, is in favour of prohibition except for medical purposes, and thinks it would be generally approved :—

18,307. "It is nonsense to think that because opium is prohibited there will be any riots."

Babu Ganga Prasad Varma, proprietor of two native newspapers at Lucknow, and a member of the Municipal Board, says :—

14,523. "It would be a blessing to my city if the Government stops the sale of opium, and strictly orders that none but those who require opium for medical purposes should have it."

14,525. "I think the majority of the opium smokers themselves will agree with me."

9139. Rai Goonabhiram Borooah, Bahadur, retired Extra Assistant Commissioner of Assam, thinks it would be desirable to prohibit the use of opium except for medical purposes :—

9140. "All but opium sellers and opium eaters will be in favour of it. Even they would like it because their children would be saved."

Gobind Ram Chowdry, Tahsildar, Assam, says :—

19,288. "I wish it could be prohibited except for medical purposes."

19,289. "The great majority, not being opium consumers, would certainly support it. . . . There is nothing to fear from the natives of the country in regard to prohibition."

Mr. Kali Sankur Sukul, M.A., Professor in the City College, and Rector of the City Collegiate School, says :—

9330. "The sale of opium, except for medical purposes, should be stopped."

9331. "Undoubtedly public opinion would favour the total prohibition of opium, except for medical purposes, especially if the country were assured that no other taxation would follow."

See also 9932-3, 13,389, 15,009-10, 15,626-9, 18,261-2, 27,843-4, 11,692-3, 10,504-5, 4583, 16,569-76, 4298, 8021-2, 8342, 18,033-36, 19,733, 24,301, 8646-51, 9053-4, 9467-8, 11,449, 23,457, 24,335-6, 26,518, 26,587, and nearly a hundred others.

NOTE W. to par. 39.—FURTHER EVIDENCE AS TO OPIUM-SMOKING.

Mr. G. M. Ogilvie, Second Financial Commissioner for the Punjab, said in reference to smoking :—

15,698. "This use of opium is generally reprobated. It is not practised by the peasantry, and is, I believe, generally confined to the vicious classes of the population."

He added an opinion that in consequence of the discontinuance in the Punjab of licensing the sale of chandu and madak, the practice of smoking is rapidly decreasing in that province.

Mr. T. Stoker, Commissioner of Excise for the North-west Provinces and Oudh, says :—

"I have nothing to say in favour of opium smoking.

19,527. "Speaking of these provinces, I regard it as a low and vicious habit, practised, broadly speaking, by low or by vicious people. It would be unreasonable to say that any physical or moral deterioration which may have been observed in opium smokers is necessarily due altogether to that particular practice and not to other demoralising habits and associations or physical infirmities. . . . But in these parts people who pursue the habit do in my opinion often or generally suffer from it or its surroundings. The policy of the Government of the North-Western Provinces has always been directed to repress and check the practice and has been attended with success."

Surgeon-Major T. R. Mulroney, M.D., civil surgeon at Amritsar, referring to that district, says :—

"The class of opium smokers is very limited. Four years ago the opium-smoking shops were closed by order of the Government, and since then opium-smoking has apparently decreased; it is confined to a very few, generally a disreputable, debauched, and depraved lot."

Numerous native witnesses, some holding important official positions, gave similar evidence, particularly Mr. K. G. Gupta, Excise Commissioner of Bengal, who said :—

"The effects of chandu and madak smoking are, however, distinctly harmful in the case of Indians, specially when they are unable to obtain nourishing food. Opium eating is not looked down upon, nor does it cause loss of respectability. But smoking chandu or madak is regarded as a degrading habit. . . . the chandu or madak smoker is usually known by his appearance, and he is also generally believed to have deteriorated in many respects. I think the effects of madak or chandu smoking in this country cannot well be concealed."

NOTE X. to par. 48.—OPIUM REVENUE.

According to the figures in App. VIII. the average of the net opium revenue for the four years ending 1892-3 was Rx. 7,299,249.

The Budget Estimate for 1893-4 was Rx. 5,967,104.

According to the "Financial Statement," the Budget Estimate for 1894-5 is Rx. 4,138,200, to which must be added the net revenue from excise, which for the average of the five years ending 1893-4 was Rx. 985,129

making a total of Rx. 5,123,329

which taking the rupee at 1s. 1d. gives 2,775,136l.

NOTE Y. to par. 32.—MEDICAL EVIDENCE AGAINST THE NEW THEORY THAT OPIUM IS A PROPHYLACTIC AGAINST FEVER.

A new theory—never heard of,—

4317; 4710; 8824-36; 10,617; 10,684; 11,851-69; 15,868; 16,168; 16,665; 19,378-80; 24,173.

Not used or recommended,—

3619; 4070; 4174-6; 8828; 12,476; 12,585; 12,633-4; 12,695; 13,337; 16,876; 17,275-7; 17,508; 24,777.

Not prescribed, even by pro-opiumists,—

3574; 11,895-6; 16,879-81; 19,258; 19,407; 21,459-60; 24,675; 25,383.

Prophylactic properties denied,—

4710; 5837; 16,167; 16,558; 16,902; 17,152; 17,772-6; 19,203; 25,308.

Not known or used by the natives as a preventive,—

4277-80; 5836; 17,173; 19,406; 24,177-8; 25,361; 25,727; 25,861; 25,957; 26,041.

NOTE Z. to par. 50.

Osgathorpe Hills, Sheffield,
DEAR LORD BRASSEY, January 21, 1895.

I HAVE carefully considered your letters of the 2nd and 7th instant, the latter enclosing a copy of your letter to Sir James Lyall of the same date.

In the former of these letters you point out that if I am unable to agree with you and the majority, it will be "unprofitable to enter into a prolonged discussion," and that it will become my duty to state my own views in a dissentient report. You add that in the report which you will submit you "do not suppose that there will be found much room for amendment," and that "taking this view" you "do not anticipate that our further deliberations round the table need occupy many days."

In your letter to Sir James Lyall you "strongly insist that the completion of our work has become of extreme urgency," and you say that "having received two communications from the Secretary of State within the last few days, I feel that my duty calls for some decided course of action. I do not believe that long discussion round the table will be necessary or desirable." * * * "I shall in any case relieve the Commission from further collective work on the 26th."

Believing that full examination and consideration was the usual course, I was prepared to give all the time needful for the purpose. But as the majority of the Commission will probably be guided by your wishes in the matter, that course appears to be precluded.

Under these circumstances, it would not be right for me to attempt to discuss a few statements or

arguments here and there in the Majority Report; for were I to do so, it would convey the impression that I was satisfied with whatever I did not challenge, and might be open to other objections. I must therefore confine myself, as you suggest, to a statement of my own views, some of which, I believe, are in accordance with those of Mr. Pease.

Entirely apart, however, from the considerations already referred to, I think it right to point out that in your letter to Sir James Lyall, you advise "personal revision of the draft as now being circulated on the part of each member of the Commission," adding that you would go "carefully through each revise and endeavour to incorporate all suggestions which do not conflict with the main conclusions."

Four new portions or chapters, apparently intended to form part of the report, have been circulated within the last few days; a further chapter has come to hand this morning, and at least three or four portions or chapters have yet to be supplied.

As we are to meet the day after to-morrow, it is impossible that your wish as to revision by each member, and the incorporation of suggestions, can now be carried out; and it cannot be right or proper that the Commission should adopt, as its own, any chapters or documents which its members have not had adequate means and opportunity to consider and approve.

I remain,

Dear Lord Brassey,
Yours faithfully,
HENRY J. WILSON.

The Right Hon. Lord Brassey, K.C.B.,
Chairman Royal Commission on Opium.

C.—APPENDIX TO MR. H. J. WILSON'S DISSENT.

MEMORANDUM ON THE ATTITUDE OF THE AUTHORITIES IN INDIA.

1. While in India I was obliged to express disapproval of the action of the Government of India, and of various officials, in relation to the Commission. As the after proceedings did not remove but strengthened this objection, it is due to the Commission and myself to place the main grounds of this objection on record.

In doing so I readily acknowledge the difficult position of the Indian authorities. Rightly or wrongly, they appeared to hold in the main that the good government of India is bound up with the Opium Revenue. The difficulties arose from assuming an impartiality on the part of the Indian authorities which could not be, and was not, continuously enforced.

2. Some of the circumstances to which I am about to refer were stated in a letter addressed by me to Lord Brassey while we were in India, but the consideration given to them appeared to me inadequate. I have here omitted some and added others.

3. On the 18th November 1893 it transpired that a telegram had been sent from the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the 15th August, containing the following passage:—"We shall be prepared to suggest non-official witnesses, who will give independent evidence, but we cannot undertake to specially search for witnesses who will give evidence against opium. We presume this will be done by the Anti-Opium Society." As anti-opium evidence was easily available, without any special search, this official statement seemed to show that the authorities were taking up a partisan attitude.

4. Two days later a letter from Lord Lansdowne, then Viceroy of India, to Lord Brassey, Chairman of the Commission, was passed round to the members for perusal. It contained a statement in favour of the existing opium system, and against interference with that system as likely to lead to serious trouble. This appeared to me a departure from the judicial attitude which might have been expected from Her Majesty's Representative.

5. The Government of Madras was not allowed to present its own case to the Commission, but was instructed by the Government of India (13th December 1893) to send to Calcutta abstracts of evidence of proposed witnesses. A letter of similar purport was addressed on the same day to the Resident at Hyderabad with regard to the evidence of other witnesses. Similar instructions were given to the Government of the North-West Provinces. I submit that this requirement was distinctly detrimental to the free expression of opinion and unprecedented in the history of Royal Commissions.

6. An official letter was sent [30th December 1893] from the Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh, to all Commissioners of Divisions, and other officials in these provinces, calling attention to the fact that some officials had "communicated direct with the Secretary of the Commission, submitting to that officer abstracts of the evidence," and pointing out "that there is no authority for this procedure, and . . . that all communications should be addressed to this Government." Here, again, the authorities seemed determined that no evidence should be submitted to the Commission which had not been subjected to official scrutiny in high quarters. Moreover, this circular was not communicated to officials alone, but even to non-official persons who were intending, and were considered qualified, to give evidence on the subject of the inquiry.

7. At Benares, Mr. Isan Chandra Roy, M.B., stated that he had been officially invited to be a witness and to furnish an abstract of his intended evidence. After he forwarded his statement, he was informed by official letter, in which no reason was assigned, that his evidence was not required. The fact that he entertained anti-opium opinions was subsequently proved by his volunteered evidence before the Commission. Other proposed witnesses at Benares were similarly treated.

8. At Bankipur, a list of witnesses intended to be called on the 3rd January was supplied to me. It included the name of Rai Bahadur Jai Prakash Lal, C.I.E., Dewan of Dumraon. This gentleman represents a large estate in which poppy is extensively cultivated. He was not called. Information

from two sources led me to believe that his evidence would not have been altogether favourable to the Government. The official version of this circumstance will be found in Vol. V., p. 355, paragraphs 4 to 10, and as I have commented on it in the Appendix to my dissent from the Report of the majority of the Commission, I will only add a strong expression of my opinion that as the Dewan was not called on the 3rd January, the Commission ought to have been informed that he was present on the 6th January. The withholding of that information was not creditable to those concerned.

9. At Lucknow 24 witnesses were called at the instance of the Government, 23 of whom gave evidence generally favourable to the Government case. Thinking that a different kind of evidence might have been omitted, Mr. R. M. Dane, who accompanied the Commission to manage the case on behalf of the Government of India, was, at my request, asked by Lord Brassey to put in the list of persons who had been asked by the authorities to give evidence at Lucknow, together with such abstracts of their evidence as had not already been produced. I thought the Commission was entitled to know the method that had been followed in making the selection of witnesses, and that the original list of witnesses, with the marks and notes upon it, would throw light on the subject. The list was not produced. It was stated that the names of Lucknow witnesses were included in the general list of all the witnesses for the North-West Provinces and Oudh, but that circumstance seems quite irrelevant, and an altogether insufficient reason. However, the names of 17 rejected witnesses extracted from the list were supplied, together with the abstracts of evidence of 16—four of whom seem to entertain anti-opium views, and four others make some strong observations against the use of opium. I would draw particular attention to the fact that two of these gentlemen, namely, Mr. P. Wyndham, C.S., Assistant Commissioner and Excise Officer, Sultanpur, and Mirza Muhammad Beg, Deputy Collector of Basti, make the important statement that in their opinion revenue and rents derived from land would not be sensibly affected by the prohibition of poppy cultivation.

10. At Bombay another instance of the anxiety of the authorities to prevent the free communication of information on the opium question was brought to light by the Rev. A. W. Prantch. An official circular had been issued desiring that information applied for by Mr. Ernest Hart, Chairman of the British Medical Association, should not be replied to, on the ground that "to reply to such applications might prove embarrassing."

11. I learned at Bankipur, that the police at Gya had been searching out the movements of two of my friends and myself for the purpose of ascertaining with what persons we had had communication. As this matter formed the subject of protest on my part before the Commission, I need only refer to the Minutes of Evidence. I do not know whether on any other occasion we were similarly tracked.

12. Perhaps the most notable instance of the Government method of preparing for the fair and honest inquiry expected in England will be found in the correspondence relating to the Native States of Rajputana. On the 9th September 1893, the Government of India directed the agent of the Governor-General in Rajputana to invite the durbars of the Native States to appoint witnesses to give evidence before the Commission, and also to nominate a British officer to give evidence as to those States. An abstract of his evidence was, as in other cases, to be forwarded to the Government of India. Accordingly, on the 22nd September, the agent, Colonel G. H. Trevor, sent out a circular "to all political officers in Rajputana," desiring that the durbars [courts] of the Native States should be invited to nominate witnesses, and requesting the British officers addressed to furnish information and statistics. On the 5th October, Lieut. Colonel Abbott was appointed to give evidence himself, as well as to produce the witnesses, and arrange the evidence from the Native States—the request for a draft of his evidence being again repeated by the Government of India. Colonel Abbott then prepared a note on opium, which will repay careful perusal. He indicated the principal heads of evidence, and, among other things, suggested "that some stalwart Sondhia, Mewati, and Rajput lumbardars and patels should be among the witnesses selected." He made numerous other suggestions as to

Vol. V.,
p. 368.

Vol. V.,
p. 362.

Vol. V.,
p. 368 and
p. 371.

Vol. V.,
p. 373.

Vol. V.,
p. 370.

III., 13, 106.

Vol. IV.,
p. 373.

Vol. III.,
pp. 10, 24, 25.

Vol. IV.,
p. 384.

Vol. IV.,
p. 385.

Vol. IV.,
p. 336.

Vol. IV.,
p. 337.

matters of detail entirely in favour of the existing state of things, and without any provision for ascertaining and proving any matters of an adverse character, either of fact or of opinion. He advised that the witnesses "should reach Ajmere a week in advance" of the Commission, and supplied the reason, namely, "that I may become acquainted with all, and see if each one understands on what points he is required to give evidence." He also made careful suggestions for preparing ample claims for compensation. On the 29th November "all political officers" were again addressed on the subject as follows:—"Mr. R. M. Dane, C.S., the officer selected by the Government of India to advise local administrations in the matter of preparing for the inquiry to be held by the Opium Commission, has had an opportunity of seeing the previous correspondence on that subject in this office, and has pointed out that the great importance of the inquiry . . . has apparently not been fully appreciated . . . that Rajputana is vitally interested in the inquiry," and that "there should be no lack of evidence, both official and non-official, to prove before the Commission the full extent of their rights and interests in opium." The suggestion was repeated that witnesses were, if practicable, to be "ready in Ajmere about a week in advance of the Commission's arrival there." Taken altogether, this correspondence, is, in my opinion, as one-sided as the instructions in a brief in a partisan cause, and the evidence, which in accordance with these suggestions, was prepared and put before the Commission at Ajmere, was of an unusually partial and one-sided character.

13. The instances I have given as to the action of the authorities appear to me inconsistent with any real desire on their part that the whole of the facts should come in a perfectly unbiassed manner before the world. Whatever the Government of India intended by their determination not to seek for evidence of an anti-opium

character, its action was likely to be understood, and was undoubtedly understood, to mean that pro-opium evidence was to be sought for, and anti-opium evidence was not.

See, Par. 4.

14. Lord Brassey himself had early recognised the true position of the Government, as is clear from his statement to Mr. Alexander, the secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, at the close of his evidence before the Commission:—"We all appreciate that in the encounter in which you are engaged with the Government of India upon its own ground you are placed in circumstances of no ordinary difficulty."

Q. 2588.

15. My contention on this subject is, that having regard to the nature of British authority in India and to the moral timidity of many residents in India, both Native and European, it was the duty of the Government, in the presentation of evidence to be adduced before the Commission, to have publicly assured the people generally that no harm would come to them by giving free expression to their views, however opposed such views might be to the interests of the Revenue, or the known predilection of English officials. In fact it should have given practical effect to Mr. Westland's message read by the Chairman at the commencement of the proceedings on the 27th December:—"The Government, however, will not reply to such evidence [that is anti-opium evidence] as a defendant, but will merely pursue their course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts."

Vol. II.
p. 274.

16. In view of the various incidents which came to my knowledge, and some of which are here set forth, I am driven to the conclusion that the authorities in India have not pursued their declared "course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts."

HENRY J. WILSON.

MEMORANDUM V.

TELEGRAM.*

Private.]

From HEWETT to BAINES.
(Simla) (London)

MAHARAJA DARBHANGA telegraphs eighth:—

"Kindly telegraph Lord Brassey following summary of my Note:—

"First, the opium trade with China should not be suppressed unless China specially asks for suppression. Otherwise it only means sacrifice of a large revenue, fresh taxation, and probably great discontent, without any benefit to any class of people. The Chinese Government, and not we, are the best judges of the evils and benefits of opium in China.

"Second, non-medical use of opium has not been proved an unmixed evil. It is largely used as a harmless stimulant, and people should not in such case be deprived of its use. Local Governments and local bodies like the district boards should, however, be empowered to put on necessary restrictions in localities where opium-smoking and opium-eating becomes an abuse.

"Third, the Benares system of direct dealing with ryots should be introduced in Behar, and the price paid to the ryots should be raised in proportion to rise in wages and price of food.

"Fourth, any sudden interference with opium policy of Native States, like Indore, is injudicious, and likely to interfere with their financial equilibrium."

* Received at 4.45 p.m. on 9th April.

MEMORANDUM VI.

ON THE COURSE OF THE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND AGAINST THE OPIUM TRADE, WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ACTION TAKEN IN CONNEXION WITH IT IN PARLIAMENT

BY THE SECRETARY.

For many years before the movement against the opium trade between India and China assumed a definite shape, objections had been raised by individuals to the traffic on the grounds of the injury caused by the use of the drug to the population of the latter country. The question was made the subject of special inquiry by the Select Committees of the Houses of Parliament which reported between 1830 and 1832 on the general trade relations of China with both India and the United Kingdom. In arriving at a decision, the House of Commons was apparently influenced by two main considerations; first, that the trade, though contraband in name, was conducted with the full connivance and aid of the Chinese authorities, and, secondly, that in the financial circumstances of India, the revenue derived from this branch of exports could not be abandoned without seriously impeding the development of the country.

Hansard, 18,
p. 709-10,
770.

2. When the events of 1839-40 came before Parliament in the latter year, the opium question, though mentioned in the Resolution moved in the House of Commons by Sir James Graham, was not placed in the van of the attack, nor was it more than casually mentioned by most of the leading members who took part in the discussion, and who were, presumably, acquainted with the circumstances in which the trade had come under the consideration of the House seven years before. A Motion specifically condemnatory of the traffic in the drug had apparently been contemplated by Lord Sandon and Sir George Staunton, but it was not brought forward, as it seems from the speech of Sir Robert Peel on the occasion, that it was considered desirable to conduct the attack on the Government on other lines. The Resolution, as moved, ran as follows:—

Hansard, 53,
pp. 670-950.

Do. p. 689.

Do. p. 740.

Do. p. 901.

"It appears to this House, on consideration of the papers relating to China, presented to this House by command of Her Majesty, that the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with that country, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly to be attributed to the want of foresight and precaution on the part of Her Majesty's present advisers in respect to our relations with China, and especially to their neglect to furnish the Superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium, and adapted to the novel and difficult situation in which the Superintendent was placed."

Hansard, 53,
p. 704.

The wording of the Resolution and the course of the Debate which followed shows clearly that the point of attack was not the cause or conduct of the war, but the attitude of the Government, or, more correctly, of an individual Minister, in connexion with the transactions at Canton which preceded the outbreak of hostilities. In the division which took place on the Motion, the Government of the day vindicated the reputation of Lord Palmerston by the narrow majority of nine, in a House of 533 members.

3. About a month afterwards Lord Stanhope presented a petition from a meeting recently held in London, denouncing the opium trade and deprecating the war with China. The Earl of Rosebery drew attention to the language used, and to the fact that it has been resolved that the terms of the petition should be translated into Chinese and presented to the Emperor of China through Commissioner Lin, the leader of the hostilities against the British in Canton. Lord Stanhope thereupon announced his intention of bringing the question of the continuation of the opium trade between India and China directly before the House of Lords; and a few days later moved—

Hansard, 53,
p. 1158,

"That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, to express to Her Majesty the deep concern of this House in learning that an interruption has occurred in the friendly relations and commercial intercourse which has so long subsisted with the Chinese Empire; and to represent to Her Majesty that these calamities have, in the opinion of this House, been occasioned by British subjects having persevered in taking opium to China in direct and known violation of the laws of that Empire; and to request that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take immediate measures for the prevention of such proceedings, which are so dishonourable to the character and so detrimental to the interests of Her subjects, and to assure Her Majesty that if any additional powers should be found requisite for the purpose, this House will readily concur in granting them to Her Majesty."

Hansard, 54,
p. 26.

The Motion was opposed by Lord Melbourne as the Head of the Government. The Duke of Wellington, as Leader of the Opposition, moved the previous Question, which was carried without a Division.

4. In 1843 the opium question was brought directly before the House of Commons by Lord Shaftesbury, who, as Lord Ashley, laid on the table petitions from the

London, the Baptist, and the Wesleyan Missionary Societies in China on the subject, and moved the following Resolution:—

“That it is the opinion of this House that the continuance of the trade in opium and the monopoly of its growth in the territories of British India is destructive of all relations of amity between England and China, injurious to the manufacturing interests of the country by the very serious diminution of legitimate commerce, and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom; and that steps be taken as soon as possible, with due regard to the rights of Government and individuals, to abolish the evil.”

The Head of the Government, Sir R. Peel, pointed out that the adoption of such a Resolution would have material effect upon negotiations then in progress between the two countries, and on this consideration the Mover withdrew his proposition.

Hansard,
Vol. 144,
pp. 1391–
1846.

5. The question, though occasionally the subject of questions to Ministers, was not again formally debated in Parliament till 1870. It was casually brought into the debate of 1857, regarding the second war with China, but as it was recognised that opium had nothing to do with the rupture on that occasion, the issue was narrowed, at least professedly, to the conduct of the British Agent at Canton in precipitating a conflict which, as in the case of 1839–40, could not be avoided in the circumstances created by the attitude assumed by the Chinese authorities relative to their Treaty engagements.

Hansard, 1870.
Vol. 201, p. 516.
Mr. Gladstone,
1875,
Vol. 225,
p. 575
Sir M. Stewart,
1880,
Vol. 252,
p. 1232.
Sir J. Pease,
Mr. Gladstone,
p. 1252.
Vol. 335,
p. 1146.
Mr. S. Smith.

Hansard, 1857,
Vol. 144, p.
1421.

Hansard,
144, p. 1846.

6. It is obvious from the line taken by most of the speakers, as well as from the political history of the time, that, just as in 1840, the particular subject of debate was little more than a convenient cover for a parliamentary attack upon the general foreign policy of the Government of the day or, rather, of its chief representative. As it appears that the war of 1856–58 has been on several occasions quoted as the “second opium war” by a responsible statesman as well as by some of the leaders of the movement against the opium traffic, it is well to give the Resolution moved by Mr. Cobden on this occasion:—

“That this House has heard with concern of the conflicts which have occurred between the English and Chinese authorities in the Canton River; and, without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the Government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the Treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the late affair of the *Arrow*,

“That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China.”

This was carried by a majority of 16 in a House of 510 Members. Lord Palmerston appealed to the country, which responded by returning him to power with an increased majority.

II., p. 371.

7. Shortly after the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown, suggestions were made by Sir R. Hamilton and Sir W. Muir for replacing the Bengal, or monopoly system, by that of Malwa, so that the revenue from opium might be levied by a duty on export. A few years later the same proposal was brought forward by Sir C. Trevelyan, Financial Member of the Governor-General's Council, and it was renewed by Sir W. Muir when he occupied that office in 1868. In an Appendix to the Proceedings of this Commission is given a general abstract of these propositions, with the correspondence to which they gave rise.

8. It may be noted that throughout, the fiscal side of the question is ever in the van, and, whatever might be the change suggested, it was always assumed that the financial results would be at least as favourable as those under the system it was proposed to displace, and in some instances it was anticipated that they would be even more lucrative than the latter. Sir C. Trevelyan considered that an expansion of trade would follow the substitution of sound commercial interests for a State monopoly. Sir R. Hamilton held that the revenue was likely to rise in consequence of throwing open the cultivation of the poppy freely and without restriction to any landholder who chose to engage in it. Sir W. Muir proposed to retain the system of licensing cultivation and manufacture, but he thought that the private manufacturer would be able to obtain from the cultivator the whole of the produce, instead of the portion, which, under the monopoly he considered, alone reached the State storehouse. It appears to have been assumed, too, by all who advocated the change, that China must have opium, and could not grow it at home; so that, as Sir W. Muir put it, by the adoption of a uniform system and rate of taxation, the Government of India would have the China market far more under its control than before, because “the pass duty for all India “ would regulate the prices which the Chinese will always be prepared to give for a “ commodity they cannot do without, and which, practically, India alone can supply.”

This assumption, so far as the position of India in the opium market is concerned, has long since proved untenable. On the moral side of the question, where it is brought forward, both Sir R. Hamilton and Sir W. Muir confined themselves to the advantage of removing the stigma which they mention as being attached by some, to the direct connexion of the State with the production and sale of opium, and which would disappear under the plans they respectively suggested. To the trade itself no objection seems to have been raised. It is not necessary to enter into the details of the schemes, as the latter, though in accordance with the earlier views on the subject, are connected with a phase of the general question which has now almost, though not entirely, passed away. The Society now engaged in promoting the movement against opium has informed the Commission, through its Secretary, that Sir W. Muir's scheme has been repudiated by it. So far as their efficacy as a substitute for the Bengal system is concerned, reference should be made to the despatch of Lord Ripon's Government of the 19th of December 1881 in which the subject is exhaustively treated.

Hansard, Vol. 68, p. 386.
Vol. 225, pp. 584, 596.
Vol. 252, pp. 1245, 1280.
Vol. 305, p. 288.
Debates, XIV., p. 603.
Friend of China, xi. p. 290.
I., 475.
II., p. 378, and Return, C. 3378 of 1882.

9. In 1869 the subject was brought to notice in the House of Commons during the discussion on the Indian accounts, and those who advocated the abandonment of the revenue from opium were challenged by a private member (Mr. Denison) to bring the question fairly before the House on a definite issue. Next year, accordingly, Sir Wilfred Lawson moved—

Hansard, 198, p. 1352.

“That this House condemns the system by which a large portion of the Indian revenue is raised from opium.”

Hansard, 201, p. 480.

The Motion was opposed by the Government of the day, Mr. Gladstone observing that the question was one that should be dealt with, not by abstract Resolution, but by Bill, in order that the Mover might show that he had thought the matter out, and give the House some means of judging whether the measures he proposed were adapted and well proportioned to his ends.

On a Division in a House of 196, the Motion was lost by a majority of 104.

10. The autumn of 1874 saw the foundation of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, which has been mentioned more than once in the course of our Report. Its first President was the late Earl of Shaftesbury, who was succeeded by Sir Joseph Pease. According to the evidence given before the Commission by Mr. J. G. Alexander, its present Secretary, the Society, has at various times advocated or supported different measures in furtherance of the object for which it was established. In its early years its action appears to have been directed mainly against the military and diplomatic influence under which it considered that the admission of Indian opium into China was maintained. Whilst, therefore, the Chefoo Convention was under consideration, the Society was strenuous in its endeavour to secure the ratification of that Agreement. Regarding the general question, the following shades of opinion have been from time to time countenanced by the Society:—

I., 468.
II., 247–8.
I., 2, 112, 461.

(a.) The abandonment of the monopoly in Bengal, in order that the trade might pass from the hands of the Government into those of private traders, leaving the former free to regulate and repress the operations.

I., 147.
Hansard, 225, p. 617;
260, p. 764;
335, p. 1143.

(b.) Gradual suppression of the trade, with the co-operation, if obtainable, of the Chinese Government.

(c.) Immediate and total suppression of the production and sale of opium in India except for medical purposes.

345, p. 278.

11. In the middle of the year following the organisation of the above Society Sir Mark Stewart called the attention of the House of Commons to certain evidence given before the Indian Finance Committee of the preceding year, and moved:—

June 1875.

“That this House is of opinion that the Imperial policy regulating the opium traffic between England and China should be carefully considered by Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the gradual withdrawal of the Government of India from the cultivation and manufacture of opium.”

Hansard, 225, p. 571.

A House of 151 Members divided on the Motion, which was negatived by a majority of 37.

12. In June 1880, Sir Joseph Pease re-introduced the subject on the question of the House going into Committee of Supply.

Hansard, 252, p. 1227.

The Motion proposed was as follows:—

“That this House is of opinion that Her Majesty's Government, whilst asking admission into China for all exports from Great Britain, India, and British Possessions on the terms granted to the most favoured nation,

should not, in carrying out existing, or negotiating new, Treaties, insist upon terms facilitating the introduction of opium, which the Government of China is unwilling to grant; and this House is also of opinion that Her Majesty's Government should encourage the Government of India to take steps for their gradual withdrawal from participation in the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium, and dependence upon a revenue derived from its cultivation and transit."

As an Amendment to the Question had already been moved and negatived, no further Amendment could be proposed. Sir Charles Cameron, therefore, moved the adjournment of the Debate, but after some further discussion, the Motion was withdrawn.

April 1881.
Hansard,
260, p. 764.

13. In 1881, too, a lengthy exposition of the main views of the Society was given by Sir Joseph Pease, though, for the same reason as in the preceding year, no Division on the Amendment could be taken.

It was apparently this discussion which gave rise to the despatch on the subject of opium by the Secretary of State, answered by the Government of India in the following December, as was mentioned above.

October,
1881.

14. In the autumn of the same year a meeting was convened at the Mansion House on the invitation of the Lord Mayor of London, who was one of the leading members of the Anti-Opium Society, at which the following Resolutions were adopted.

"That in the opinion of this meeting:—

(1.) The opium trade as now carried on between India and China is opposed alike to Christian and International morality and to the commercial interests of this country.

(2.) It is the duty of this country not only to put an end to the opium trade as now conducted, but to withdraw all encouragement from the growth of the poppy in India except for strictly medical purposes, and to support the Chinese Government in its efforts to suppress the traffic.

(3.) It will be the duty of this country to give such aid to the Government of India as may be found reasonable, in order to lessen the inconvenience resulting to its finances from the adoption of the policy advocated in the previous resolutions.

(4.) The results of the sale of opium in British Burma are a disgrace to our Government of India, and demand the most thorough and immediate remedy."

It was also resolved that a deputation from the meeting should be appointed to lay the above resolutions before the head of Her Majesty's Government, and press upon him the duty of adopting the policy therein approved. An influentially signed memorial on the lines above laid down was presented to Mr. Gladstone, the purport of which it is worth while to mention here, as it is declaratory of the then views and objects of the Society under whose auspices the meeting in question was held.

I., Q. 479.

15. It is superfluous to refer to the views set forth in the memorial in respect to the Chinese trade, since they were based, as Mr. Alexander has stated, on the anxiety of the Society to secure the ratification of the Chefoo Convention, and dealt, accordingly, with a phase of the question which passed away in 1885. As to Burma, the memorialists gave their grounds for considering as inadequate the measures taken in respect to the sale of opium. Referring to the taxation of opium by the Government of India, they contradicted the statement sometimes made that under the present system of administration the consumption of opium is held in check, and asserted that it was in the power of the Government to put an immediate stop to the cultivation of the poppy within British territory, if not in the Protected States also. They altogether repudiated the suggestion that had been made that the Government might continue to raise revenue from opium whilst ceasing itself to manufacture and deal in the drug, because, so long as the trade was allowed to continue, whether the Government were directly or only indirectly concerned, the Chinese Government would consider themselves debarred by external pressure from taking effective means to put an end to the consumption of opium in that country. For these reasons the memorialists were not prepared to accept any half measures, but demanded the extinction of the trade as a whole, and the prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy, except in so far as its produce was necessary for medicinal use.

Hansard,
277, p. 1633.

16. Sir Joseph Pease in April 1883 moved in the House of Commons:—

"That an address be presented to Her Majesty praying that in all the negotiations between Her Majesty's Government and China, having reference to the duties levied on opium under the Treaty of Tien-tsin, Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to intimate to the Chinese Government that in any revision of that Treaty, or in any other negotiations on the subject of opium, the Government of China would be met as that of an independent State, having full right to arrange its own import duties."

In a House of 192 members, the Motion was opposed by 126, and was therefore lost.

17. On the conclusion, in July 1885, of the Chefoo Convention between England and China, the dissolution of the Society was discussed, but it was decided to continue its

work on a revised basis, which was explained in a "Statement of facts and principles," issued early in 1886. Whilst admitting that the conclusion of the above Convention terminated what it considered to have been a system of coercion, the Society pointed out that the question could not be allowed to rest. In the altered position of affairs it was considered necessary to adopt a different policy in opposing the opium trade. The attack, accordingly, was no longer directed against the British Government for encouraging importation into China, but against the Government patronage and promotion of production and sale at the sources of the trade in India. The Society, it stated, saw an opportunity, of which advantage was to be taken, to remind the Government of China of the responsibility now resting upon it in respect of the adoption and enforcement of measures to stop the spread of the consumption of opium, whilst the British Government was being urged to restrict and ultimately to suppress the exportation of the drug from India. As regards the production and the export sales of opium in the latter country, the Society protested against the direct connexion of the State with both classes of transactions, whilst strenuously opposing the transfer of the trade to private hands. The measure suggested was to discontinue the issue of licences for growing poppy, leaving for further consideration the arrangements for stopping the cultivation of that plant in Protected States and for discontinuing the duty on opium exported from those States after the production had ceased in British territory. It was recognised that the former step would tend to stop the use of opium in British India, a result, which though only mentioned casually and not as one of the main objects in view, would be welcomed, it was stated, by the Society.

January 1886.
I, 478.
"Friend of China," VIII., p. 161-2.
Do. IX., p. 4.

Do. do. p. 9.

18. In pursuance of the policy above described, Sir Joseph Pease moved in the House of Commons on May 4th, 1886:—

"That in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that the Indian Government should take measures to terminate gradually its direct connexion with the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture and trade in opium, and that it should use the power it possesses to prohibit in British India the cultivation of the poppy, except to supply the legitimate demand of opium for medical purposes."

Hansard, 305, p. 278.

The discussion ended in a count out.

19. No further action was taken in Parliament in this matter till May 1889, when, on the Motion being made "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair," Mr. Samuel Smith called the attention of the House of Commons to the opium trade between India and China, and moved, in the form usual on such occasions, to substitute the following words:—

Hansard, 335, pp. 1133-1148.

"This House views with deep regret the history of our opium policy towards China, and regards the traffic in that drug as repugnant to the true interests of that country. It calls upon the Government of India to take steps looking to the final extinction of the trade, and urges upon Her Majesty's Government to intimate to the Chinese Government that in the next revision of the Treaty of Tien-tsin full power will be given to extinguish the trade in opium if it thinks fit."

A Division was taken on the question "That the words proposed to be left out "stand part of the question"; the result being that of 253 members voting, 165 were in favour and 88 against. The Motion was therefore lost by a majority of 77.

20. In the beginning of the following year, the first opportunity occurred for the Chinese Government to terminate the arrangements regarding imported opium which had been made in 1885. No step in this direction, however, was taken by them, nor was any indication given of any intention of moving in the matter.* The attention of the Society for the suppression of the trade was therefore transferred to the use of opium in India. It was stated that the Government of India was recouping its loss of opium revenue, due to Chinese home competition, by extending the sale of the drug in India, and in pursuance of resolutions passed at the annual meeting of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, a memorial was presented to Viscount Cross, then Secretary of State for India, to the effect that the Society had received during the past two years information tending to show that in various parts of India the habit of smoking opium and preparations from it was on the increase, and that houses licensed in some towns by the Government for smoking such drugs on the premises were causes of great demoralization. The memorialists pressed for the imposition in India of restrictions on the sale of opium such as are placed in the United Kingdom, under the Pharmacy Act of 1868, and for the prohibition of all shops for the sale of opium and preparations from it to be consumed on the premises. They also urged the authorities to prohibit the licensing of opium shops in Upper Burma, and to reduce and ultimately extinguish such shops in the lower division of that Province.

July 1890.
"Friend of China," XI., pp. 89, 107.
Do. do. p. 153.
Do. do. p. 292.

* Hansard, Vol. 335, pp. 1152-3, 1158, 1174.

Opium in
India,
C. 6562 of
1892.

21. The memorial, with the voluminous correspondence and statistical tables to which it gave rise, was presented to Parliament in 1892. In connexion with the present subject it is sufficient to mention that the inquiries made by the Government of India resulted in proving that the consumption of the drug was comparatively small; certain minor changes in the regulations then in force had however been found advisable. The licences for opium-smoking saloons, for instance, were not to be renewed on expiration of the current term. The amount of the various preparations of opium for smoking which it was lawful to sell to unlicensed individuals, or which such individuals are allowed to possess at a time, was closely restricted, and the Government of Bombay was requested to put a stop to a practice introduced into that Province, in order to check smuggling, of requiring licensed vendors to sell yearly a guaranteed minimum quantity of taxed opium. As regards Lower Burma, the Government of India expressed their willingness to put aside considerations of loss of revenue from the measure, and to support the proposal of the Chief Commissioner to prohibit the sale of opium and the possession of it by those of Burman race, provided that the necessity and practicability of so stringent a measure were established, and it was made clear that the remedy would not involve evils as great as those that were found to prevail under the existing system.

Despatch
No. 94, 17th
December
1891.
C. 6562 p.
108.

Hansard,
352, p. 285.

The Secretary of State for India communicated his approval of these steps and of the policy of the Government of India in checking and limiting the habit amongst the people of consuming licensed opium, as far as is possible without driving them to smuggling, or to the use of more harmful narcotics.

22. On the 10th of April 1891, before the reply to the above-mentioned memorial had been received, Sir Joseph Pease, on the motion "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," moved to leave out from the word "that" to the end of the question in order to add the words:—

"This House is of opinion that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and would urge upon the Indian Government that they should cease to grant licences for the cultivation of the poppy and sale of opium in British India, except to supply the legitimate demand for medical purposes, and that they should at the same time take measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory."

After considerable discussion, a Division was taken in a House of 290 members upon the question "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question," which was lost by a majority of 30. The main question was then proposed, and the late Sir Robert Fowler moved an amendment that at the end of the question the words be added:—

"And this House, feeling the pressure of taxation on the people of India, will take steps to reimburse the deficiency so caused to the Indian Government."

The Debate on this Amendment not having been concluded by one o'clock in the morning, the House adjourned without a Division.

Hansard,
352, p. 900.

Do. pp. 383-
4.

23. Sir Joseph Pease subsequently explained that, apart from the inconvenience of placing his proposition as a substantive Motion before the House at that time of the Session, even if he were so minded, he would not ballot for the opportunity of so doing, because Sir Robert Fowler's amendment involved the question of handing over money to the Indian Government without a vote of the Crown, and would possibly be ruled out of order. The Question, therefore, was never put, and the Speaker explained that the House had passed no definite decision either on the first Amendment as a substantive Question, or upon the Amendment which was moved as an addition to the substantive Question.

24. In March 1892 the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade presented a second memorial to the Secretary of State, condemning, in the first place, the opium policy of the Government of India in Burma, and, whilst acknowledging the beneficial tendency of the action taken by that Government since the previous memorial had been presented, urged still further measures to check consumption, pointing out that in the opinion of the Society no sufficient reason had been shown for the difference between the law of India and that of the United Kingdom in respect of the sale of opium.

Vol. I.,
p. 162.
I. Q. 492.

25. A third memorial was presented to the Secretary of State in November of the same year, after the change of Government. This is appended to the first volume of the Commission's Proceedings, as constituting the latest official exposition of the views of the Society. The demand for the stringent restriction of production to the amount required for medicinal use, and for that of the sale to the limits prescribed under the Pharmacy

Act of the United Kingdom, was once more pressed. Instructions to the Government of India were called for to immediately suspend the official sales of opium in Calcutta, the hope was expressed that the system of licensing poppy cultivation in the Punjab would be immediately abolished, and that the measures suggested by Sir A. Mackenzie for controlling the consumption of opium in Burma would be at once brought into operation. The Society also expressed its belief that the people of England would be ready to make up any deficiency which, in the judgment of the responsible Government of the day, might be properly attributed to the withdrawal of the Indian Government from the export trade in opium. At the same time it suggested that in several directions retrenchment should be effected, which would go far towards filling the deficiency in question, whilst it was alleged that the stoppage of the opium exports would probably have the effect of stimulating the export of other produce from India to China, and of steadying exchange by putting an end to the drain of silver from the latter country, besides enabling the Chinese to displace their copper coinage in favour of the more valuable metal.

26. In reply, Lord Kimberley pointed out that, dealing with the question as a practical one, whilst the declaration of Sir J. Fergusson, in the House of Commons in April 1891, made it clear that the British Government would never resort to compulsion to enforce the importation, it was by no means certain that the Government of China were anxious to stop the consumption of opium. Not only was a considerable revenue derived from the drug, but the production of opium in China was reported to have largely increased, and owing to improved methods of preparation, the home-grown article had secured a wider market. Then again, whilst the Government of India had recognised that it was their duty to restrict and regulate the consumption of opium in a manner in which they would not regulate that of a perfectly harmless drug, opinion as to the results of the use of this drug was divided. The strong views of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade were not shared by a very large number of persons, and while the tendency of the policy of the Government of India was towards restriction, they were not prepared to go as far in that direction as the Society no doubt desired. From the financial point of view, those responsible for Indian affairs in England did not see their way to dispense with such a revenue as that derived from opium, nor had the Secretary of State for India the slightest reason to suppose that there would be any disposition on the part of the Treasury to place a heavy burden on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom for the purpose of supplying the deficiency in the resources of India caused by the loss of that revenue. Any proposition to that effect would not be likely to meet with a favourable response. On the subject of the consumption of opium in Burma, authorities seemed to be unanimous that the Burman race was affected by the drug in a manner very different from that in which the Indian population was affected, and, whilst it had been found practicable to restrict the use of the drug to Chinese, Shans, and hill tribes in the Upper division of the Province, it had not then been decided whether the necessary machinery was available in the Lower division to enable the authorities to enforce the same system there, and the inquiries on this point alone delayed the introduction of uniformity in practice throughout. The Secretary of State concluded his reply with a few remarks upon the comparison that might reasonably be drawn between the treatment proposed for opium in India and that adopted in the case of alcoholic drink in the United Kingdom, observing that there are in use in India certain drugs more pernicious in their effects than opium, the consumption of which it was impracticable to stop, and which, if the use of opium were to be effectually prohibited, would probably spread widely through the population.

27. The last Parliamentary discussion of the opium question took place in the House of Commons on the 30th of June, 1893, when Mr. Webb, on the motion for going into Committee of Supply, moved to substitute the following words:—

Debates
XIV., p. 591.

Having regard to the opinion expressed by the Vote of this House on the 10th of April, 1891, that the system by which the Indian opium revenue is raised is morally indefensible, and which urged the Indian Government to give practical effect to that opinion by ceasing to grant licences, and by taking measures to arrest the transit of Malwa opium through British territory; and recognising that the people of India ought not to be called upon to bear the cost involved in this change of policy, and that oppressive taxation, and the stoppage of expenditure necessary for the welfare and progress of the Indian people must be avoided, this House is of opinion that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire both in India and in this country, and to report as to:—

- (1.) What retrenchments and reforms can be effected in the civil and military expenditure of India;

- (2.) By what means Indian resources can be best developed ;
- (3.) And what, if any, temporary assistance from the British Exchequer would be required in order to meet any deficit of revenue which would be occasioned by the suppression of the opium traffic.

28. On the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone as Head of the Government, the Motion for going into Supply was negatived without a Division, and the following, which stood in the name of Mr. G. W. Russell, Under Secretary of State for India, was moved by Mr. Gladstone as an Amendment to that above quoted :—

Debates
XIV., p. 626.

To leave out from the words “having regard to the” to the end of the proposed Amendment, in order to add the words “strong objections urged on moral grounds to the system by which the “ Indian opium revenue is raised, this House presses on the Government of India to continue their “ policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy and the production and sale of opium, “ and desires that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to appoint “ a Royal Commission” [*the remainder of the Amendment has been already quoted in full at the beginning of the Report*].

p. 634.

On the Question being put “That the words proposed to be left out stand part “ of the proposed Amendment,” a House of 284 members voted, of whom 105 were in favour of the retention, which was lost, therefore, by 179 votes. The main Question as amended was then put and agreed to, resulting in the appointment of this Commission.

Friend of
China,
XIV. pp.
109 and 146.

This decision, it may be added, was characterised by the Anti-Opium Society as “ the greatest and most solid forward step that the movement for the suppression of the “ opium trade had yet made,” whilst the Commission as constituted was “as fair- “ minded and impartial a tribunal as the Society could have desired to hear its case.”

This Memorandum may be appropriately closed by quoting statistics bearing on the question of the varying interest taken by the House of Commons in the Opium Debates :—

Year.	Mover.	Per-centage	
		Of Members voting on the full House.	Of Supporters of the Resolutions on Members voting.
1870	Sir Wilfrid Lawson	29	23
1875	Sir M. Stewart	23	37
1883	Sir J. Pease	29	34
1886	Sir J. Pease	—	—*
1889	Mr. S. Smith	38	36
1891	Sir J. Pease	43	55
1893	Mr. Webb	42	37†

* House counted out.
† This per-centage represents the number voting against Mr. Gladstone's Amendment to Mr. Webb's Motion.

29. *Summary.*—The above sketch serves to show that the object aimed at by those interested in the suppression of the trade has, throughout been the stoppage of the introduction of Indian opium into China. In the early days of the movement, the general assumption was that the whole of the opium which entered that country was directly provided by the Government of India, under the Bengal monopoly, and it was against that system, therefore, that the objections were directed. The place occupied by the Malwa system in the trade was gradually realised, and it was considered that the moral aspect of the situation would be somewhat improved if the identification of the State with the operations were to be abrogated, and the Government were to altogether restrict its connexion with the trade to taxing the opium produced by others, whether in British India or Malwa. On the conclusion of the Treaty of Tientsin, in 1858, the movement took the form of protesting against the admission of opium into China, even on payment of a specially high rate of duty. This concession, it was alleged, had only been made by China under pressure and intimidation exercised by Great Britain in virtue of her position, for the time being, of the dominant Power. The conclusion, in 1885, of the revision of the arrangements under the Treaty of 1858, left China entirely master of the situation after the expiration of four years from that date. As the time of potential emancipation from the obligations imposed by the Convention drew nigh, it appeared from the speeches of the leaders of the anti-opium movement in England, introducing the Resolution of 1889, that there were grounds for supposing that the Chinese, for some reason or other, would not avail themselves of the opportunity opened to them. The efforts of the Society for the Suppression of the Trade were

accordingly directed towards the prohibition by the British Government of the production of the drug in India, independently of, and without regard to, the possible inaction of the Court of Peking in the matter. Parliament having declined to support the course of action suggested, and several opportunities for revision having been let pass by the Chinese without the manifestation on their part of any desire to denounce the opium arrangements, the direction of the movement was again changed, and the question was next brought before the House of Commons from the standpoint of the great evil that was being caused by the consumption of the drug, not only in China, but in India itself, a matter which up till then, though sometimes casually referred to in the discussions on the general question, had not become the subject of special reprobation or inquiry. This remark does not apply to Burma, because shortly after the Chief Commissioner of that Province had communicated to the Government of India in 1880 the strong views held by himself and local officials of experience as to the injurious effects of the opium habit on the Burman race, those views were adopted by the Anti-Opium Society in England, and were pressed upon the attention of the Secretary of State for India in the memorial presented to him in 1881. The movement entered its present phase in 1890. Though the consumption in India has ever since been placed in the foreground of the case, the course of the Debates of 1891 and 1893, still more the memorials and other representations on the part of the Society for the Suppression of the Trade indicate that the habit as it is alleged to exist in India and the direct connexion of the Government of that country with the production are regarded mainly in connexion with efforts to secure the discontinuance of the exportation of opium from India to China.

July, 1894.

J. A. BAINES,
Secretary to the Commission.

MEMORANDUM VI.

THE GOVERNMENT POLICY IN REGARD TO THE SUPPLY OF BENGAL
OPIUM;

BY THE SECRETARY.

1. In the discussion of the opium question considerable prominence has been given to the policy of the Government of India in regard to the cultivation of the poppy in the tracts under the monopoly system. The subject is not one of the issues immediately before the Commission, but a short description has been thought advisable of the course of procedure in respect to this branch of agriculture and the considerations on which it has been regulated by the Government during the last 10 years. By adopting this plan it is possible to explain the discrepancy between the statements made in Parliament and before the Commission, respectively, on this matter.

2. The opium year, from the point of view of the producer, begins in September, when the cultivator enters into the engagement with the departmental official as to the area to be placed under poppy. The seed is sown almost immediately afterwards. The crude opium is collected during the winter and spring, so that by the end of May, or shortly before, the amount of the season's outturn is known to the local agents, and most of it has been delivered at the central factories for manufacture. The crop, it must be mentioned, is unusually precarious. Excessive or deficient rain, just at the time of sowing, spoils the whole prospect of the season, and even at the last moment before ripening a most promising field is not unfrequently utterly wasted by hail, frost, insects, or blight. The disposition of the cultivator, therefore, is a factor in the situation of peculiar importance. After a few unlucky seasons he is discouraged, and holds back for a while from undertaking to grow poppy. On the other hand, a couple of years of good returns creates such an anxiety to obtain a license that the refusal of permission is elevated into a grievance of sufficient moment to be carried before the Supreme Government and even higher authority.

II. 2975.

3. This tendency, unfortunately, is apt to run contrary to the policy of the Government in respect to this cultivation. Up to 1875 it was the practice to sell each year the whole, or nearly the whole, of the stock of opium available. Since then the policy has prevailed of selling, as far as possible, the same quantity every year, keeping up a reserve to supplement the deficiency caused by a bad outturn. The market as well as the revenue is thus steadied. The reserve is fixed, as a rule, at one half the amount required for the year's sales, but as the opium is kept a year before issue, the stock of one season fixes the reserve at the end of the calendar year following. A series of good years accordingly, which stimulates the cultivator to extend his operations in poppy, puts the Government beyond the necessity of yielding to his desire, since not only is a larger sum sunk in the advance and payments for the crude drug, but the latter loses in weight, and consequently in value, by remaining more than one season in stock.

4. If, then, we omit the competition of Chinese and Persian opium, and assume that a certain amount of consideration is given to the condition of the Malwa supply, the factors in the case are reduced to three, the amount of opium available for sale from the current season's crop, the state of the reserve, and the area under poppy. The policy above described keeps the first constant. The second bears a fixed proportion to the first, so that the third is left as the only variable. A brief review of the circumstances of the last few years will suffice to show how this policy has been carried out and in what particulars it has been abandoned.

5. The figures given at page 325 of Vol. II. of the Commission's Proceedings indicate that a bad outturn in 1882-83 was followed by a run of good luck almost unprecedented. To save the trouble of reference, the figures for the years in question,

together with those of the sales and reserve stocks from page 346 of the same volume are here reproduced :—

Opium Year (September to August).				Calendar Year.		
Year.	Number of Licenses.	Area cultivated.	Outturn of Crude Opium.	Year.	Amount sold.	Reserve.
		Acres.	Cwts.		Chests.*	Chests.*
1882-3 - -	1,288,922	495,740	52,979	1883 - -	54,400	11,625
1883-4 - -	1,345,915	505,843	96,801	1884 - -	46,698	2,265
1884-5 - -	1,379,326	565,246	102,312	1885 - -	50,994	18,274
1885-6 - -	1,483,863	594,921	92,903	1886 - -	54,750	29,205
1886-7 - -	1,448,508	562,052	82,253	1887 - -	57,000	36,705
1887-8 - -	1,408,519	536,607	94,082	1888 - -	57,000	37,205
1888-9 - -	1,195,767	459,864	51,792	1889 - -	57,000	49,705
1889-90 - -	1,274,587	482,557	73,305	1890 - -	57,000	31,010
1890-1 - -	1,306,741	501,719	63,540	1891 - -	56,250	18,770
1891-2 - -	1,241,211	463,664	53,849	1892 - -	48,852	9,292
1892-3 - -	1,195,871	454,156	63,702	1893 - -	43,704	104†

* Of about 140 lbs. each.

† Approximately.

6. The success of 1883-4 resulted in a large increase of cultivation in the succeeding year, when the Benares agent reported that disappointment had been caused amongst the cultivators owing to his inability to comply in full with all applications for extension of area to be licensed. In 1885-6 the same good fortune was experienced, causing still more pressing demands for extension. It is stated, however, both in the report and in the Government review of it, that in consequence of the stock in hand from the previous good seasons, the Lieutenant-Governor had directed that the area should not be increased.

Depart-
mental
Reports.

7. Orders to the same effect were issued as regards the operations in the Benares agency for the season of 1886-7, when it was considered that the existing area might be maintained, as the reserve had not reached the limit at which cultivation might safely be reduced. In the season of 1886-7, the Benares agency showed a smaller outturn owing to the loss of the early sowing. But the popularity of the cultivation enabled the departmental officials to exercise their discretion in selecting men and localities, so that by process of weeding, the operations were concentrated in the most profitable tracts and amongst the best agriculturists.

Bengal letter
No. 925
T.R. dated
5th July
1886.

8. The next year, 1887-8, was remarkable for the success in fulfilling the object of Government, namely, to obtain an increased outturn from a curtailed area. In reviewing the work of the year, the Lieutenant-Governor remarked :—

"The department is to be congratulated on its success in extending the system to which special attention was drawn in last year's resolution, of limiting the area of cultivation and affecting settlements to the greatest advantage by insisting on the judicious selection of the best and most conveniently situated lands, as well as of experienced and successful cultivators only. The extension of cultivation was formerly the object of Government, but a departure was made in the year 1885-6 in consequence of the large stock of opium in hand at the commencement of that season, and orders were then passed with a view to prevent any further increase in production. The change of policy thus initiated has recently been given a still more pronounced turn by the issue of instructions directing a specific reduction of cultivation, a step necessitated by the further accumulation of an excessive reserve both at Calcutta and in the factories. . . . Unremunerative tracts were abandoned, advances refused to unsatisfactory cultivators and bad villages, inferior cultivation in the neighbourhood of large towns closed, and by these means the . . . area was reduced to 427,569 bighas."

9. The instructions mentioned in the above passage are probably those contained in one of the letters from the Government of India to which reference was made before the Commission by the present Secretary in the Financial Department. In their letter No. 4035 of the 23rd July 1888, that Government informed the Government of Bengal that they accepted the proposal that the area under poppy should be reduced to an extent sufficient to provide for an out turn of only 30,000 chests of opium, instead of 57,000. They requested, however, that in giving effect to this policy the following principles should be borne in mind: first, that it was undesirable that any risk should be run of having, for want of stock, to reduce the sales materially below 57,000 chests; and secondly, that in the event of the stock being depleted by a bad year of production, it should not be out of the power of the Government to expand cultivation. The normal quantity of opium to be annually sold under the above policy was fixed at 57,000 chests, with a reserve of 30,000.

II. 5160.

10. The area licensed in 1888-89 was materially reduced in accordance with these instructions. In the Behar Agency the reductions were effected merely by the process

of weeding out the less profitable cultivators and by the elimination, as far as possible, of the men who engaged for poor land with the object of securing the advance without sowing more than a fraction of the land specified in the agreement. In the Benares agency the reductions were far more extensive. In the outlying districts to the west, where supervision was difficult and the outturn comparatively small, the cultivation was altogether stopped, and licenses were refused freely in other parts of the agency where the cultivation was not satisfactory. The operations were thus restricted to the best tracts, yielding the most profitable results. On the whole, the reduction amounted to nearly 20 per cent. of the area sown in the preceding year. This, however, was somewhat below the extent prescribed by the Local Government; but the main object in view, namely, the prevention of a still greater accumulation of stock, was attained, since the outturn of the season was very short, rendering unnecessary the continuance of the policy of reduction.

11. The final results of the year's operations were, in fact, so much below the average, that for the next season, 1889-90, the Government of India, in their letter No. 4093 of the 8th August 1889, sanctioned such an extension of area as would, in an average season, provide the equivalent of 57,000 chests. As it turned out, the Behar cultivator, disheartened by the failure of the preceding season, applied for a somewhat less area than before. In Benares the increase was in nearly the same proportion as the decrease in the area of 1888-9 as compared with that in 1887-8. The outturn, however, was again unsatisfactory in both agencies, though worse in Behar than further west.

Bengal letter
205, T.R., of
14th June
1890.
Bengal
Resolution
1870, of
23rd March
1891.

12. It was considered that with an average season the outturn in the Benares agency would be enough to obviate the need of material extension of area, so for the ensuing year, 1890-1, special extension was sanctioned by the Government of Bengal in Behar only. At the same time, a discretionary power was given to the Benares agent to accept applications for what might be considered the normal expansion of poppy cultivation in the tracts already specified as those best suited to this crop, in order that the cultivation might gradually resume its former limits and bring the reserve up to the prescribed amount. Hail and untimely rain, however, brought the outturn still lower than in the preceding season, so that the question arose whether the amount offered for sale should be reduced or the area licensed be extended.

13. The former alternative was adopted by the Government of India in their letter to the Government of Bengal, No. 2953 of the 13th July 1891, on the grounds that—

“it is not considered safe to assume that the average annual production will be sufficient to provide more than 54,000 chests for sale annually, without taking measures for the extension of cultivation which are not deemed expedient.”

It was pointed out, however, as in the preceding year, that there was no objection to allowing the normal expansion to continue, as the cultivator should be left free to decide for himself whether it is or is not profitable for him to cultivate the poppy on his land in preference to other crops, and where his interests harmonize with those of the Government, no impediment need be placed on his liberty of action.

Bengal
Resolution
940, of 8th
March 1892.

14. The results of the season of 1891-92 were the worst on the 20 years' record. The sudden contraction of the area at a time when the cultivators, at all events in the Benares agency, were most in favour of poppy, together with the failure of the crop four times in succession, disheartened those who were formerly eager to obtain licenses, and the rumour that the Government was likely to prohibit the cultivation altogether, which was current in parts of Behar, helped to keep back applications. The Government of India was obliged to curtail its sales during the last quarter of 1892, and to notify for the following year a lower number of chests than had been sold since 1874, exhausting, even with this reduction, the whole reserve.

Letter
2802A of 6th
July 1892.

15. In order to re-establish the operations on their former basis, the Local Government proposed to license cultivation in 1892-93 up to the previous limit. On this the Government of India sanctioned any increase directly applied for by cultivators, on the understanding that there should be no permanent excess over the average of past years. In Behar the increase was but slight, whilst in the Benares agency the downward course was not stayed. In both, however, the outturn was somewhat better than in 1891-92.

16. It is clear, from the above account of what has taken place during the last ten years, that the object at which the Government of India have consistently aimed is the sale of as nearly as possible the same quantity of opium every year. For several

years in succession the season was so favourable that the stock of opium considerably exceeded the requirements for the above purpose. The attention of the departmental officers was accordingly directed towards the restriction of the supply, a result that could be best obtained by the contraction of the area licensed for the growth of the poppy. The glut was followed, however, by a still longer period of depression, during the first years of which it was the object of the Government to maintain the area at its existing figure in the hope of a full outturn, or else to increase it up to its previous extent, so that, in case of continued bad luck, the requisite outturn could be obtained from a wider surface.

17. This system of regulating the supply placed on the market came however to an end, as has been shown in paragraph 13, at the opening of the season of 1891-92. In spite of the depletion of the reserve and the proposals of the Local Government to adopt the steps that had been customary in previous years, the Government of India then determined to adapt their sales to the changed conditions, and to abandon the attempt to replenish their stock by extending the area licensed for poppy. The reserve was drawn upon to its utmost capacity, so that for the supply in the immediate future the Government were at the mercy of the season.

18. The explanation of this change of system has been given before the Commission by Sir David Barbour, who stated that the fluctuations in area were not due to any definite policy, adding— II. 2,093.

“But it is a fact that in very recent years we have rather avoided any appearance of increase, because we were liable to be attacked on account of the increase. We were liable to have it said of us that more opium was being grown, and that we were stimulating production and consumption, and therefore during the last few years we have rather avoided any increase of the cultivation.”

19. On referring to the historical review of the Anti-Opium Movement given in the preceding Note, it will be seen that since 1886 the agitation against the opium trade had been diverted from the consumption of the drug in China to its production in India. The questions raised in the memorial presented to the Secretary of State for India in 1890 were under the consideration of the Government of India when the truncated discussion of April 1891 took place in the House of Commons, three months before the Government of India communicated to the Government of Bengal its view that an extension of cultivation was not expedient. It appears, therefore, that up to the latter date the policy of the Government was to contract the poppy area only when the stock of opium in hand was large, and to extend it when that reserve was getting low. Since July 1891, so far from reducing the area thus licensed, the Government has directed its efforts towards maintaining it, with the intention of increasing it up to the average of past years, though not permanently beyond that limit. It is this last policy that finds expression in the information given by Sir David Barbour, as above cited.

20. But the action of the Government, both up to and after 1891, has been differently interpreted in the House of Commons, where it has been taken to signify a policy of gradual extinction of the system of direct production of opium. In the Debate of the 10th of April 1891, for instance, Sir James Fergusson said:—

“I freely admit that the Government of India have never denied that it would be very desirable that this source of revenue should be altered. They have taken means to reduce it. They have diminished the number of licenses, and they diminished the area on which the poppy is grown. One million acres less are now under poppy in Bengal than 10 years ago.” *

Hansard,
352, p. 323.

Mr. W. H. Smith said on the same occasion:—

“The course which this Government has taken, and which all Governments have taken during the last few years, . . . has been to diminish the area of cultivation in India to an extent, in the last five years at any rate, of 20 per cent. The production and sale of opium has been decreased considerably in each year, and that must be taken as an indication of the policy of the Government.”

Hansard,
352, p. 343.

21. These statements carried some weight, for amongst other reasons given by the Mover of the proposition under discussion for not ballotting for an opportunity of bringing the Motion regarding the opium trade again before the House, Sir J. Pease expressed himself quite content, for the time being, with the declaration made by the First Lord of the Treasury, that the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been in the past a steady reduction of the quantity of land in India placed under poppy cultivation, and that this policy would be persevered with in the future.

Hansard,
352, p. 901.

22. This announcement was made on the 20th of April. On the 23rd of that month a correction was given by Sir John Gorst, Under Secretary of State for India, who had

* Or, more correctly, 100,000 acres less than five years ago.

been absent when the subject was first brought forward. The following question was asked by Mr. J. M. Maclean, then Member for Oldham :—

Hansard
352, p. 1152.

"Whether the India Office has any evidence to show that the recent reduction in the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is due to the intention of the Government of India to do away with the opium revenue little by little, and not to the commercial necessity for reducing production in order to keep up the price in face of the increasing competition of opium grown in China; and whether the policy of the Government of India with regard to this source of revenue is correctly expressed by Sir David Barbour, the Indian Finance Minister, who, in introducing his Budget for the year 1891-92, said :—

"The opium revenue has, no doubt, fallen largely, and at this moment there are no indications of a recovery. On the other hand, the fall up to date has been discounted, and provision made to meet the consequent loss of revenue. As the fall has been so great, we may fairly hope that, for the present, we have seen the worst."

In answer, Sir J. Gorst said :—

"The reason given for the reduction of the area of poppy cultivation in Bengal is that the reserve stock of opium had become unduly large. The statements of Sir David Barbour, no doubt, do express correctly the policy of the Government of India."

Debates I.,
p. 139.

Debates
XIV., p.
604.

Debates I.,
p. 1207.

Debates
XIV., p.
634.

23. It may be noted that whilst Sir James Fergusson had ascribed the policy he set forth to the Government of India only, Mr. W. H. Smith, then the Leader of the House, used words identifying with it Her Majesty's Government. It was, perhaps, for this reason that the explanation of Sir John Gorst passed unheeded. For example, in the Debate on the Address in February 1892, Sir J. Pease observed that the late Leader took credit for Her Majesty's Government that they had during the last five years decreased the area under poppy. The same Member reverted to this declaration of policy in the course of the discussion of June 1893, pointing out that it had been strengthened by the announcement made in February 1892, by Mr. Curzon, then Under Secretary of State for India, to the effect that in order to restrict the area of cultivation, the Government of India reduced the number of chests to be sold that year by 3,000. Finally, the first substantial portion of the Resolution of the House of Commons in consequence of which the present inquiry has taken place "presses on the Government of India to continue their policy of greatly diminishing the cultivation of the poppy."

24. The fact has been sufficiently insisted on above that, down to the year 1891, the policy of the Government was not one of reduction, but of regulation, according to the demands of the market and the revenue. Since that date, again, the tendency (for the policy may be said to be in abeyance) has been to reduce the sales, not with the object of restricting cultivation, as Mr. Curzon expressed it, but of obviating the necessity for allowing it to resume its former extent. Having regard to the importance that has been given to this misapprehension in the discussion which ended in the appointment of this Commission, it is hardly enough to merely call attention to it, but it is advisable to also account for its origin on the part of those responsible for the statements which first gave it currency. It appears most probable that the misunderstanding is based on certain passages in the Moral and Material Progress Report published annually by the Secretary of State for India, which may therefore be quoted in elucidation of this question.

1886-87,
(349) pp.
8 & 70.

25. The Reports for the years to which reference is necessary contain a summary as well as a more detailed sketch of the year's operations. In that for 1886-87, presented in August 1888, the summary merely quotes the area under poppy for the last and penultimate years respectively. In the body of the work it is stated that :—

"With a considerable stock of opium in hand at the beginning of the year, there was no necessity for increasing the area under cultivation in Bengal, and the agents were accordingly instructed to refrain from doing so."

26. In the Report for 1887-88, presented in August 1889, the summary contains the following words :—

1887-88,
(327) pp.
8 & 72.

"The area of opium cultivation in Bengal was 536,610 acres; steps are being taken to reduce the area, because the good opium harvests of the past few years have yielded more than was required to supply the monthly sales and keep up the reserve."

In the body of the Report it is stated that :—

"The instructions issued in 1885-86 to reduce the area of cultivation and to confine it as far as possible to the best lands and the most experienced cultivators are still in force, in consequence of the large accumulation of manufactured opium at Calcutta and in the factories."

It will be noticed that the acreage mentioned is not identical with that entered in the return presented to the Commission. The policy is set forth in almost the same words in both passages.

In the Report for 1888-89, presented in August 1890, the areas again differs from the Indian return. As to the policy, the statement in the summary is:—

"Steps have now been taken for two years to reduce the area, because the good opium harvests of the past few years have yielded more than was required to supply the monthly sales and keep up the reserve."

1888-89,
(384) pp.
8 & 71.

In the Report itself, however, the statement runs:—

"In pursuance of the policy of reducing the opium area, the land actually cultivated with opium in the Ganges Valley was reduced to 518,930 acres, or 3 per cent. below the area of 1887-88, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. below the opium area of 1886-87. The contraction of the opium area caused some dissatisfaction among the ryots, among whom the opium cultivation, with its accompanying cash advances at a critical season of the year, is popular."

The reason for the reduction is here omitted.

28. In the Report for 1889-90, presented in May 1891, only the area for the preceding year is quoted. In the summary occur the words:—

"Steps have now for four years been taken to reduce the area, because the good opium harvests of the past few years had yielded more than was required to supply the monthly sales and keep up the reserve."

1889-90,
(250) pp.
9 & 86.

In the body of the Report the sentence, except for the figures, is that of the preceding year:—

"In pursuance of the policy of reducing the opium area, the land actually cultivated with opium in the Ganges Valley was further reduced to 459,860 acres, as compared with 518,930 acres in the previous year, and 556,527 acres in 1885."

It was apparently on these figures that the statements in the House of Commons were based.

29. In the Report for 1890-91, presented in May 1892, the summary merely mentions the area, which nearly corresponds with that in the opium departmental tables for that year. In the body of the Report the following remarks occur:—

1890-91,
(220) pp.
9 & 89.

"In pursuance of the policy of reducing the opium area, the land actually cultivated with the poppy in the Ganges Valley had been reduced in 1888-89 to 459,860 acres, as compared with 556,527 in 1885. The yield of opium had been very short in 1888-89, and the total quantity manufactured was 38,305 chests, as compared with 69,500 chests in 1887-88. *Some extension of the cultivation then occurred*, and the area rose in 1889-90 to 482,560 acres. In 1889-90 the opium crop was again short, especially in Behar; . . . and the total quantity manufactured was 44,760 chests. In 1890-91 *the poppy area increased* to 500,683 acres; but the yield was again short, and the outturn of opium was 44,522 chests. . . . It is reported that cultivators of opium have lost heart, after experiencing three bad opium seasons in succession. . . . In 1891 the Government of India decided not to arrange for any extension of the opium area, and to reduce the quantity of opium advertised for sale during 1892 to 54,000 chests, as against 57,000, the number that had been sold annually for several years past."

30. On the above quotations it may be remarked that after the Report for 1887-88 there is no mention of the reason for the reduction of area in that portion of the work to which a reader would naturally turn for information. Nor, again, in the Report for 1890-91, is the connexion shown between the extension that took place in 1889-90 and the policy of the Government with regard to it. Finally, in respect to the orders of the Government of India in 1891, the statement in the Report is incomplete without mention of the acquiescence of that Government in any increase that might arise from what has been called above the "normal" expansion of the cultivation of the poppy.

31. It must be borne in mind that Mr. W. H. Smith had no personal or immediate official connexion with Indian administrative detail, and Sir James Fergusson was only called upon to address himself to this branch of the opium question by reason of the temporary absence of the Under Secretary of State for India. It is highly probable, therefore, that they both referred for their information to the official reports presented to Parliament, in which the elasticity of the policy of the Government of India is nowhere distinctly set forth. An early opportunity was taken by the responsible Minister, on his return, to place the matter before the House in its true light, but a statement made in answer to a question by a private Member may fairly be assumed to be less widely known and to carry less weight than a declaration made in formal debate.

32. The only evidence that appears to give colour to the notion that the Government of India has abandoned its former policy consists of the two statements that have been already quoted in the course of this Note; first, that any more than normal expansion was inexpedient, and, again, a year afterwards, that the average area of past years was to constitute the limit of further permanent increase. Both these declarations were made after the discussion of April 1891, and, as Sir David Barbour has assured the Commission, out of deference to what then took place in the House of Commons.

September 1894.

J. A. BAINES,
Secretary to the Commission.

MEMORANDUM VIII.

TABLES SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION, BY DISTRICTS, OF THE OPIUM HABIT IN BRITISH INDIA ;

PREPARED BY THE SECRETARY.

In the Second Section of the Report the average annual consumption of licit opium per head, is shown by Provinces or large divisions of Provinces. In the tables accompanying the Excise Memoranda included in Vols. II., IV., and V., of the Proceedings of the Commission, corresponding figures are given by administrative districts. The averages are not, however, calculated in uniform weights, so that comparison is impracticable without further computation. It has been found, also, that in several instances the figures have been incorrectly printed, and in the case of Bengal that some of the calculations are wrong.

It has been thought advisable, therefore, to reduce the whole of the tables on a uniform basis in a form which will render them available for detailed comparison as well as for the exhibition, if necessary, of the facts they represent in the more useful and popular shape of a shaded or coloured map.

There is a slight difference between the census returns and the figures of area and population now presented. In the first place, it has not been considered worth while to include figures for the small Province of Coorg or the British territory in Balochistan. The consumption of opium in the former is very limited ; and in the case of the latter the population over which the consumption is distributable is not on record. Ajmer-Merwara, again, has been excluded, as no complete statistics are there collected. In the Punjab, about 6,000 Baloch wanderers, encamped at the time of census in the Dera Ghazi Khan district, have been excluded from the settled population.

The first table gives the total population of each district, grouped by Provinces, with the average yearly consumption of licit opium per head. In the second table, the districts are brought together according to their average consumption, the provincial order falling into a subordinate place. The third table is merely a proportional reduction of the second ; showing, first, the general geographical distribution of each degree of prevalence, and, second, the variety of prevalence found within the individual Province :—

TABLE I.

District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.	District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.
		Grains.			Grains.
I. ASSAM - -	5,433,199*	141·4	5. Rajshahye -	1,313,336	13·3
1. Sylhet - -	2,154,593	6·5	6. Dinajpur -	1,555,835	14·4
2. Kachar - -	367,542	41·8	7. Rangpur -	2,065,464	20·6
3. Goalpara -	452,304	16·9	8. Pabna - -	1,362,392	6·6
4. North Kachar -	18,941	170·8	9. Bogra - -	817,494	11·9
5. Naga Hills -	122,867	60·5	10. Bardwan -	1,391,880	22·8
6. Khasia „ -	197,904	19·8	11. Bankura -	1,069,668	8·2
7. Garo „ -	121,570	5·6	12. Birbhum -	797,833	15·9
8. Kamrup - -	634,249	136·6	13. Santal Pargannahs	1,754,196	3·3
9. Darrang - -	307,761	374·9	14. Hughli - -	1,076,710	41·4
10. Nowgong -	344,141	353·7	15. Nadia - -	1,644,108	10·9
11. Sibsagar -	457,274	442·2	16. Murshidabad -	1,250,946	23·5
12. Lakhimpur -	254,053	747·4	17. Midnapur -	2,631,516	25·0
II. BENGAL - -	71,069,643*	15·0	18. Howrah (<i>rural</i>) -	587,905	30·5
1. Darjiling -	223,314	15·7	19. The 24 Pargannahs	1,832,449	32·7
2. Jalpaigori -	681,352	6·0	20. Calcutta & suburbs	874,450	276·1
3. Purneah - -	1,944,658	13·8	21. Khulna - -	1,177,652	10·1
4. Maldah - -	814,919	33·9	22. Jessore - -	1,888,827	7·3
			23. Bakarganj -	2,153,965	7·7
			24. Faridpur /	1,797,320	2·2
			25. Noakhali -	1,009,693	1·1
			26. Tipperah -	1,782,935	0·8
			27. Dacca - -	2,420,656	5·1

* Omitting the hill tracts in North Lushai, Chittagong, and Angul.

District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.	District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.
		Grains.			Grains.
28. Maimansingh -	3,472,186	5·8	8. Nimar -	253,486	42·2
29. Chittagong† -	1,290,167	31·8	9. Hoshangab -	527,702	36·9
30. Cuttack† -	1,937,671	37·5	10. Narsinghpur -	367,026	35·2
31. Puri -	944,998	27·5	11. Jabalpur -	748,146	27·4
32. Balasore -	994,625	86·3	12. Saugor -	591,743	19·7
33. Hazaribagh§ -	1,164,321	3·7	13. Damoh -	325,613	12·0
34. Lohardaga -	1,128,885	9·2	14. Balaghat -	383,331	68·2
35. Palamau -	596,770	3·0	15. Mandla -	339,373	29·3
36. Singhbhum -	545,488	11·3	16. Chindwara -	339,443	41·7
37. Manbhum -	1,193,328	4·8	17. Seoni -	370,767	56·8
38. Champaran* -	1,859,465	0·8	18. Betul -	323,196	27·8
39. Saran* -	2,467,477	0·9			
40. Muzaffarpur† -	2,711,445	2·6	MADRAS -	35,630,440	14·0
41. Darbhanga‡ -	2,801,955	3·0	1. Ganjam -	1,896,803	12·8
42. Patna* -	1,769,004	14·8	2. Vizagapatam -	2,802,992	40·7
43. Gaya* -	2,138,331	5·2	3. Godavari -	2,078,782	130·6
44. Shahabad* -	2,063,337	2·0	4. Kistna -	1,855,582	18·6
45. Monghyr‡ -	2,036,021	2·4	5. Nellore -	1,463,736	1·9
46. Bhagalpur -	2,032,696	6·2	6. Karnul -	817,811	6·9
BERAR -	2,897,491	91·0	7. Uddapah -	1,272,072	3·5
1. Buldana -	481,021	90·6	8. Anantapur -	708,549	1·9
2. Basim -	398,181	34·7	9. Bellary -	900,126	3·6
3. Wun -	471,613	48·5	10. North Arcot -	2,180,487	3·5
4. Akola -	574,782	127·3	11. Chenglepat -	1,136,928	1·0
5. Amraoti -	655,645	95·7	12. Madras City -	452,518	26·5
6. Elichpur -	315,798	154·4	13. South Arcot -	2,162,851	0·8
BOMBAY -	15,985,270	47·0	14. Tanjore -	2,228,114	1·8
1. Ahmedabad -	921,712	114·7	15. Trichinopoly -	1,372,717	2·3
2. Kaira -	871,589	81·2	16. Madura -	2,608,404	1·5
3. Panch Mahals -	313,417	74·6	17. Tinnevely -	1,916,095	0·6
4. Broach -	341,490	179·6	18. Salem -	1,962,591	2·3
5. Surat -	649,989	33·4	19. Coimbatore -	2,004,839	2·7
6. Thana -	904,868	8·2	20. South Kanara -	1,056,081	1·0
7. Kolaba -	509,584	10·0	21. Malabar -	2,652,565	5·4
✓ 8. Bombay Island -	821,764	155·2	22. Nilgiris -	99,797	27·1
9. Ratnagiri -	1,105,926	1·7			
10. Kanara -	446,351	2·1	NORTH-WEST		
11. Khandesh -	1,460,851	62·6	PROVINCES AND OUDH	46,905,085	18·0
12. Nasik -	843,582	44·1	1. Dehra Dun -	168,135	65·4
13. Ahmednagar -	888,755	73·9	2. Tarai (<i>Naini Tal</i>) -	210,568	38·0
14. Poona -	1,067,800	58·9	3. Pilibhit -	485,366	20·7
15. Sholapur -	750,689	60·3	4. Gorakhpur* -	2,994,057	6·6
16. Satara -	1,225,989	18·4	5. Basti* -	1,785,844	3·1
17. Belgaum -	1,013,261	3·9	6. Gonda* -	1,459,229	4·4
18. Dharwar -	1,051,314	3·9	7. <i>Bahraich*</i> -	1,000,432	8·0
19. Bijapur -	796,339	4·3	8. Almora (<i>Kumaun</i>) -	563,181	4·6
SINDH -	2,871,774	44·0	9. Garhwal -	407,818	3·4
Karachi -	564,880	54·8	10. Saharanpur -	1,001,280	32·2
Hydrabad and	1,216,849	57·9	11. Muzaffarnagar -	772,874	29·2
Thar.			12. Meerut -	1,391,458	36·6
Shikarpur and	1,090,045	22·7	13. Aligarh -	1,043,172	39·6
Jacobabad.			14. Bulandshahr -	949,914	31·4
CENTRAL PROVINCES -	10,046,546	34·0	15. Agra -	1,003,796	39·5
1. Nagpur -	757,862	55·7	16. Mathura -	713,421	29·9
2. Bhandara -	742,850	32·0	17. Etawah‡ -	727,629	21·8
3. Wardha -	400,854	71·1	18. Cawnpore‡ -	1,209,695	69·1
4. Chanda -	697,610	19·0	19. Farakhabad‡ -	858,687	12·7
5. Raipur -	1,255,698	40·3	20. Etah‡ -	702,063	23·4
6. Bilaspur -	827,433	32·9	21. Mainpuri‡ -	762,163	7·7
7. Sambalpur -	796,413	28·5	22. Allahabad‡ -	1,548,737	36·5
			23. Fatehpur§ -	699,157	30·7
			24. Jalaun -	396,361	44·1
			25. Jhansi -	683,619	34·3
			26. Banda -	705,832	19·9
			27. Hamirpur -	513,720	42·7

† Omitting the hill tracts in Chittagong and Angul.

* Extensive poppy cultivation.

‡ Considerable poppy cultivation.

§ Small poppy cultivation.

* Extensive poppy cultivation.

‡ Considerable poppy cultivation.

§ Small poppy cultivation.

N.B.—Oudh districts are given in italics.

District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.	District.	Population (1891).	Average yearly consumption of Licit Opium per Head, 1892-93.
		Grains.			Grains.
28. Mirzapur -	1,161,508	22·9	5. Amritsar -	992,697	81·2
29. Benares§ -	921,943	87·7	6. Lahore -	1,075,379	75·5
30. Bareilī† -	1,040,691	22·1	7. Jalandhar -	907,583	59·5
31. Budaun† -	925,598	7·3	8. Ferozpur -	886,676	144·5
32. Shahjahanpur† -	918,551	19·2	9. Gurdaspur -	943,922	44·5
33. Moradabad -	1,179,398	33·3	10. Sialkot§ -	1,119,847	21·5
34. Bijnor -	794,070	21·8	11. Gujrat§ -	760,875	6·3
35. Sitapur† -	1,075,413	10·7	12. Hoshiarpur -	1,011,659	33·4
36. Kheri† -	903,615	18·5	13. Gujranwala -	690,169	29·7
37. Hardoi† -	1,113,211	7·3	14. Jhilm -	609,056	16·3
38. Lucknow† -	774,163	106·8	15. Rawal Pindi -	887,194	24·4
39. Bara-Banki† -	1,130,906	5·4	16. Hazara§ -	516,288	12·2
40. Unao† -	953,636	15·2	17. Peshawar -	703,768	19·6
41. Faizabad* -	1,216,959	13·1	18. Kohat -	203,175	18·4
42. Ghazipur† -	1,077,909	8·1	19. Bannu -	372,276	6·8
43. Balia† -	942,465	1·6	20. Dera Ismail Khan -	486,201	9·1
44. Jaunpur -	1,264,949	17·7	21. Dera Ghazi Khan§ -	404,031†	16·3
45. Azamgarh* -	1,728,625	4·6	22. Muzaffargarh -	381,095	14·5
46. Pratapgarh* -	910,895	6·0	23. Multan -	631,434	17·3
47. Rai Bareli* -	1,036,521	8·5	24. Jhang -	436,841	6·3
48. Sultanpur* -	1,075,851	6·3	25. Montgomery -	499,521	23·7
PANJAB§ -	20,860,913†	42·0	26. Shahpur† -	493,588	8·2
1. Simla§ -	44,642	136·8	27. Delhi -	638,689	35·8
2. Kangra§ -	763,030	9·9	28. Gurgaon -	668,929	9·2
3. Ambala* -	1,033,427	74·8	29. Karnal -	683,718	41·2
4. Ludhiana -	648,722	176·8	30. Hissar -	776,006	20·1
			31. Rohtak -	590,475	14·7

N.B.—Oudh districts are given in italics.

* Extensive poppy cultivation.

† Excluding 5,934 Baloch.

‡ Considerable poppy cultivation.

§ Small poppy cultivation.

† Considerable poppy cultivation (for opium).

§ Small poppy cultivation (for opium).

† Excluding 5,934 Baloch.

REPORT.

TABLE II.

**SHOWING the DISTRICTS of BRITISH PROVINCES arranged according to their AVERAGE ANNUAL
CONSUMPTION of LICIT OPIUM per Head.**

MADRAS	26,443,966	1. Kangra. 2. Hazara. 3. Dera Ismail Khan. 4. Shahpur. 5. Gurgaon.	4. Banda. 5. Mirzapur. 6. Bareilly. 7. Shahjahanpur. 8. Rijnor. 9. Jaunpur.	3,074,210	10. Chind-wara. 11. Betul MADRAS 1. Vizagapatnam. 2. Madras City. 3. Nilgiris.	3,355,307	3. Benares. PANJAB 1. Ambala. 2. Amritsar. 3. Lahore. 4. Jalandhar.	4,009,086
1. North Arcot. 2. South Arcot. 3. Chenglepat. 9. Tanjore. 10. Trichinopoly. 11. Madura. 12. Tinnevely. 13. Salem. 14. Coimbatore. 15. South Kanara. 16. Malabar.		1. Kheri. 2. Unao. 3. Faizabad. PANJAB 1. Sialkot. 2. Jhilsan. 3. Rawal Pindi. 4. Peshawar. 5. Kohat. 6. Dera Ghazi Khan. 7. Muzaftargah. 8. Multan. 9. Montgomery. 10. Hissar. 11. Rohtak.	6,806,002	NORTH-WEST PROVINCES. 1. Tarai. 2. Saharanpur. 3. Muzaftarnagar. 4. Meerut. 5. Aligarh. 6. Agra. 7. Mathura. 8. Allahabad. 9. Fatehpur. 10. Jalaun. 11. Jhansi. 12. Hamirpur. 13. Moradabad. PANJAB- 1. Gurdaspur. 2. Hoshiarpur. 3. Gujranwala. 4. Dehli. 5. Karnal.	12,107,475			
NORTH-WEST PROVINCES 1. Gorakhpur. 2. Basti. 3. Almora. 4. Garhwal. 5. Balia. 6. Azamgarh.	8,421,900					3,908,167		
7. Gonda. 8. Bara-Banki. 9. Pratapsarh. 10. Sultanpur.	4,576,881							
PANJAB 1. Gujrat. 2. Bannu. 3. Jhang.	1,560,992							

TABLE III.

SHOWING the POPULATION under each GROUP of AVERAGE CONSUMPTION by PROVINCES, in relation to the TOTAL POPULATION of the GROUPS and the PROVINCES respectively.

Province.	A.—Per-centage of Provincial Population in each Group on the Group Total.										B.—Per-centage of Provincial Totals on the Total of British Provinces.		C.—Per-centage of Provincial Population in each Group on the Provincial Total.											
	Average Annual Consumption of Licit Opium per Head.										Consumption of Opium in 1892-93.	Population (1891).	Average Annual Consumption of Licit Opium per Head.											
	Under 7 Grains.	7-12 Grains.	13-24 Grains.	25-48 Grains.	49-96 Grains.	97-144 Grains.	145 Grains and over.	Under 7 Grains.	7-12 Grains.	13-24 Grains.			25-48 Grains.	49-96 Grains.	97-144 Grains.	145 Grains and over.	Total Population.							
	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.							
1.																								
Assam	-	2.8	-	1.8	0.9	0.7	31.5	13.2	2.6	41.9	-	11.9	6.8	2.3	11.7	25.4	100.0							
Bengal	-	42.6	42.0	34.1	27.9	5.6	19.9	19.1	33.6	49.7	14.8	17.3	15.6	1.4	-	1.2	100.0							
Bihar	-	-	-	-	2.3	6.4	7.2	4.6	1.4	-	-	-	30.0	39.3	19.8	10.9	100.0							
Bombay	-	5.3	5.7	3.4	3.8	30.4	26.6	13.1	7.5	27.5	8.9	7.7	9.3	33.5	5.8	7.3	100.0							
Sindh	-	-	-	3.0	-	10.1	-	2.2	1.4	-	-	33.0	-	62.0	-	-	100.0							
Central Provinces	-	-	1.3	3.6	16.4	10.9	-	6.2	4.7	-	3.2	12.8	64.9	19.1	-	-	100.0							
Madras	-	31.8	7.6	5.1	8.4	-	-	9.0	16.8	74.3	5.3	5.2	9.4	-	5.8	-	100.0							
North-West Provinces	-	10.1	14.6	21.6	30.4	13.1	-	14.3	16.2	24.6	10.6	22.8	35.3	6.7	-	-	100.0							
Oudh	-	5.5	17.0	8.5	-	-	-	3.3	5.9	36.2	33.4	24.3	-	-	6.1	-	100.0							
Panjab	-	1.9	12.8	18.9	9.9	22.8	14.8	15.0	9.9	7.5	14.0	32.6	19.0	19.3	4.5	3.1	100.0							
Total, British Provinces	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	39.2	11.7	17.1	18.8	8.3	2.8	2.1	100.0							

N.B.—Parts A. and B. should be read vertically. Part C. horizontally.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

VOL. VII.

FINAL REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

PART II.

HISTORICAL APPENDICES;

TOGETHER WITH

AN INDEX OF WITNESSES AND SUBJECTS,

AND A GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS USED IN THE
EVIDENCE AND APPENDICES.

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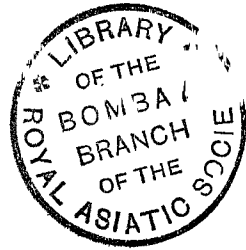
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APPENDIX A.

APPENDIX A.

NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF OPIUM IN INDIA AND OF THE TRADE
IN IT WITH CHINA.

By SIR JAMES B. LYALL, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Note, dated February 15th, which is printed below, was written in response to the Chairman's suggestion that members should read up different branches of the subject, and record notes which could be circulated for the information of the Commission, and be eventually published as Appendices to the Report if that seemed desirable. It was intended to refer especially to the export trade in Indian opium. I wrote it hastily in intervals of leisure while travelling with the Commission in India, and compiled the historical parts from statements of fact gathered from official reports put before us by the Government of India, previous notes by Drs. Edkins, Medhurst, and Watt, and Mr. George Batten, C.S.J., some Blue Books, and many anti-opium and pro-opium books and pamphlets.

It was completed, and copies sent to the members of the Commission before the final sitting in India, at which important resolutions embodying our impressions of the evidence taken were adopted. It is, therefore, reproduced in its original form. But as I had not had time to verify my quotations and inferences by reference to the original authorities, Mr. Dane, who was going to England on duty in connexion with the Commission, offered to make use of the library and record rooms of the India Office, and prepare a *précis* of all the information bearing on the historical parts of my Note which he could find there.

Mr. Dane has devoted some time to this task, and the result is the valuable Memorandum printed as Appendix B. in this volume of our Proceedings.

Comparison with Mr. Dane's Memorandum shows some mistakes in the first three pages of my Note. I was wrong in saying that a Chinese writer of the 12th century distinctly described the preparation of opium: I referred to the extract from a medical work by Lin Hung given in paragraph 7 of Dr. Edkin's Historical Note, but I see that Lin Hung's "poppy milk fish" were a decoction made with the juice extracted from poppy capsules, which is not quite the same thing, though no doubt similar in effect. On the other hand, Mr. Dane does not mention Dr. MacGowan who has found evidence in Chinese records that the abuse of opium prevailed in parts of China as far back as the end of the 13th century. Dr. MacGowan is quoted in paragraph 6 of the letter of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce which forms one of our Appendices, and I have seen him elsewhere referred to as an undoubted authority. He is, I believe, a missionary and Chinese scholar. Again, I attributed the origin of the Mogul monopoly to Akbar's time, whereas it seems certain that it began later, or it would have been mentioned by Abul Fazal. I also assumed, as has been generally done, that the Mogul monopoly was a general measure in Northern India, but I now think it was peculiar to Behar and country adjacent. There is no tradition or record of its having existed elsewhere, and Warren Hastings and Sir John Macpherson writing when the matter first attracted attention, appear to have thought that it was confined to Behar. These mistakes are not important, and do not touch my argument or its conclusions; but I see from information new to me in Mr. Dane's Memorandum, that my description of the origin of the Bengal monopoly is incomplete, and that my surmises as to Warren Hastings' motives and intentions are often wrong; also that the East India Company's early relations to the opium trade were very small, and even more irreproachable than I imagined. My Note also seems deficient, as it gives no explanation of how the old trade in opium was diverted so largely into European hands.

For these reasons I have written the following paragraphs, which I wish to be read as a correction and enlargement of the first three pages of my Note of February 15th:—

I. It seems certain that opium must have been carried as a medicine to India, and perhaps to China, long before Mahomedan times, for it was in high repute and largely produced in the countries on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean in the first century of our era; and long after, as well as long before, that century, the whole of the great trade between Europe and the Indies flowed through those very countries. A valuable drug like opium must have formed an item of the trade, though not perhaps in quantities to attract attention. It is said to be mentioned in Indian medical works supposed to belong to the 8th century. This is asserted in paragraph 29 of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce's letter, and was also deposed to by witnesses at Bombay.

But, however that may be, there is good reason to believe that the use of the drug, as a stimulant, and the cultivation of the poppy on a large scale for the production of opium, are comparatively recent in Eastern Asia, and were introduced by Musalman power and influence. We know how rapidly that power extended over Syria, Egypt, and Persia after the first establishment in Arabia, early in the seventh century, of the religion of Islam. The fact that alcohol was strictly forbidden by the commandments of the new religion would naturally lead its votaries in Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, to fall back on other stimulants known to them, like opium and hemp drugs, which had escaped prohibition. Rigid puritans might hold opium also forbidden by implication, as the Wahabis of Arabia have to this day asserted regarding tobacco, but this would be the doctrine of a minority. There are many local indications that the opium habit and the extensive cultivation of the poppy came into India with the Musalman invaders—Arab, Persian, and Turk—who in the 8th century conquered Sindh from the sea, and in the eleventh began the series of invasions from Afghanistan which gradually brought almost all India under Musalman rule or influence. The exact date of the introduction is not known, but from the Portuguese descriptions written in the commencement of the 16th century of the common and inveterate nature of the habit in India, and of the quantity exported, the Indian production and consumption must have then been large and of old standing. The great producing districts from which the export trade was then supplied may be identified from the Ain-i-Akbari, written a little later, in which the poppy is described as a staple crop in the greater part of Northern India, and in the Province of Malwa. It must have taken at least two or three hundred years of gradual introduction to extend the cultivation and habit over such large areas, for the Indian does not quickly adopt a new crop or a new habit.

As to China, the production and habitual use of opium (as distinct from the use of the seed and capsules of the poppy), seem to have reached that country also through the Musalmans, but of course much later. According to Dr. MacGowan the use of opium came in with the Mongols, who established the Yuen dynasty in China in A.D. 1260. The Mongols, must have been familiar with opium from their previous conquests of Turkistan and Persia, and probably imported it from those countries. According to Dr. Edkins, production of opium in China is first distinctly mentioned in Chinese literature by Wang Hsi, who wrote in the 15th century. He found the cultivation established in those parts of Western China where there was then a Musalman population. Foreign opium must have been consumed at the same time in the coast districts of China, for, as is proved by the authorities quoted by Mr. Dane, the Portuguese in the commencement of the 16th century found both Arabs and Indians trading in opium with the Chinese and other nations to the east of India. It is a significant fact that ancient passages from Chinese poets and writers quoted by Dr. Edkins show that before opium was known drinks and decoctions which do not seem to have been medical were made from poppy seeds, and the juice expressed from poppy capsules.

II. The above account brings us to the end of the 15th century when the European navies and merchant adventurers first appeared, and gives, I think, all the history of the case previous to that time which is required. Up to then the sea trade in India and China Seas had been entirely in Oriental hands, all the nations of Asia taking a share, though the seafaring Musulmans from the coasts of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf seem to have made the longest voyages, and to have held a dominant position in respect to sea power. The shipping employed must have been large, as besides effecting exchange of goods between all the nations of Asia it carried also the rich trade in Asiatic products which then flowed through Egypt and Syria to Europe. The discovery of the Cape route made a great change in the situation, and in the course of the two centuries that followed the old Oriental sea trade was greatly depressed and disorganised by the superior power and enterprise of the Europeans, who transferred to themselves by fair means or foul most of the trade or carriage of the more valuable articles, opium included.

The Portuguese discovered the Cape in 1488, but it was 10 years later that they first crossed the Indian Ocean, and appeared on the West Coast of India. In the next 20 years they had visited the coasts of Arabia, Persia, and India, the Malacca Straits, the great Islands of the Malay Archipelago and China itself, and had established themselves on land in many places. All this time they carried on fierce fights with the Moors or Musalman sailors, in which both parties were, I suppose, equally often the aggressors. How the Portuguese and Spaniards commonly behaved, even to peaceable Orientals, may be guessed by those who know how they behaved in those days to the Indians of America. The letter of 1511, quoted by Mr. Dane, describing the piratical capture of eight Gujarati ships, laden with opium and other goods, refers to what was a common procedure.* Many of these Portuguese and Spanish sailors were pirates, buccaneers, and slave dealers rather than merchants. The exclusive policy commenced by the Chinese in this century, and suddenly adopted later on by the Japanese, was no doubt due to their conduct. India had been assigned to the Portuguese in the partition of all the Indies which the Pope made between them and the Spaniards, and these two nations claimed, and practically enforced, against other Europeans till the end of the 16th century, a monopoly of all the trade with Asia round the Cape.

At the very end of this century many Dutch and English adventurers were trying, at the risk of their lives, to share in this trade, and in 1600-1602 the London and Dutch East Indies Companies were formed, really as the only way of forcibly disputing and breaking down the monopoly of the Spaniards and Portuguese, who showed no mercy to ships of other European nations not strong enough to fight them. By 1612 the Dutch and English had factories on the west coast of India at Surat, and a little later they had established others on the east coast, and on the Hugli in Bengal. Though the Dutch and English quarrelled and fought among themselves, they co-operated against the Spanish and Portuguese, and by the middle of this, the 17th, century the trade of the latter with India had much diminished, and half their possessions in the Indian and China seas had passed into the hands of the Dutch, who began the policy of territorial acquisitions long before the English did. About this time the French and Danes also came in, and established factories on both coasts and on the Hugli.

Though monopolies of trade to the Indies had been granted by various European Governments, the companies so formed could not practically keep out private adventurers even of their own nationality, and swarms of these interlopers came in, and traded under licenses obtained from the Companies or without them. All the European sea traders were more or less violent and lawless in their dealings with the natives, particularly on the sea, where at this time the only law in this part of the world was that of force. The decay of the old native sea trade, and the transfer to the Europeans of most of the commerce in articles of high value, opium included, therefore continued.

The Dutch had from the first taken the lead in the Bengal opium export trade from the Hugli, and though in the course of this century the English established a great predominance over them in general trade with India, yet they retained their lead in this item. They wanted opium for their trade to Ceylon, the Malacca Straits, and the Malay Archipelago, in which countries they had by this time, to a great extent, beaten us out of the field. The Dutch East India Company's records show that by arrangement with Native Princes it attempted to monopolise the import of opium into these countries, principally with the object of breaking down the old native sea trade, and so monopolising commerce of all kinds. The Portuguese had from the first been the chief European exporters of Malwa opium, and never lost their ports on the Gulf of Cambay, which were the most convenient for it. The opium they exported mostly went to China, where they had established, in 1537, the important settlement of Macao, a hundred years before our first attempt to trade with China.

All the European sea traders took part more or less in the opium export trade. They did so, not because much was wanted in Europe, though some did go there, but mainly because opium was one of the few articles for which there was always a steady demand in most of the countries to the East of India. It was in fact very profitable to buy it cheap in India in exchange for European goods, or gold and silver, and to exchange it further east at high value for the silks, tea, pepper, and spices, which were in so great demand in Europe. Being also extremely portable and durable, opium was of course an excellent substitute for money in dealing with countries where trade had always been mainly by barter, and where few European goods were wanted. These reasons, and the decay of the native sea trade explain why in the course of these two centuries the export of Indian opium was for the most part diverted into European hands. The production in India was probably stimulated by the activity of the European traders demand, and by the falling off of the supply of opium from the Turkish empire, which the old Arab trade used to convey. But there are no signs that the consumption in India increased after the Europeans came on the scene: indeed, the contrary may be inferred

* Mr. F. C. Danvers' recent history of the Portuguese Dominion in the Indies shows that the Portuguese deliberately set to work to destroy the sea-trade of the eastern nations.

from the first accounts we have of the prevalence of the habit in India given by Portuguese, Dutch, and Musalman writers of the 16th century, and from the large quantities reported to have gone in the 16th and 17th centuries from Bengal and Malwa to Malabar, and the Deccan, where the consumption is now very small. It seems very likely that the introduction of tobacco in the 17th century led to a decrease in consumption of opium in some parts of India. When tobacco was unknown, and alcohol in disgrace among Hindus as well as Mahommedans, it is likely that indulgence in opium would widely prevail.

So far as India and its opium trade are concerned the state of things which prevailed in the 17th century was not materially changed in the first half of the 18th, but it may be noted that opium smoking had begun to largely take the place of tobacco smoking in China by the beginning of the 18th century, and this led to a gradual great increase in the Chinese demand for opium.

III. The next stage in the history of the subject begins with our occupation of Bengal in 1758. For some years before this, the decay of the authority of the Mogul Government and consequent confusion, had permitted or even forced, the Europeans to raise troops, and turn their factories into fortresses, held practically independent of the Native Governments.

This led to quarrels with some Native Princes and alliances with others, to wars between us and the French in India, and eventually, in 1758, to the military occupation of Bengal and Behar, by the forces of the British East Indies Company after a war provoked by the brutality of the Nawab. By this, the Company became military masters of a great territory which happened to include the town of Patna. This town was a place where the European sea-traders settled on the Hugli had their furthest inland agencies for trade of all kinds with Northern India, and it was in particular the emporium from which they drew their supplies of northern, or which we now call Bengal, opium for export to the East.

It is important to understand clearly how out of this position grew the system known as the Bengal monopoly, which has been so much abused and misrepresented. To explain this it seems necessary to begin by describing the condition under which opium was produced and sold before we interfered.

From all that is known it may be safely inferred that everywhere in India the ryot was originally as free to cultivate and sell opium as any other crop. He sold to whom he pleased, but generally to a merchant or moneylender, from whom in ordinary Indian fashion he had taken advances on the security of the crop. There is no record or tradition of any special system having been employed by former rulers to encourage or restrict the cultivation of opium in India; and in Persia, Afghanistan, and Turkistan where the cultivation has long existed, it seems to be on the same footing as that of any other crop. As our rule spread gradually over India from 1758 to 1858, we found poppy cultivation great or small in almost every district where climate and soil was suitable, and everywhere we found the ryot free to cultivate and to sell it. These are the conditions generally prevailing at the present day in Native States to which our interference has not extended, and with one exception they seem to have prevailed everywhere till our administration began. The exception is that a monopoly of purchase of opium from the ryots seems to have been imposed some time in the 17th century on the tract of country from which the opium dealers of Patna drew their supplies. Probably the large fortunes made by these particular dealers in supplying the European and other sea traders with opium tempted the rulers of the day to make revenue out of the trade in a way well known to Oriental rulers, and often applied by them to very valuable articles of produce. The monopolist having sole control of the market, could keep down the price to the cultivators and raise it on exporting merchants or retail dealers, and so make great profits, out of which he would have to pay a heavy fee into the State Treasury. The authorised existence of this local monopoly of purchase of opium had died out some time before 1758 owing to the confusion of the Mogul Empire, or some other cause. But, as is well known, usage and tradition are very strong in India, particularly where backed by men of wealth and power, and this probably explains the fact that when we occupied Behar, we found a ring of rich opium dealers established at Patna, who had long maintained without any recognised authority a practical monopoly. They were able by their influence and combination to prevent the cultivators or small country dealers from dealing with outsiders, and to fix the prices at which the European merchants or other sea traders should get from them the pick of the market. The Europeans were in too insecure a position to go out and deal direct with the cultivators, and the Native Government, out of jealousy of foreigners, would have supported the ring against them if they had dared to try.

IV. This is how the matter stood before 1758, when after a short period of more than ordinary turmoil, which temporarily half ruined the trade, the British East India Company stood forth as military master of Bengal and Behar. As soon as that occurred, it was of course certain that the power of the ring would not last long.

The Company did not at first attempt to administer the territories, and left that duty to the Nawab it had set up. Though in 1765 it was forced to undertake the collection of the revenue, it did not take over the control of the whole administration from the Native authorities till 1773. In the interval the dual government which existed was naturally very disorderly, too weak to defend the Natives, but strong enough to oppress them to any extent. The commercial agents and servants of the Company had always been allowed to trade for themselves as well as to execute commissions for their masters; they soon began to have some administrative functions added to their old duties, but even before that they had great authority over the Natives. Most of them quickly used these irresponsible powers to make fortunes for themselves by, as far as possible, monopolising all the articles most valuable for the export trade. The Company's agents at Patna, who went by the name of the Patna council, acted like the rest, and as in the case of opium they found a monopoly ready made in the hands of the ring, they almost at once appropriated it, not on behalf the Company, but for the benefit of their own private trade. The Natives submitted but the Dutch and French companies' agents at Patna made a strong resistance, sending their own purchasers into the field, and after much conflict the Patna council, in 1765, prudently settled the dispute by admitting them to a subordinate share. Under this arrangement the Patna council, through its native agent or contractor, was the sole purchaser from the ryots and small country dealers, but the Dutch and French got certain shares out of the total opium collected. This usurped monopoly must have brought great wealth to the Patna council, who could, no doubt, sell all their opium to the sea-trading merchants at Calcutta at much higher prices than they paid to the ryots; but it was not complete, as the ryots knew how to meet intimidation by evasion, and as, in the absence of real authority, European interlopers forced themselves in and bought direct; all this led to affrays and troubles of various kinds.

V. At last, when Warren Hastings was made Governor-General in 1773, and was given by Statute full powers to organise a proper Government, one of the first reforms he undertook was that of depriving the Company's servants of the privileges of private trade which they had abused, and breaking down the

irregular monopolies of all kinds which they had created. But when in the course of those inquiries the case of this Patna opium monopoly had to be considered, it was seen to be of a special and important nature, and after full discussion in Council at Calcutta it was decided not to set the trade in opium free, but to take over and authoritatively maintain the monopoly as a measure of State for the benefit of the public revenue.* The traditional monopoly of the Mogul Government and the subsequent continuous subjection of the ryots of Behar, to monopolies not strictly authorised, but supported by power and influence, were taken as a justification, and it was held that, in the existing circumstances of the administration of the country† and the trade, the ryots, would be more injured than benefitted by free trade in the drug. In reply to the argument that free trade would increase production, Hastings urged that increase was undesirable in the case of a pernicious luxury like opium, as it would carry with it increase of internal consumption, which it was desirable to restrict. The policy of the State monopoly was again disputed in council in 1776, Francis being opposed to all monopolies on general principles, but the rest of the council adhered to their former decision. In the same year, and again in 1778 and 1782, the London Directors of the East India Company in their correspondence with the Calcutta Government expressed dislike of the monopoly as a measure of oppression to the opium cultivators by depriving them of the full value of their produce, and suggested that the trade should be left open, subject to a customs duty. Nothing came of this suggestion which was no doubt thought impracticable in India. But it was one of the charges on which Warren Hastings was indicted that the monopoly was a despotic interference with the liberty of the Ryot, and that he should have complied with the Directors' suggestion.

In maintaining the monopoly for the State the Calcutta Government did not materially change its old form, in fact they at first gave the monopoly of purchase from the ryots and others to the same Native contractor who had been employed by the Patna council, who used to deliver to that body at the arranged contract price all the good opium fit for export which he could collect. Now, he had to deliver it at Calcutta to be sold there for the benefit of the Company's Government. As to the sale the orders were that the bulk of the opium was to be sold at public auction for export only to the highest bidder, but certain amounts were to be reserved from actual auction for the Dutch and French Companies and for the British East India Company on its commercial side. These amounts the Companies were to take over at average auction prices. The amount to be reserved for the British East India Company was small, and was intended only for the trade use of their commercial factory in Sumatra.‡

VI. It is important to observe that with this small exception for the Sumatra factory the East India Company's Government at Calcutta did not intend that the Company should itself engage in the opium export trade to China or elsewhere. Nor does the Company seem to have previously engaged to any larger extent in that particular branch of trade, even when it was a commercial company only. There is the evidence of Mr. J. Hinchman before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1773 to the effect that down to 1772 the East India Company did not invest in Bengal opium except to a small amount wanted for trade in Sumatra. For some reason they did invest to a larger extent in 1772, but next year, in making the permanent arrangements connected with the monopoly, they reverted to the policy of only investing for the Sumatra trade. The opium which used to be bought at Patna by the British in competition with the Dutch, French, and Danes, and others, in the period before the British became masters of Bengal and Behar, much of which no doubt went to China, must apparently have been bought by British traders on their private account. As to this, Captain Alexander Hamilton's notice in 1727 of opium the property of other merchants being conveyed in the Company's fleet from Patna to Calcutta, with the Company's saltpetre, piece goods, and silk is worth note. If the Company also itself bought some opium at Patna in those days other than that wanted for Sumatra it probably sold it at Calcutta, and used the money so obtained for what they called "investment," that is, purchase of goods in China and elsewhere. There was always difficulty in providing enough silver for this purpose. This was the head of account to which the Directors at home wished the revenue derived from the new State monopoly to be credited when the question was raised in 1775 and referred to them. But the Calcutta Government rightly held that it was territorial revenue, and their view seems to have been finally adopted. The point in difference was not very material, as surplus territorial revenue was in those days used by the Company for trade investment purposes.

VII. Almost as soon as the Company's Government had by the new State monopoly got into its hands all the good opium of Bengal and Behar fit for the Calcutta export market, it naturally occurred to some of its servants that it was in a position to go still further. By force of the monopoly the Government had appropriated for the benefit of the State the whole profits which the old merchant manufacturers who bought from the cultivators and sold to the sea traders used to make, and that addition to the sale price of their opium which the cultivators would have got if they had been allowed to sell in open market. Why should not the Government take one further step and appropriate also the profits of the sea traders by itself shipping the opium for sale in the ports of China and other countries to the East? This suggestion was made in 1775 by the revenue officers of Patna, one of whose duties it was to superintend the working of the monopoly. They estimated in their letter that if the French and Dutch were kept out and smuggling stopped, they could supply at least 33,000 chests of Bengal and Behar opium, which the Company would be able to sell at an enormous profit in China. When this letter came before the Council at Calcutta the suggestion that the Company should itself export seems to have been dropped by common consent without discussion, but Hastings proposed that direct official agency should be employed for purchase of the opium in place of the contractor. This proposal was no doubt made with reference to the enormous loss by smuggling, that is, sale to other persons than the contractor, which the report indicated. The majority of the Council, however, decided against Hastings' proposal, and the matter dropped.

* It appears that though the profits of the monopoly were intended to form a branch of the public revenue, it was at this time part of the plan that they should be temporarily set aside as a fund from which to pay compensation to those servants of the Company who were being deprived of long-enjoyed privileges of private trade.

† The Council were no doubt right in thinking that with the weak hold they then had of the country free trade in opium would have given great trouble to the administration and been of no benefit to the ryots. Direct dealing between the Europeans of different nationalities, or their native agents, and the ryots would have been politically objectionable in those days, and would have led to great disorders. In much later times the system by which European Indigo manufacturers gave advances to ryots for the cultivation of indigo led to fraud and oppression and constant affrays.

‡ The Company probably exported opium themselves to their Sumatra settlements in imitation of the Dutch, who in their Malay possessions in Sumatra and elsewhere, generally adopted the policy of making the import of opium a State monopoly. That is how it still stands in Java; but it is estimated by Dutch authorities that the State only imports half the opium consumed in Java; the other half being smuggled in by private traders.

In 1781, however, the Calcutta Government was induced, by great want of money and by a temporary collapse of the sales of its opium in Calcutta, to deviate from its settled policy, and export two shiploads of opium on its own account to China and the Straits.* The particulars of this transaction are given in Mr. Dane's Memorandum, but he does not fully explain the historical events which led to the emergency. The fact is that we were then at war at sea with the French, Dutch, and Spaniards, and on land in India with Hyder Ali of Mysore and the Mahrattas. The Calcutta market was thereby closed to all the chief foreign exporters, and our own merchant ships were employed in exporting supplies to Madras. The sea also was unsafe for ships flying the English flag. Under these circumstances the opium at Calcutta fell, of course, to a very low price, and the Calcutta Government lost a considerable revenue at a time when its exchequer was drained by the most extraordinary war expenses.

This enterprise was condemned by the Court of Directors as contrary to their settled policy, and beneath their dignity in respect to China, where opium was liable to be treated as contraband. It was not repeated, and the monopoly worked by contract continued without change of system till Lord Cornwallis reformed it by substituting direct official agency. The reasons which led him to make this change, and the subsequent history of the monopoly are sufficiently given in my original Note.

J. B. LYALL.

November 24, 1894.

(a.) *Growth of the Poppy and use of Opium in India and Trade in it from India towards China and other Countries to the East in the Time before European Navies appeared in India and China Seas.*

1. The people of India would say, if asked, that poppy has been cultivated and opium produced from time immemorial like wheat or any other staple crop. Learned inquirers, however, deduce from the Indian word for opium and from some negative evidence derivable from ancient Hindu literature that the cultivation and production must have been introduced by the Arabs, who were of course in close relations with Egypt and Asia Minor, where opium production was an important industry in the first century of the Christian era.

2. The Arabs were the first people who made long voyages in Eastern Seas. Their command of the sea led to their conquest of Sindh in the eighth century, and long before that their ships were carrying on a regular trade with China as well as India. They probably introduced the cultivation of the poppy into both India and China in this century, if not previously. We know from very early Chinese writers that the Arab merchants brought poppy capsules to China, and again from Chinese writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries that the poppy was then widely cultivated in China, and the capsules and seeds used for medicine and stimulating drinks; again, the preparation of opium is distinctly described by a Chinese writer of the twelfth century; and from Chinese writers of the fifteenth century it is proved that by that time the production of opium was an established industry in China. There is no record in Indian literature that opium was produced in India so early, but that literature till the later Mahomedan times was so vague on subjects of the kind that the negative evidence deducible from the fact is of little weight. The probability seems to be that the cultivation of the poppy and production of opium began in India at least as soon as in China. We know at all events that when at the very commencement of the sixteenth century the Portuguese were the first Europeans to enter the Indian and China Seas, they found opium an important article of the trade carried on by the Arab and Indian merchants to Burma, the Malay Peninsula, China, and the islands of the Archipelago. Egyptian, Arabian, and Indian opium all formed part of the trade supply, but the Indian product exceeded the rest in quantity. Most of the Indian article seems at this time to have been exported from the Bombay coast, but some little came from the Madras and more from the Bengal coast. Another fact which proves that the production of opium must have been established in India long before the sixteenth century is the mention in the "Aini-Akbari," the great history of Akbar's reign, of the poppy as a staple crop in the *subahs* or Mogul provinces which comprised the north-west part of India—from Benares to Multan, and in the country which now produces the Malwa opium. To have become a staple crop over such a large extent of country in Akbar's time it must have been long before introduced. The same great work shows that opium was eaten and drunk in India to an excessive degree by many people in this sixteenth century, and that the habit of giving it to children till they were three years old already prevailed in some places.

3. These notices are enough to show that the production and use and abuse of opium in India and the export trade of opium from India to the East are matters of ancient

* It is interesting to observe that the shipload of opium sent to China was sold there at a heavy loss, because, with other reasons, of the "immense quantities" of opium brought before its arrival to Macao by Portuguese ships. This no doubt was Malwa opium.

history, and facts which were established long before European traders or European powers appeared in the East. It may be added that the great antiquity of the use of opium as a stimulant as well as a medicine, or soothing drug, is a common matter of belief in India.

(6.) *Production of Opium in India and Export Trade in Opium towards China and other Countries to the East in times subsequent to the first appearance of the European Nations.*

4. The Mogul Empire in India may be said to have been established in the middle of the sixteenth century. Before that time the cultivation, production, and sale of opium appear to have been free throughout India like that of any other crop, as was the case in Hindu States when we first came to India, and as is still the case in the Hindu States of Rajputana and Central India, and in Nepal and elsewhere. The Mogul Government, however, established, probably in the time of the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), for revenue purposes, a State monopoly in the purchase and sale of opium. Such monopolies, though very contrary to our ideas of political economy, are an old way of raising revenue in the East. The Dutch Government has long exercised such monopolies in respect to several of the most valuable agricultural products of Java. The Spaniards, till lately, made Manilla tobacco a State monopoly. The Amir of Afghanistan has lately tried to establish one in respect to fruit exported from Afghanistan to India. The fact that the Mogul Government made opium a monopoly, as well as salt and saltpetre, shows what an important item of commerce it then was. Whether the Mogul monopoly of opium extended to all provinces of India ruled by Mogul Governors, or only to those in which opium was a staple crop and important article of commerce is not clear; but the latter view seems most probable.

5. The Mogul State monopoly of opium was farmed out to contractors for large districts or provinces. The cultivation remained free, but the growers could sell only to the State contractors, who manufactured the crude opium and sold it to merchants for the export trade beyond seas, or to retail dealers for internal consumption.

6. From this point I think it will be convenient to deal separately with the history of the trade in Bengal opium and the history of the trade in Malwa opium. I shall deal mainly with the export trade beyond seas, and shall not refer to Excise Regulations on internal consumption, unless they have some bearing on the other subject.

Bengal Opium.

7. The European merchants first established themselves on the west coast of India; on the bay of Bengal the European nations seem to have begun to have trading stations or factories in the sixteenth century; the Portuguese in the beginning, the other nations at the end, or early in the seventeenth. Thus, in 1624 we find that the English had established a factory on the site of an old Portuguese one in Orissa, and four years before this, we have an English factor writing from Patna.

8. Throughout the seventeenth century till near the end the Mogul Government was more or less strong and vigorous. At this time among European merchants the Dutch were the chief purchasers of Bengal opium for export, but the French, English, and Danes followed. The East India Company's first express order to its factors to invest in opium is of the year 1683. It is not possible to say what the total amount of Bengal opium, exported by Native and European merchants, then was, but relatively to the trade of those days in other articles of export it was evidently very considerable and important.

9. In the early part of the eighteenth century the Mogul Government had lost its vigour, and the Mogul State monopoly in opium had fallen into disuse in Bengal and Behar, and probably in most outlying provinces, if not everywhere. At this time in Bengal, Behar, and adjoining tracts, not only the cultivation but also the trade in opium was free from State control, but the business of purchasing it from the cultivators and manufacturing it for sale to the merchants who exported it by sea was almost entirely in the hands of a body of native merchants at Patna, which was the chief mart for the export trade in Bengal opium. These Patna merchants made advances to the cultivators and bought their crop; they also bought opium from other

smaller manufacturers living in the country districts. No doubt they also bought up opium coming from Nepal, Oudh, and other parts of the interior. From these Patna manufacturers and wholesale dealers the European trading companies and other exporting merchants drew their supplies. The Dutch Company still had most of the trade at this time. But the export trade does not seem to have been confined to the European companies: Captain Hamilton, writing in 1727, mentions that from 500 to 1,000 chests of Bengal opium went annually to Calicut alone for sale in the interior of Southern India.

10. The trade seems to have gone on very well in this way in spite of the increasing weakness of the Mogul Government till the confusion began which ended in the quarrels of Nawab Suraj-ud-Daula with the European companies, and his triumph over them in 1756. This for the time ruined the trade, and the cultivation in all this part of India fell off. When, however, in 1765 the British East India Company ceased to be simply a merchant company and acquired by grant from the Mogul Emperor the administration of Bengal and Behar and took the province of Benares (Raja Chet Singh's dominions) under its protection, the cultivation and trade began to revive in those provinces, but the envious competition between the agents of the different European companies and quarrels between the exporting merchants generally and the middlemen who dealt with the cultivators, led again to decline in amount and quality of the opium produced. For this reason, and also probably because he thought that the English, as now practically rulers of the country, ought to get the lion's share of this important trade, Warren Hastings, in 1773, after meeting much opposition in Council on economic grounds, revived in a new form, in favour of the English East India Company's Bengal Government, the old Mogul State monopoly of opium. To conciliate the Dutch, French, and Danes, he had to promise them a certain fixed number of chests of opium annually, at cost price, for their trade.

11. The form of Warren Hastings' monopoly was as follows: It was leased to contractors who had the exclusive right to buy and manufacture all opium grown in the East India Company's provinces, and also to buy and import any they could get from foreign territory adjacent, such as Nepal and the dominions of the Nawabs of Oudh. The contractors were bound, on the other hand, to deliver all the opium they could so buy, which was good enough for the export trade, to the East India Company's Governor at Calcutta at a certain fixed price per chest. The inferior opium they were apparently free to sell for local consumption.

12. Warren Hastings' intention seems to have been that the opium so delivered (less that which had to be given to the Dutch, French, and Danes) should be exported to China and elsewhere for the East India Company as a commercial venture like the opium its factors bought formerly used to be. But two years later, in 1775, it was decided by the Government at Calcutta, and accepted by the Directors in England, that the monopoly like the old Mogul monopoly was a revenue measure, and that all the opium delivered at Calcutta, excepting that transferred to the foreign companies, must be sold at auction for export only.* Under this rule, merchants of all nations bid—from Hindu, Jew, and Armenian to English and other Europeans—and no questions were asked as to destination. In 1782, Warren Hastings, in contravention of this decision, sent cargoes of opium for sale on account of Government to the Straits of Malacca and China. This action of his was attacked as insubordinate and discreditable and tainted with motives of favouring his friends, and formed an article of his impeachment in 1786. It was soon found that the contract monopoly system worked no better for Government, and even worse for the cultivators, than the former free trade system had done. It had been stipulated with the contractors that the cultivators should be absolutely free to cultivate or not, and that the contractors should give them a fair price such as they got when the trade was free. But the contractors having to pay heavily for their monopolies of purchase at the auction biddings for the monopoly were driven to screw down the prices they gave to the cultivators and to cheat them in payments. The cultivators responded by adulterating; by selling to

* *Note.*—I understand that the monopoly proposed by Warren Hastings was opposed by some members of his Council on 2 grounds: (1) because State monopolies are always economically bad for the industries to which they are applied and for industry in general; (2) because though it may be politically justifiable for a Government to create a State monopoly for the purpose of raising a public revenue, it would be tyranny for the East India Company to use its power as a Government to monopolise an old industry for its profit as a trading company. The first objection was over-ruled, but the second was accepted.

smugglers, or by abandoning the cultivation, so that the amount of opium which reached the Bengal Government grew less and less, and constant friction and disputes occurred between all parties concerned. In 1786 Lord Cornwallis became Governor General and soon came to the conclusion that for the benefit of the revenue, the people, and the trade, the purchasing and manufacturing contractors must be got rid of and a special agency paid by the State be substituted to do their work. There was evidently only a choice between this measure and that of reverting to the free trade in opium which had prevailed for some time before 1773. Free trade would have meant a considerable loss of revenue and the flooding of the country with cheap opium. Lord Cornwallis' decision was brought into effect in 1797: the monopoly therefore dates from 1773, but the direct State-agency monopoly as now existing only from 1797.

13. In 1797, and again in 1799, laws were passed to regulate the new system. These laws, among other things, prohibited any person from bringing opium into the Calcutta Government's dominion from Oudh or other foreign territory, except on behalf of that Government, and also prohibited cultivation except under license from the opium agents. The object of the latter new and important but arbitrary provision was to concentrate the cultivation into districts where the quality was best and where the cultivation could be carefully watched and the whole produce secured for Government. Under this provision, in 1797, cultivation was prohibited in the province of Bengal Proper by refusal to grant licenses. The cultivators of Bengal, however, resisted stoutly, and as the Government was not then very strong, a struggle went on between them and Government for many years, illicit cultivation being largely practised at a great profit in spite of prosecutions and punishments. Soon after this in 1801 we acquired the Doab and Rohilkhand from the Nawab of Oudh, and in 1803 the rest of the North-Western Provinces and the Delhi territory from the Delhi Emperor, or rather from the Marathas: and as soon as we had a firm hold and could organise the administration of these countries, we extended our Bengal monopoly system, prohibiting cultivation of the poppy in most places and allowing it elsewhere by license only and for exclusive sale of the produce to our Opium Agents. We thus got the poppy cultivation of all Northern India, except the Punjab and a few Native States, and the Bengal coast export trade in opium, entirely in our grasp. Oudh and Nepal and Assam opium (in all which countries free cultivation and free trade prevailed) could only enter our territories by coming into the hands of our Government, and could only reach the sea in the same way or by most circuitous routes through the mountains into Burma. It may be noted that we tried to extend our monopoly to the opium of Oudh, but "so attached were the people to their free use of, and trade in, the drug that it was found impracticable" till long after when the province was annexed. The policy of those who directed the Bengal monopoly at this time was not to get a large supply which would sell cheap, but a small supply of high quality which would sell dear. With this object, while in the country generally we restricted or entirely prohibited cultivation, we extended it in a few selected places. The Calcutta auction prices obtained per chest in these days, 1801 to 1818, by this policy were very high, on an average nearly Rs. 2,000 per chest at a time when we paid the cultivator for the 133 lbs. in a chest not more than one rupee per lb. The system then in fact amounted to a great restriction of what would have been the natural bulk of the export trade if the cultivation and trade in Northern India had been left free, and an enormous duty on what was permitted. Throughout this period of 1801-18 the Bengal Government regarded with much jealousy the export trade in Malwa opium from the north-west coast of India. In 1805 it had annexed the whole of what is now the Madras Presidency, and had so got the whole eastern coast and part of the south-west coast into its grasp, but the north-west coast was still open. At last in 1818 the third Maratha war gave us the whole of what is now the Bombay Presidency, Sindh excepted, and a Protectorate over Rajputana, Central India, and the Nagpur territories. It also gave us for the first time the command of the whole Bombay coast, Sindh excepted. The Bengal Government immediately took measures to put an end to the competition of the Malwa opium in the export trade, and for a very short time partly succeeded in establishing a monopoly of the Malwa opium as will be described presently under the head of the Malwa trade. The result as regards the Bengal trade for the moment of the attempt seems to have been to raise the price of Indian opium per chest at the Calcutta auction sales of 1820-21 and 1821-22 to the enormous figure of four thousand and three thousand rupees per chest. These prices are a good indication of the extraordinary keenness of the demand for Indian opium in China at this period.

14. It may be mentioned here that most of the districts now forming the Central Provinces, though then under our political control, were not annexed till 1854, and free poppy cultivation was not stopped in them till some time after annexation. The opium was used locally, and part of it no doubt went to Hyderabad and Madras districts and part towards Bombay as Malwa opium.

15. After it was evident that the attempt to monopolise and restrict the Malwa trade could not succeed, a change of policy in Bengal monopoly management began to be contemplated by the Bengal Government in view of the certainty that the competition of Malwa and Persian opium must in the end bring down the high Calcutta prices greatly. Another reason for expecting increased competition was the great increase of trade in Eastern Seas which was foreseen as soon as the Napoleonic wars ended. The new policy which began to find favour under these circumstances was that of a larger but cheaper supply of Bengal opium to the Calcutta market. From time to time cultivation was extended or permitted in formerly prohibited districts for this purpose. Assam was annexed from Burma after the first Burmese war in 1826: it had been conquered from its native Raja by the Burmese only some 20 years before, and the free cultivation and consumption of opium which had existed had not been interfered with by the Burmese. When we, in accordance with our policy, began after a time to prohibit poppy cultivation in Assam, it led to riots, in one of which the people killed an English district officer.* After our conquests in the south of India in 1805 and the formation of what is now the Madras Presidency, we contented ourselves with preventing export by sea and for a long time left the local consumption which was insignificant, except in the four northern districts, untaxed. The supply came partly from some very small local production, but was chiefly Malwa opium imported through Hyderabad territory. In 1879, however, we succeeded by treaty in stopping the import through Hyderabad, and we then extinguished poppy cultivation in those Madras districts where it had existed. We even seized the opportunity to do the same in the great Native State of Mysore, the management of which had been in our hands since 1805; and when we gave up that management, we made it a condition that this prohibition should continue. By the same expedient we extinguished the cultivation in Kuch Behar. The Punjab was annexed in 1849. There we found the cultivation of the poppy free and general in hills and plains but nowhere large; opium was made in only a few districts; in the rest the patches of poppy were grown for the heads, a decoction of which was popular as a beverage among the Sikhs. Opium was also imported from Rajputana and Kashmir and other Native States in the Himalayas subject to small duties like all articles of import were in those days. The Sikhs had fought hard, and we were inclined to pay much respect to their wishes. For this and other reasons the Bengal monopoly system was not extended to the Punjab. Export of opium from the Punjab to any part of British India remained prohibited as before, but cultivation and import from the Himalayan Native States and Rajputana was allowed for local consumption which was taxed by a special system of excise.

16. The general policy, therefore, of the Government of India in directing its Bengal monopoly was to, as far as possible, stop by treaty the cultivation in Native States and to stop it entirely in British territory, except in a few districts where it could be closely supervised by its opium agents, to pay the cultivators only a moderately remunerative price, and to sell the opium, part at a high price for home consumption, and the rest at the highest possible price for export beyond seas.

Malwa Opium.

17. As I have already shown the export trade in opium from the Bombay coast towards countries to the east of India is a very ancient and important one. The poppy till we interfered was freely cultivated in suitable localities all over the country which is now the Bombay Presidency, the States of Rajputana, and Central India, the Hyderabad territories, and the Central Provinces, but in most places opium was produced to a small extent and for local consumption only. But in the Mogul *suba*, or province of Malwa, which is now included in Central India, and in a large part of Rajputana and a small part of the Central Provinces, the soil and climate were specially favourable, and it was from these inland tracts that the opium for export

* The prohibition of poppy cultivation caused much discontent, but the riots occurred a year later and seem to have been partly and perhaps principally due to a rumour that a new tax was going to be imposed on the peasants of Assam in connexion with the income tax.

mainly came to the sea coast. No doubt it paid transit duty to a considerable extent before it reached the coast, as in those days such duties were levied on all articles of commerce in every State or petty Government which they had to pass through. Whether the Mogul Government ever established any kind of State monopoly of opium in any part of these countries is not, I believe, known. In all probability it did not, as most of them were never under its direct management for any length of time.

18. The Portuguese began to establish themselves on the west coast of India, at the very commencement of the sixteenth century, and were followed by the Dutch, English, and French. The English were a hundred years after the Portuguese; their first factory was established at Surat in 1613. The merchants of all these European nations, except the French, whose settlements were too far to the south, took part in the export trade in Malwa opium as well as in other products. Malwa opium was an important article of the Portuguese and Dutch trade before the English appeared in India. One of the earliest travellers to the court of the Great Mogul at Agra in the early part of the seventeenth century found the Dutch factors at Burhanpur employed in bartering pepper for Malwa opium.

19. The English East India Company expelled the Dutch from Surat and gradually assumed a commanding political position on this coast as the Mogul Empire decayed and the Maratha Princes became the ruling power in the interior, but till the beginning of the nineteenth century the Company had no territorial possessions on the Bombay side, except a few sea-ports with some villages attached. The rest of the Bombay coast opposite the inland opium-producing districts was in the hands of Native rulers, and the Portuguese had trading stations on it. The English merchants could therefore share in the Malwa opium trade, but neither they nor the English East India Company could monopolise or regulate it. As a matter of fact the English merchants seem for a long time to have neglected the Malwa opium trade which was in the hands of the Portuguese,* the Parsis, and the Native merchants of Ahmedabad.

20. By the end of the eighteenth century the East India Company's supreme government at Calcutta had fully established the Bengal opium monopoly, and began to regard with great jealousy and apprehension, as I have said before, the trade from the Bombay coast in Malwa opium as sure to eventually lower the higher price which they were getting for their Bengal opium from the merchants who bought it at Calcutta and exported it beyond seas. Accordingly in 1803 they prohibited for this reason the export of Malwa opium from their Bombay ports, and when in 1805 we acquired some territory and the protectorate over some Native States on the Bombay coast, they called on the Bombay Government to prohibit poppy cultivation and the transit of Malwa opium.

21. The Bombay Government objected to stop cultivation in their territories, and the Directors in England took their view that the opium produced in these particular territories was almost entirely for local consumption and ought not to be prohibited. In 1818 the third Maratha war at last gave us possession of all the Bombay coast districts, except Sindh, and the protectorate over the States of Rajputana, Central India, and Nagpur. This enabled the Government of India to shut out Malwa opium from all the sea coast except Sind, to reach which the opium had to take very difficult and circuitous routes, and to pay transit dues to many Native States. The Bombay Government then in 1820 entered into treaties with Baroda and most of the Native States under its control with a view to check cultivation of poppy in their territories and the smuggling of Malwa opium through them. These States were very subservient at the time and generally agreed. Not, however, content with this, the Government of India began at once to attempt to buy up a certain amount of Malwa opium in Central India and Rajputana, and so monopolise the Malwa opium export trade; this failed, as the Government would not give the high prices demanded, and the opium had still an open, though very circuitous, route to the sea through Rajputana and Sindh, so in 1823 the Government of India began to negotiate with the Native States of Central India and Rajputana with a view to get the Malwa opium produced in them completely into its hands. It had no power to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy in Native States, nor would it have been possible to negotiate for simple prohibition with States in

* The Portuguese established their trading station of Macao in China in the year 1537, just a hundred years before English trade with China commenced.

which the poppy was a staple crop and the export trade in opium an old established and important one as was the case in most of the Central India and Rajputana States, but it tried to induce these States to limit and somewhat reduce the poppy cultivation of their subjects and to grant it a monopoly of purchase from the cultivators of all the opium produced except the amount required for home consumption in each State. We had great influence with most of these States at the moment as we had just broken the military power of the strong ones, and released the weaker from complete bondage. We had also relieved the country from the terrible depredations of the Pindari hordes, which had reduced the people to great misery, and entirely depopulated many localities. Consequently, in 1824-26, ten States under great pressure accepted the proposed treaties, but some very important ones refused. While this arrangement lasted, the opium collected by our agents in these States was sent by the English opium agents mostly to Bombay, but partly to Calcutta, for export: part also was used to supply the demand for excise opium in the Bombay Presidency. It was soon found that the arrangement worked very badly: the people stoutly asserted their right to cultivate as much as they liked, and detested the monopoly as preventing their getting the full competitive value of their produce. The smuggling export trade became rampant and fierce, conflicts between armed smugglers and opium-seizers were frequent, both the Rajas and the people hated our interference; only a small part of the opium produced came into our opium agents' hands: the rest with the produce of States which had not accepted the treaties found its way to the sea through Sindh or to the Portuguese ports, or was smuggled into British territory. So in 1830 the treaties were cancelled and the monopoly given up, and the transit duty system substituted. By this system transit through British territory to Bombay ports was allowed by certain routes on payment of a transit duty. This transit duty had to be fixed low, at from Rs. 125 to 175 per chest, till by the annexation of Sindh in 1843 and other arrangements Malwa opium was finally cut off from all possible access to the sea except through our territory. Between 1843 and 1860 it was gradually raised to Rs. 600 per chest. Since then it has varied between Rs. 600 and 700 per chest. From 1843 the policy has been to impose as high duty upon exported Malwa opium as possible short of killing the trade. We generally get a considerably lower revenue from the Malwa opium per chest than we do from the Bengal monopoly opium, and this has been taken as a justification for keeping the Malwa transit duty as high as possible, but the Malwa opium before it reaches the hands of the merchants at the sea-ports has to bear burdens from which the Bengal opium is exempt. The rulers of the Native States in which it is grown tax it by high rates of land revenue and in other ways, and when it passes through the territory of other Native States, either before or after getting a pass from our agents, it has to pay a pass duty to such Native States: the local merchants who make advances to the cultivators, buy and manufacture, and sell to the sea-port merchants, have to secure a good profit to make their trade pay. The cultivators also owing to competition among buyers generally secure rather higher prices than the Bengal opium agents pay to their cultivators, but without such higher prices they would not be able to pay the high land revenue and other local charges. In the case of the Bengal opium there are no Rajas or middlemen to intercept profits. The whole possible profit between the cultivator and the sea-port merchant goes to the State as public revenue. On the whole the Malwa opium is taxed as high as it can possibly bear, in fact the high rates of transit duty have often caused heavy losses to the trade and much discouraged the cultivation. The auction sale system at Calcutta automatically adjusts the duty to the state of the foreign market, but the transit duty ordinarily remains fixed, and is oftened not lowered when in fairness to the trade it ought to be. The fact that the Malwa opium trade has been able to survive under all these burdens and disadvantages is a proof that the industry is one which is peculiarly suited to the country and which the people engaged in it do not know how to replace.

22. To guard against opium being smuggled to the coast for export or into British India for illicit consumption, our Government has in late years made fresh agreements with all the Native States under the Bombay Government and with Baroda and Hyderabad. Baroda is allowed to grow and export opium by sea on condition of managing the excise on internal consumption on our system, and strictly controlling the cultivation and manufacture by a State monopoly. All the other States have agreed to prohibit cultivation, to prevent smuggling, and to only use Malwa opium for their internal consumption, indenting formally for the amounts they require. In some cases it is part of the agreement that they get it free of transit duty, in other

cases they pay a reduced duty. Malwa opium is also in the same way indented for use as excise opium in the Punjab, in Mysore, and some other parts of India.

(c.) *Remarks on Statistics of Export of Bengal and Malwa Opium from Calcutta and Bombay respectively, for the Period extending from 1798-99 to 1892-93.*

23. The brief separate accounts of the export trade in Bengal and Malwa opium given above will, if referred to, illustrate the review which I am about to attempt of the statistics of it which are available. As I have said above, the Bengal monopoly in its existing form of a State opium agency dealing direct with the cultivators began in 1797-98. Before that there are no statistics, but from next year, 1798-99, we have figures of the number of chests of Bengal opium sold annually in Calcutta for the export trade on behalf of the Government of India. These figures, which of course exclude the chests assigned to the Dutch, French, and Danes, and the opium retained for internal consumption, will be found in the Rev. Dr. Medhurst's table attached to his note which was one of the papers forwarded by Sir John Bowring to Lord Clarendon in his letter dated Hong Kong, January 8, 1856. The table shows that from 1798-99 to 1820-21 the number of chests of Bengal opium sold at Calcutta did not increase and varied very little. The annual average was about 4,000 chests. It should be remembered that when the direct monopoly was established, the trade and cultivation of the poppy were in an exceptionally depressed condition in Bengal and Behar. In its best days the trade had probably been considerably larger.

24. Before 1821-22 we have no statistics for the export trade in Malwa opium; but as I have explained above, the Government of India in 1820-21 obtained by treaty a monopoly of purchase of opium in some of the Native States producing Malwa opium, and sent most of the opium so procured to be sold by auction at Bombay. This monopoly of Malwa opium lasted till 1829-30. From 1821-22 to 1830-31, therefore, the product of both monopolies come into the account given in Dr. Medhurst's table, but in looking at his figures for the Malwa trade for these years, which vary from something under 4,000 to something over 8,000 chests annually, two things should be remembered, of which the Rev. Dr. Medhurst writing in China was naturally ignorant: first, that those figures do not show anything like the whole bulk of the Malwa export trade, because our monopoly was for a part only of the country exporting Malwa opium and was for that part exceedingly ineffectual; second, that the export trade in Malwa opium in our hands and out of our hands must have been abnormally small in these years, as in Rajputana, Central India, and the Nagpur country trade and cultivation were only just beginning to recover in 1820-21 from the extreme depression caused by the terrible period of havoc and desolation which was brought to a close by our third Maratha War of 1818. In the last three or four years of the period, 1821-22 to 1829-30, the production of Bengal opium began to be increased; it was seen that an effectual monopoly of Malwa opium was impossible, and the policy which I have explained of a larger and cheaper supply of Bengal opium began to be adopted. From 1830-31 to 1834-35 the average sale at Calcutta was about 11,000 chests. For the same years the Malwa opium brought by private merchants to Bombay under the new pass duty system averaged about 9,500 chests. It must be remembered that this was not the whole Malwa export trade; a considerable part still went by Sindh and the Portuguese ports.

25. From 1835-36 the stimulating effect of the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly and of the inauguration of British free trade in China is evident on both the Bengal and Bombay Malwa opium trades; and a reduction of the transit duty to only Rs. 125 per chest seems to have brought almost all the Malwa opium to Bombay. Export of both began to largely increase, and the first China War of 1839-40 had apparently little effect in retarding the increase even for a time. From 1834-36 to 1843-44 the average annual exports of Bengal and Malwa opium were about equal, over 17,000 chests each. In 1843 the annexation of Sindh closed the last door open to Malwa opium for escape from British transit duty, but no immediate increase in the quantities exported from Bombay is visible in consequence. The probability is that the enhanced rates of transit duty imposed in 1843, 1845, and 1847, which raised the duty in the latter year to Rs. 400 per chest, had, as the Government of India no doubt intended, a depressing effect upon the trade. From 1843 we can for the first time say with confidence that, some comparatively trivial smuggling excepted, we have before us in the Calcutta and Bombay figures the whole export trade in Indian opium. The combined trade amounted to 46,000 chests in 1847-48, of which Bengal supplied two-thirds. For the three years 1852-3 to 1854-55, the Bengal export

averaged 47,000, and the Bombay Malwa export 26,000 chests, or 73,000 combined. Dr. Medhurst's table only carries us to the year 1854-55. For the subsequent period, 1855-56 to 1892-93, we get the combined figures from a return of exports of opium furnished by the Government of India in the Department of Finance and Commerce, dated October 1893.

26. This return shows that the marked rise in quantities, which began with free trade in 1835-36 and went on till 1854-55, did not continue after that date. In the next 38 years there was little change: the quantities were about the same for the first 14 years, a little higher for the next 15, and lower again for the last 10 years. This check in the rise in quantities beginning in 1854-55 is attributed by Mr. Baber, one of the best authorities on poppy cultivation in China, to the gradual wide extension of the cultivation commencing about that date from the Western Provinces into the other provinces of China. There are, however, other Indian causes which have also conduced to the check. For example, as regards Malwa opium, the high rates of transit duty, varying from Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 per chest, which have been imposed since 1860 by the Indian Government, must have very materially checked the natural expansion of that cultivation and trade. The expansion or contraction of the cultivation and trade in Bengal opium depend, of course, mainly on the orders of Government; the objections raised in England to the Bengal monopoly and the China opium trade have for the last 40 years had a continuously restrictive effect. It may be added that the prices of other articles of agricultural produce have been rising by leaps and bounds in British India since 1860; and as Government has only raised the fixed price it pays to the cultivator for opium by small degrees and at long intervals, the poppy has often been a much less profitable crop to him than it used to be formerly. The return shows the different countries to which the exporting merchants are supposed to export the opium. Taking the year 1891-92, nearly 71,000 chests seem to have been returned as intended for China, and nearly 17,000 for other countries.

(d.) Trade in Opium from India to China and Production of Opium in China after the European Nations appeared in the Eastern Seas.

27. Before attempting to draw any conclusions from the above brief history of the production and trade in Indian opium after the European nations came on the scene, it seems necessary to give a rough sketch for the same period of events in China bearing on the question.

28. We find that import duties on opium are entered in the Chinese trade tariffs of the years 1589, 1615, and 1687, and in the Hoppo book of 1753. British trade with China may be said to have begun in 1637.

29. Down to the end of the seventeenth century opium, though classed in the tariffs as a medicine, was doubtless also used more or less in China as a dietetic stimulant. We know from the accounts of European travellers that it was largely so used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Persia, India, and Java, and it is impossible that it was not more or less so used in China, where decoctions of poppy-heads were so used even before opium was known. According to Dr. Macgowan, there are Chinese records which show that in the end of the thirteenth and middle of the fourteenth centuries Emperors of China thought that intemperance in the use of opium prevailed in China, and tried to repress it. According to Dr. Edkins, a Chinese author writes that "In the Ming dynasty, 1368 to 1644, the pill called golden elixir " came into use and was found to be very deleterious if much was taken." This no doubt refers to a dietetic use of opium pills like that prevalent in India. It is possible that the excessive use of opium was checked; for, till the practice of opium-smoking began, no fresh measures against opium seem to have been taken by the Chinese Government. But in 1620, tobacco was imported into China from the Phillipine Islands by the Spaniards, and the cultivation of the plant and habit of smoking it spread in the next hundred years all over the country, in spite of severe prohibitive edicts issued by the Chinese Government. During the last half of the seventeenth century, the habit of smoking tobacco impregnated with opium had been established in Java, and thence it had spread to Formosa, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century to part of China. From this practice of smoking tobacco diluted with opium the Chinese seem to have quickly invented the habit of smoking opium alone, and the habit proved as uncontrollable in its extension as that of tobacco smoking had been. Poppy cultivation also began to increase about this time, and

became a large crop in the West.* In 1729, the Emperor of China issued a very severe edict against opium-smoking which was followed by others, and from that date the sale of opium in China *for the purpose of smoking* became a criminal offence, though the smoker was not made himself punishable till much later. No edict prohibiting the import of opium was, however, issued, and Indian and other foreign opium continued to be openly imported under the classification of foreign medicine as before, and the duty to be paid on it.† Later on, however, the Canton Mandarins seem to have arbitrarily applied the edict to the import trade when it suited them. Sometimes from fear of the consequences or for better reasons they would treat consignments of opium as opium for smoking and condemn it as contraband; but generally they would pass them in as opium for medicine after demanding a bribe in addition to the duty. In this way the China trade in opium came to be generally regarded as of a dubious character and liable to be treated as contraband, though as a fact the opium was not prepared for smoking, but was the simple crude opium which had always been exported from Calcutta to the Straits, China, and Java, and which was still on the Chinese tariffs and legally admissible. This explains the case of the ship *Argo*, in 1764, and Mr. Fitzhugh's letter of 1782: also the orders of the Directors of the East India Company in that year, saying it was beneath their dignity to themselves engage in a trade of a clandestine character. At this time China seems to have taken less than half of the Bengal opium exported from Calcutta: the rest went to Java and other countries. Probably most of the Malwa opium went to China, as that trade was mainly in Portuguese hands.

30. About 1790 two changes occurred which caused the Emperor of China to take a new departure. The first was that the opium-smoking habit had at last prominently appeared in Peking and the Imperial Court. The second was that the amount of opium imported was increasing, and the balance of trade having turned, the Chinese statesmen were frightened at the loss of wealth which they thought was involved in the drain of silver. Formerly China had sold more than she bought, silver flowed in and China was very content, but latterly the foreign merchants had found a difficulty in getting enough silver to pay for the Chinese tea and silk; and knowing opium to be in keen demand, they poured it in instead of silver, and much more silver began to flow out of China than to go in. Moved by these reasons the Emperor, in 1796, formally prohibited all import of opium into China.‡ Export of silver was also prohibited about the same time or previously. The East India Company, on the advice of its Canton Supercargoes, at once strictly forbade any of its ships or servants from carrying opium to China, but it continued as heretofore to freely grant to private ships licenses to trade to the Straits and China, and did not attempt to forbid the private shipowners from carrying opium as part of their cargoes.

31. From this year, 1796, the import of opium into China became undeniably a contraband trade, but for a good many years no real change was observable. On all kinds of merchandise, the exaction of more than the authorised dues had always been the common rule with the custom-house Mandarins, and this had been met on the other side by successful smuggling. Now that opium was clearly contraband almost all was passed in, not by evading the Mandarins, but by paying them such fees or charges as they demanded. As they generally exacted more than the authorised dues on all goods, it was difficult to see any distinction between what was regular due and what was bribery. This is, I understand, why Captain Elliott said later on that since 1796 no article had paid its import dues more regularly than opium had. Foreign merchants of all nations, European and Oriental, were all engaged in this contraband opium trade. The British had most of the China trade in all commodities, but no monopoly in opium. Bengal, Malwa, and Persian opium were brought from India and elsewhere by all nations and used in the China trade. No one could do a good trade in China without more or less participating in this opium traffic, partly owing to the keen demand for it, and partly because it was paid for in silver. Some

* NOTE.—Inquiries made recently in Burmah show that it was from about this time and from this part of China that the cultivation of the poppy and the habit of opium-smoking spread so widely among the Shans and other races now tributary to our Province of Burmah.

† NOTE.—Dr. Medhurst says in his note that previous to the year 1767 the opium sent to China principally by the Portuguese did not exceed 200 chests a year, but he gives no authority for this assertion; and it must be a mere guess of his and certainly far below the mark. The trade was in the hands of merchants of many nations and passed into China licitly or illicitly by many ports; no statistics can exist; but from all we know of the importance of the trade in Indian and other opium towards China for 250 years before 1767, and of the number of nations engaged in it, it must have been large.

‡ NOTE.—In this first prohibitory proclamation the loss of silver was clearly referred to as a reason.

English houses tried to give up dealing in opium, but found all their trade going into other hands. The Chinese had to smuggle their silver out to buy the opium which they smuggled in. Legitimate trade could only be carried on with the foreigner by way of barter, as the Chinese were not allowed to pay in silver. Between 1800 and 1820 Chinese high officials at intervals reported to Peking that the trade in opium went on unchecked and increasing, and recommended stronger measures, and gradually more vigour was shown and some changes were made. Some time before 1820 the Portuguese were made to find it politic to exclude our merchants from Macao, where foreign opium had been till then mostly stored; and in 1820 the Mandarins succeeded in effectually stopping ships being unladen at Whampoa, the port of Canton, if it was found that they had opium in their cargoes. Then began the opium store ship system in ships moored at Lintin by the islands at the mouth of the Canton River. The ships were heavily armed against attack either by pirates or by Chinese war junks; both the ships and opium belonged to men of all nationalities engaged in the trade. Some store ships also visited other ports not open to trade, anchoring at some distance off shore. The landing of the opium from these store ships and passing it through the customs lines with or without bribing the Mandarins was at this time done exclusively by Chinese purchasers or their servants. According to a Chinese author, quoted by Dr. Edkins, local arrangements between the foreign merchants and the Mandarins of Canton from the Viceroy downwards were made about this time, by which a regular scale of charges or bribes was fixed for the admission of opium, but this was not long adhered to. The local Mandarins went on demanding larger and larger "squeezes," perhaps because the high Chinese authorities were more in earnest, and bribe-taking was getting dangerous. This struggle soon gave rise to a system of violent smuggling along the lower part of river between Lintin and Whampoa. Instead of a quiet system of payment by Chinese merchants of bribes to the Mandarins at Whampoa, which in outward appearance differed little from a legitimate trade, the smuggling now took the form of boats manned by armed Chinese desperadoes, regular professional smugglers, who fought the Mandarins' preventive boats, if necessary, and ran the opium on shore by force. The whole body of Mandarins was alarmed by this growing lawlessness and annoyed by the loss of "squeezes." Accordingly, the issue of an Imperial edict was procured against this particular smuggling along the river, and the wording of it is said by Mr. Lay to amount to an indirect recognition of the other quiet contraband trade at Whampoa. In spite of all this conflict and confusion, the opium trade during this period went on regularly and profitably, and largely increased in amount, and so did the production of opium in China. The Blue Books say that in 1830 the cultivation was very extensive in three great provinces. But it was evident that such a state of thing could not last without a crash of some kind which would affect trade in general. The East India Company's Supercargoes at Canton reported to this effect in 1833.

32. We now come to the year 1834, an important epoch in the trade, as the East India Company was then deprived of its China monopoly and the China trade made free to all who chose to embark in it.

33. Lord Napier was sent to Canton as Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioner and Superintendent of Trade by the English Government. That Government had no wish to push or openly defend the opium traffic, but it did not see its way to interfere with it, and it was keenly bent upon improving and enlarging our political and commercial relations with China, upon inaugurating a proper system of diplomatic communications and opening up new ports to trade. It was an unlucky time for a change of agency and for demanding new and closer relations, as the high Mandarins were as arrogant as ever, and were finally losing patience and beginning to make up their minds to try to put an end to the lawless independence of the foreign merchants.* Moreover, the Chinese soon observed that Lord Napier and his successors, Sir G. Robinson and Captain Elliott, had not the authority over British free traders which the East India Company's Supercargoes had over the old merchants by virtue of the monopoly. When the Chinese authorities asked our Commissioners to check the smuggling in the lower river, they only repeated the Supercargoes' old excuse, which was of course all the

* NOTE.—Anti-opium writers do not seem to make sufficient allowance for the want of docility of the foreign merchants. These men found themselves shut out from all ports but one, and there fleeced by a host of corrupt Mandarins. They knew that the Chinese people were willing to trade, and considered that the system of exclusion was kept up by a despotic Government for its own profit or safety, and not for the good of the Chinese people. The smuggling of all kinds of merchandise, therefore, appeared from the first to be justifiable, and the Chinese people, Mandarins excepted, seemed to be of the same opinion.

more true, because all nations were concerned, that they had no official knowledge of it and no power over it. For these reasons in 1834-36 our Commissioners were ignored and insulted and their requests refused, and the British merchants at Canton were treated very roughly and intimidated. In reply, British frigates forced their way up the river to Canton to protect the factories. In spite of this state of confusion and hostility there was between 1834-38 a great increase of trade in opium and all other articles, owing to the activity and enterprise of the British free traders and the cessation of the degree of restriction and restraint which had been imposed by the East India Company's Supercargoes. It was in these years that European desperadoes and boats owned by Europeans began to be associated with the Chinese desperadoes in the violent smuggling along the river. The Chinese began to see that the situation was intolerable, and that they must either give way or risk war with the Europeans. In 1837 the import of opium was for a time actually legalised by the Chinese Government, but was soon after again stringently prohibited by Imperial decree. This meant that the courageous and conservative members of the Council at Peking had again got the upper hand, and they showed this in 1838 by beginning to take the strongest measures: the opium trade was entirely stopped for a time and an interdiction of all trade was threatened. In 1839 Lin was sent to Canton as Viceroy on purpose to put an end to the opium traffic, and generally teach the English in particular a lesson of humility and obedience. He seized Captain Elliott and the Canton merchants and compelled the surrender of all the opium in the store ships. When after this Captain Elliott and the merchants on release retired to Macao, he turned them out, and they took refuge on Hong-Kong Island. Lin then cut off supplies from Hong-Kong and we retorted by blockading the Canton River for a time. Captain Elliott then made to Lin detailed proposals for the complete abandonment of the opium trade by British subjects, but by this time Lin was too exasperated and too triumphant to listen to any proposals. He replied by declaring all trade with us at an end and by ordering war junks to attack our vessels. In fact, he practically declared war in December 1839, and we followed suit in 1840. Lord Palmerston's instructions for peace negotiations issued in 1841 admitted the full right of the Chinese Government to prohibit the import of opium, but advised legalisation of the trade on the ground that effectual prohibition was impossible even if the British Government did all it could to help, as we could not establish a preventive service for China, and if we stopped making Bengal opium in India we could not stop export of Malwa opium or the trade in Persian and Turkish opium.* The war closed with the signing of the treaty of Nankin in August 1842. During the war the opium trade revived and went on as briskly as ever, though in 1840 a statutory edict had been issued making opium-smoking a crime punishable with death. At the end of it we made the Chinese Government compensate the merchants for the opium destroyed by Lin in 1839, though before war broke out we had claimed no compensation on that account.

34. We drifted into this war because there were no proper diplomatic relations and because both Governments were simultaneously demanding from the other reforms and concessions which were difficult and unpalatable. The English Government throughout the negotiations of 1834-39 had no intention of using force to support the opium traffic, and if the Chinese Government had offered to meet the English Government's wishes in other respects, if it would meet theirs in the matter of opium, I think that the Indian opium trade would probably have been sacrificed by Lord Palmerston to prevent war and a stoppage of the English trade; but no offer of mutual concession was made by the Chinese Government, which, not unnaturally, hated us at this time worse than it ever had done, and was determined to hold us at arm's length. The opium smuggling traffic was the principal cause of the war, but the Chinese people and Mandarins were most of them as responsible for the smuggling as the foreign merchants; and if the British Government is held responsible for the conduct of British merchants in the matter, the Chinese Government must be equally so for that of its subjects. A Government which cannot control its own people and officials has, moreover, no right to be arrogant and to refuse to treat other Governments as its equals. Nor has one Government ordinarily any right to demand that another Government

* NOTE.—To show that Lord Palmerston was friendly to the opium smuggling trade, Anti-opium writers often quote an extract from a despatch which he wrote about this time reprimanding a Captain Hope, R.N., for detaining English merchant ships which were cruising off the Chinese coast for the purpose of selling opium to Chinese smugglers. The sentence quoted admits no doubt of the construction put on it, but I presume that Captain Hope's action was clearly illegal, and that Lord Palmerston would have failed, if he had asked the British Parliament to pass a law enabling British men-of-war to seize British ships off coasts of foreign countries if their cargoes contained goods contraband in such countries.

shall establish a preventive service for its benefit. On the other hand, our Government knew that the Chinese Government was weak, and that the demands we were making for open trade and closer intercourse were very unpalatable to it. It may be said that if we were prepared to make these demands and to exert pressure to extort them, we ought to have begun by showing in time a more earnest readiness to make a special case of the opium-smuggling business, and to assist China in securing some real reform of its dangerous and lawless character. I think it would have been right, on moral grounds, to try to do this, but the Chinese Government was then arrogant and ignorant of our strength as well as hostile, and we should have got no concessions from them in return. The difficulty would, moreover, have been very great, as all the European nations were more or less concerned in the trade, and as the merchants and sea captains engaged were determined and unscrupulous, hardly to be restrained except by force strongly and continuously applied. The Chinese traders and sailors were equally bold and rebellious. The Chinese Government could not restrain its subjects, and our representatives could not restrain our own people or the other foreigners. There were faults on both sides, and I think it is not easy to say which Government was most responsible for this miserable war; there is nothing to choose between the conduct of the people engaged in the traffic, whether Chinese or Europeans.* In the Treaty and Tariff Negotiations of 1842 which followed the war, the Chinese Government did not ask our Government to prohibit its subjects from importing opium, and we did not press them to legalise the traffic: it was left a trade not in any way recognised in the tariff, and still contraband in virtue of the old prohibitive edicts which were not withdrawn. We had acquired Hong-Kong Island by the war, and that became the place for storing opium, and from which Chinese smugglers took it and other goods into China. Some European ships also took opium into the open ports, and others when ordered out of the ports formed depôts on land outside the ports and defended them by armed force and their ship guns. Our representatives invited the Chinese to coerce these people by seizing their ships and goods, but the Chinese authorities did not feel strong enough to do this and asked us to coerce our people. We replied that we had no legal power, and that if we were to try our traders would evade us by registering their ships as American or Portuguese.

35. From 1843 to 1856 the contraband opium trade went on quietly, but the pride of the Chinese people and Mandarins had been exceedingly hurt by the war; they had always disliked Europeans, and now they specially detested the English. The people, though ready to trade, were also always ready to be insolent and violent to Englishmen: a series of outrages and murders occurred.

36. The high Mandarins looked on the continued existence of the opium trade as an outward and visible sign of the defeat and humiliation of their country, and they also still disliked the export of silver which was connected with the traffic: they were more and more unfriendly and slow to give satisfaction when our representatives addressed them, and when by the treaty they were bound to give it. In fact, our relations were excessively strained throughout this period, and at length, in 1857, we drifted into a second war about the seizure of a Chinese boat which had got a license to fly the English flag. The incident had nothing to do with opium, but it seems to have been little better than an excuse for going to war. Our relations were so strained and the position so intolerable that it was felt that force alone could lead to any improvement.

37. In June 1858, this war was terminated on the basis of a draft treaty which contained again no reference to opium, but which conceded to us widely extended diplomatic and commercial relations, and also new privileges of residence and travel in the interior. Of these, some such as those relating to Embassies at Peking and protection to missionaries and their converts, were excessively unpalatable to the Chinese authorities, infinitely more so than any question about opium. This was apparent when the new tariff came to be drafted, for then the Chinese Commissioners, of their own will and without pressure, agreed to opium being entered in the tariff at an import duty of 30 taels per chest, and the trade being in that way legalised.† America and France

* As to conduct of the war, Anti-opium writers have called it savage on our part, but they omit to mention that in July 1840, soon after it commenced, Governor Lin, by formal proclamation, incited all Chinese subjects to murder or capture British subjects, civil or military, by offering large fixed rewards for each man, according to a scale of rank, brought in dead or alive.

† NOTE.—See Mr. Lawrence Oliphant's account, which no one will doubt. He was our Commissioner for settling the tariff, and, coming after Mr. Lay, he not only told the Chinese Commissioner that Lord Elgin did not press for opium to be admitted, but also suggested increase of the duty. The Chinese Commissioner declined both suggestions in the interest of stopping smuggling.

followed by approving this tariff and adopting it for themselves. Lord Elgin, who was a sincere friend to China, was anxious that the import should be legalised and regulated if it could be done with the free consent of the Chinese Government, but he was determined that the Chinese should be entirely free to impose what duties they wished upon it. So he allowed it to be treated very exceptionally, and just as the Chinese Commissioners proposed. The import duty was double that on other articles, and the privilege of commutation of internal or likin duty applicable to other goods was not claimable as regards opium. It could only leave the foreign settlement areas in Chinese hands, and subject to any "likin" duty which might be imposed. Since then, of course, the opium trade has never given rise to any difficulties or complications.

38. The war of 1860, in which the French joined us, was due, on our part, to the Chinese deliberately commencing hostilities in an attempt to resist the enforcement of that part of the treaty of 1858 which provided for our Envoy going to Peking, and on the French side to secure satisfaction for the murder of a missionary. It was entirely unconnected with the opium question, the settlement of which by the Tariff of 1858 remained undisturbed. Soon after the war of 1860 the Chinese Government was nearly overturned by the Taiping rebellion, and we helped them to put it down, which has made the Chinese Government more friendly to us than before.

39. Since 1860 the enforcement of the provision regarding the residence and protection of missionaries and their converts extorted from the Chinese Government in 1858 has been the chief source of trouble between the Chinese and European Governments. Sir Rutherford Alcock, in 1869, negotiated a revision of the tariff which, among other things, raised the import duty on opium by $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but for various reasons that revision was not approved. Again, in 1876, Sir T. Wade negotiated the Chefoo Convention which proposed, among other things, to bond all opium and make it pay import duty and likin duty consolidated before leaving bond. The Chinese Government was quite satisfied with this Convention, but for various reasons its ratification was long delayed. Again Sir T. Wade's negotiations with the Chinese Government in 1881 showed that the Chinese Government had then practically ceased to wish to prohibit the import of foreign opium, and that their policy was to make it a source of revenue. They clearly stated that the habit of opium-smoking was now so established as to be beyond prohibition, and that if the Indian supply was cut off, opium would be procured elsewhere.

40. In 1885 the additional article to the Chefoo Convention was ratified, by which foreign opium has to pay to the Imperial customs on import to China a consolidated "likin" or internal transit duty of 80 taels per chest in addition to the 30 taels tariff duty. This arrangement, which increased the average aggregate import and likin duty considerably, and which greatly increased the Imperial revenue derived from foreign opium by preventing evasion and embezzlement of the likin duty, can be denounced by either party by 12 months' notice, in which case the provisions of the Tientsin Treaty regarding opium would revive and apply. By those provisions, as already explained above, the import duty is fixed at 30 taels, but this only covers import to the foreign concessions at the open ports, and if the opium leaves those concessions, the Chinese Government can impose any internal pass duties on it it likes, however prohibitive. The only practical checks on the imposition by the Chinese Government of a prohibitive likin duty on foreign opium under the Tientsin Treaty have been the fear of smuggling and the fear of losing the revenue derived from the import and likin duties.

41. It may be added that the Chinese Ministers admitted unreservedly in their Memoranda of 12th March 1883 and of 27th September 1884 that the agreement then under negotiation about opium (which is that contained in the additional article to the Chefoo Convention) was of the Chinese Government's own proposing and included all that they desired.

42. As stated in the first page of this Note, poppy has been cultivated and opium produced in China for many centuries, but extensive production seems to have begun with the habit of opium-smoking and was for long confined to the outlying western and south-western provinces.

43. For the last 50 years it has been gradually spreading into the rest of the provinces, though it has been often sternly repressed in them or in parts of them by zealous Anti-opium officials. According to Mr. H. N. Lay, C.B., there was much cultivation in 16 out of 18 provinces in 1858, and some in every province in 1864. The *précis* of consuls' reports for 1877 to 1881, contained in the Appendices to the

Government of India's despatch to Lord Hartington of 19th December 1881, shows the extensive prevalence of the cultivation in that period, and that edicts were still from time to time being issued against it and were to some extent enforced by a few high Mandarins and neglected entirely by others. The motives for attempting to stop or rather discourage the cultivation at this period seem to have been various, and sometimes connected with considerations of revenue, not of temperance; though some of the leading Chinese statesmen were still strong opium prohibitionists in sentiment, the great majority were becoming convinced that they could neither prohibit cultivation effectually nor tax the native product except very lightly. This conviction disposed them to look more favourably on the foreign drug, on which the taxation was safe, and to discourage the local cultivation though without hoping to eradicate it.

44. Mr. Spence's report of 1892 shows that now south-west China (including Szechuen) alone produces annually at least 224,000 piculs or chests, while 100,000 chests of Indian and Persian is the maximum estimate of foreign opium ever imported into China in one year. In this same part of China, where the production is so enormous, the per-centage to population of consumers is also infinitely greater than in the eastern and maritime provinces where the foreign drug supplemented by the native product is consumed.

(e.) *I shall now try to give in Chronological Order the Conclusions which I draw from the above Sketch of the History of the Question.*

45. Anti-opium writers represent the connexion of the East India Company's Government with the Bengal monopoly as a sin for which repentance and atonement to China are due. For the following reasons I hold that this is a false view. The growth of the poppy, the manufacture of Bengal opium, and the export trade from the Bay of Bengal to countries to the east of India were old and important industries when the East India Company's Government of Bengal and Behar revived the Mogul monopoly in 1773-75. That monopoly was a strong measure of taxation, and as was proved by experience, it was repressive in tendency. At that time opium was not contraband in China, and Bengal opium did not go exclusively to that country; on the contrary, the larger part seems to have then gone to Java and other islands. The East India Company's Government might have left the industry free as they found it, but no one then thought of destroying it, nor would such a policy, if practicable, have been fair or right in the interest of the people concerned in the industry.

46. When Lord Cornwallis became Governor-General in 1786, and the abuses connected with the then existing monopoly were brought to his notice, he had practically two alternatives:—

- (a) to improve the monopoly system for the benefit of the revenue and the cultivators by getting rid of the contractors and employing a direct agency; or
- (b) to give up the monopoly altogether and revert to the system of free trade which existed before 1773.

I say no other system was then possible, because an export duty at Calcutta would then have driven the trade to other ports. Only a small part of the coast of India was then within our control, and even inside our own territories our hold was not strong enough to check such an easy thing as opium smuggling.

Alternative (b) would have meant giving up a large revenue and all effective power of controlling the internal consumption of opium. It would also have ultimately led in all probability to a great increase in the growth of poppy and the export of opium. Such increase has occurred to an immense extent in the case of all other products to which the soil and climate of India are favourable, as peace and order have been established on sea and land, communications been improved, and vexatious imposts abolished. Not only Native, but also European capital, would have been put into the opium business, as has long been the case with indigo, and later with tea, coffee, jute, and tobacco.

Alternative (a) brought both cultivation and internal consumption under strict control and taxation; and was the best possible engine, not only for that purpose, but also for levying the highest possible duty on the export trade.

47. At the time when Lord Cornwallis decided on alternative (a), the Emperor of China had not issued the edict of 1796, which made the import of opium into China contraband, but if he had known of that edict I do not see that it ought to have effected his decision or the carrying out of the plan which was effected in 1797. The Malwa opium trade was then, I believe, bigger than the Bengal trade, and was not within the

control of the East India Company's Indian Government, and to stop the Bengal export trade which was carried on by merchants of all nations and did not go to China alone would have only benefited the trade in Malwa and Persian opium. Moreover, I consider that the Bengal Government had not, by the monopoly with which it had shackled the industries of growing and manufacturing opium, acquired any right to destroy those industries. It held them in trust for the Indian people under its rule. It could stand aside and free them if it liked but not destroy them. I hold, therefore, that Lord Cornwallis was right at the time in adopting the policy he did, and that the East India Company took all the notice they were bound to take of the Emperor of China's edict of 1796, by preventing their own ships and their own servants from carrying opium to China.

48. The Spanish Government had till lately a State monopoly of the manufacture of the best tobacco in the Phillipine Islands, and the merchants who bought of that Government exported large quantities of Manilla cheroots to supply the Indian market. If the Government of India had made the cheroots contraband, who would have expected the Spanish Government to prohibit merchants from exporting them in ships bound for India? Tobacco was first introduced into China from the Phillipines, and the import and use of tobacco were prohibited by the Chinese Government by edicts like those issued against opium, but no one blamed the Spanish Government for not stopping the manufacture of tobacco in the Phillipine Islands, and for not attempting to prescribe to the merchants who bought it that they must not take it to China.

49. Again, Anti-opium writers seem to assume that England is responsible to China for the growth of the opium habit, and owes China an atonement for it. I think there is nothing solid in this argument. It is the opium-smoking habit which has gradually led to the great demand for foreign opium in China, and to the wide extension of the cultivation of the poppy in that country. This habit began at the commencement of the eighteenth century at a time when only a minute portion of the Indian opium export trade was in English hands, and long before the East India Company was in the position of a Government, or had established the Bengal monopoly. By 1729 the habit had become common enough to move the Chinese Government to prohibit the sale of opium prepared for smoking by edict. This edict was not obeyed any better than the previous edicts against smoking tobacco: nor were subsequent edicts prohibiting poppy cultivation obeyed. The Chinese people are not docile to their Government in such matters, nor are all such edicts of Asiatic rulers meant to be vigorously enforced. The Emperor of China is head of the Church as well as of the State, and the distinction between religious injunctions and penal enactments is not clearly defined. When, again, the Chinese Government prohibited the import of foreign opium in 1796, it was moved at least as much by the wish to stop export of silver as by the wish to keep out opium. Without that additional motive it is not likely that it would have acted otherwise than feebly and intermittently either against the cultivation in China or the foreign import. I think it certain therefore that if in 1796 the East India Company's Government had stopped export of Bengal opium to China, the opium-smoking habit would have nevertheless gone on increasing in China just the same. The cultivation in China would have increased, and Persia and Turkey and Western India would have sent more opium to China to meet the demand.

50. It is sometimes assumed that the China opium trade question is one for which the Government of India is separately responsible. But in 1783, 1810, and 1830-32, Committees of the British Parliament had the Bengal monopoly and the trade in opium to China before them and did not interfere with the policy pursued by the East India Company's Government. In 1830-32 they may be said to have distinctly approved and confirmed it. In 1834 the English Government took over all control of the China trade: this was before the East India Company's Government had got full control of the Malwa trade. It cannot be alleged that the English Government is not as responsible for the China opium trade as the Government of India.

51. It has been argued by Anti-opium writers that the war between England and China in 1839-40 was a war waged by England to support and maintain the trade in Indian opium, that the responsibility or guilt of that war is entirely on England and the English people, who are consequently bound to perform some great act of expiation. I hold that the Chinese Government was thinking of keeping us at arm's length, and of stopping export of silver quite as much as of opium. I also hold that the English Government in its action before and during the war was thinking much of English trade in general and very little of the trade in Indian opium; that the Government of China and the Chinese people cannot be absolved from a large share in the responsibility

for the war; and that if the English Government had, in 1839, without regard to Indian interests, done its best to stop Indian opium from being carried to China, it is almost certain that war would have occurred very soon on some other account, and very unlikely that the diminished supply of Indian opium would have led to the extinction of the opium-smoking habit in China though it might for a time have reduced it. Though, therefore, far from thinking that the English Government and opium merchants of all nationalities were free from blame for the first war with China, I think that the idea of a debt of expiation still due to China on account of that war is an exaggeration.

52. Till 1819-20 the East India Company's Government of India had no power to check the export to China of Malwa opium, and it did not get complete power of control of this trade till Sindh was annexed in 1843. When it did get the power it would have been essentially unfair and contrary to all the principles which the Government of India professed in political and commercial dealings with the Native States if it had used the power to destroy a trade and industry so important to the poppy-growing Native States of Central India and Rajputana. The Government of India thought, it fair however, to use its power to tax the export trade in opium of these States, so far as possible to the same extent to which it taxed the opium grown in British India and exported from Calcutta. This was contrary to its ordinary free trade principles: whether it was done merely for revenue motives does not affect the question, for the result on the Malwa trade must have been repressive, and from an Anti-opium point of view the action taken cannot be called immoral, except by people who assert that it was the moral duty of England to forcibly extinguish the whole opium export trade of India whenever it got the power. I hold that it would have been unfair to the people of British India to extinguish the Bengal opium trade, and that to destroy the Malwa opium trade would have been distinctly tyrannical in the case of Native States in which the industry was old and important, like the Central India and Rajputana States. I think myself that in their case we have taken an unfair advantage of our control of the sea coast, and have levied higher transit duties on Malwa opium than ought to have been imposed. That has always been the opinion of the States concerned. It has been argued that if England had not gone to war with China in 1839, China would have stopped the import of all foreign opium, and that therefore since then the Malwa opium trade owes its existence to our power. I do not believe this is true. I believe that even if we had forbidden all British ships to carry Malwa opium to China, the merchants of the Native States and the Portuguese and other nations (so long as we did not prevent export) would have carried the Malwa opium and Persian opium to the China coast, and with the aid of Chinese smugglers would have successfully carried on the trade.* The Chinese Government never had sufficient control over its own smugglers or its own officials to stop the import.

53. The accounts given by Lord Elgin and Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, and the evidence of Mr. H. N. Lay, C.B., prove that the Chinese Government deliberately and without any diplomatic pressure legalised the import of opium in 1858, having come to the conclusion that it was the best policy open to them. All the special charges and restrictions on the import of opium which the Chinese Government proposed were accepted, including the right to levy internal taxes to any extent directly the opium left the foreign settlement areas. Sir T. Wade's evidence as to his negotiations in 1876 and 1881 show that the Chinese Government had then practically ceased to wish to stop the import of foreign opium and was only considering how to make it pay higher duties. By the Chefoo Convention of 1885 this object was attained by an agreement unreservedly admitted by the Chinese Ministers to be of their own proposing and to include all that they desired. Since then the Chinese Government has shown no wish to alter this settlement, nor has it since attempted to stop the immense production of opium in China, or to restrict the use of opium except by taxing it. The above facts are undeniable, but Anti-opium writers assert that the Chinese Government was practically driven into the policy of legalising import of opium in 1858 against its will and conscience by the conviction that if it attempted to put down the contraband or smuggling trade by strong measures it would in some way be baffled by our interference and would run the risk of drifting into war again. They also argue that it was our duty to stop the smuggling trade by stopping the Indian export of opium or in some other way. The real fact seems to be that at that period the Chinese Navy was not capable of dealing with the foreign merchant ships which brought opium into Chinese waters. Our representatives had frequently invited the Chinese Government

* *Note.*—There is a family of Hindu merchants in Central India which has acquired the surname of Jahazwalla because in old times their ancestor had a ship of his own in which he sent opium to China.

to take action against such ships when they went into the inner waters, but it did nothing. It is perhaps true that in those days it would have been afraid to do it even if it had had a navy fit for the purpose, but the fact remains that the Chinese Government was powerless to restrain, not only foreign merchant ships on its coasts, but also its own smuggling Chinese merchants and seamen who were in almost every case the persons who took the opium on shore and ran it through the customs lines. It was equally powerless to stop the common and public practise of smoking opium, or the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium in China. As to the argument that it was our duty to stop the trade, we had no right to stop export of opium from India to the great injury of Indian industries and Indian public revenue to help the Chinese Government to carry out a policy which it could not carry out in its own dominions: all the more when, so far as we could see, the stoppage of export of Indian opium would only have increased the sale of Chinese and Persian opium. Again, we had no law which enabled our ships of war to prevent our merchant ships from carrying opium to the coasts of China, and if we had made such a law, and enforced it, the trade would have simply gone to other flags. Even if the European and American nations had with infinite difficulty combined to legislate on the subject, they would have failed to combine to enforce it, nor had China the right to ask other nations to establish a preventive service on her behalf. The Anti-opium writers make no allowance for the immense difficulties of the case, and for the fact that whatever the central Government of China may have wished, it was not obeyed or supported by its own people. I hold, in short, that the Chinese Government came in 1858 to the conclusion that its own people and the foreign traders were both beyond its control in the matter of the trade in foreign opium, and that it therefore deliberately and reasonably adopted the alternative policy of regulating and taxing the trade and getting a revenue out of it. That policy it has pursued ever since, and the revenue derived is now over two millions sterling. For some years past there has been no sign whatever that the Chinese Government has any wish or intention to revert to a policy of prohibition of import.

54. Considering the magnitude of the interests involved in the Indian opium export trade, and the extreme uncertainty of the advantage to China of stopping it, to move or incite the Government of that country to upset the existing settlement involves a most serious responsibility. Some Anti-opium writers meet all objections of this kind by continuously harping on the word "poison," and by practically comparing the sale of opium to the Chinese to Lin's action in sending arsenic to the Hong-Kong bakers to put into the English bread. There is of course a strong inducement to adopt these tactics in carrying on an Anti-opium campaign in England; for unless the opium habit in China can be put on quite a different plane from, say, the alcohol habit in England, it would be impossible to persuade the mass of the English people to impose heavy losses and liabilities upon themselves or the Natives of India in order to do away with the Indian opium trade, or to deviate in the matter from the general principles which regulate our relations of trade and diplomacy with other nations. But I think the evidence already before us properly weighed sufficiently proves that the two habits stand on the same plane, that alcohol in England does more injury to the body, though not perhaps to mental energy, than opium in China, and that the opium sot in China is less inclined to crime than the alcohol sot in England and less of a nuisance to his family and to society. The great majority of consumers in both cases exercise the habit in moderation and know how far they can indulge with advantage, or at any rate without doing themselves material injury, mental or physical. Of the rest in both cases, a considerable number gradually increase their doses and end by doing themselves decided injury, though of this class only a few, generally of the poor and ill-fed, actually ruin themselves morally or physically. In both cases also, a certain number of viciously inclined or self-indulgent young men plunge in early life into the habit in an irregular way and to excess, and with the aid of other debauchery generally ruin their health, their fortune, and their characters. In either case ordinary men find it difficult to give up the habit when once formed, extremely difficult when it has been carried to excess, and the cessation of the periodic dose appears to produce a somewhat stronger craving in the case of opium than in that of alcohol. In both cases also poor men are apt to spend more money than they can properly afford on the habit, often to the great injury of their families, but opium is actually and comparatively the cheaper luxury of the two, and in comparing the unabstemious people of both races it should be remembered that, as a rule, the Chinaman contents himself with smoking opium, while the Englishman both drinks alcohol and smokes tobacco. On the other hand, many business men and artisans in China, whose constitutions are weakened by

disease, find, particularly in old age, that opium-smoking is a useful stimulant which prolongs their lives and their power of working, and in this way the quasi-medicinal use of the opium pipe seems much oftener advantageous than a similar use of alcohol in England.

55. I think this comparison is a fair one, and that if we take the lay evidence taken by us or submitted to us from the Straits and China Settlements, and add the evidence of the China missionaries, who speak or write in a sober and accurate manner, we shall find that taken together they support the description I have given of the effects of opium-smoking in China. The books of travellers in China and the consular reports also confirm it, and so does even the Anti-opium evidence given in Burma with regard to the effects upon Chinese and Shans in Burma. There is no doubt a class of missionary evidence from China which I venture to reject as evidently exaggerated. It is for the most part the evidence of men who are total abstainers and whose Churches impose total abstinence from alcohol and opium upon their converts as a rule of faith. They find it very difficult to keep their converts in China from backsliding in the matter of opium-smoking, and their relations with their congregations are often poisoned by the deceit and dissensions which are so engendered. They would naturally like State help in the matter. The missionaries also are often biassed by the taunts in the matter of opium which the Chinese commonly address to them. The right of the missionaries to reside, preach, and make converts in the interior has been extorted by force of conquest from the Chinese Government. The Chinese are a proud and patriotic people; the position of the missionary, not subject to Chinese law, and able to protect even his converts against the Chinese Government and people, is a great offence to them. When the missionary tells them that their religion, their philosophy, and their social habits are erroneous, they look about for a retort, and they have found by experience that the taunt about opium is effective, and they use it. They do not use it in speaking to other Englishmen, and there is no evidence that it is seriously in their minds, or that they would be more open to conversion to Christianity or more friendly to foreigners if the import of foreign opium into China was now prohibited.

Many of the missionaries, however, have hopes that they would, and are biassed against opium by the hope. Besides all this, we know from experience in India and elsewhere that missionaries as a class are, as Mr. Gladstone said, "not remarkable for calmness combined with comprehensiveness of view": they are apt to be fervid when they feel that they are on the side of virtue, and in that way run into exaggeration.

56. It may be argued that the evidence we have taken in India is generally strong against the habit of smoking opium, though very seldom hostile to the habit of opium-eating, and that this corroborates the missionary view of the effects of opium-smoking in China. I attach no weight to this argument as we have had no medical evidence in India which shows that opium-smoking is worse than opium-eating. On the contrary, many doctors say that they would expect eating to be most injurious, and in China, Burma, and the Straits, where opium-smoking is common, the general opinion is that eating is more injurious. The fact is, that in India opium-smoking is a new and uncommon habit, and Indians are generally prejudiced against it by its novelty and by its associations with a few public saloons in big cities and cantonments frequented by low and debauched characters only. It is probable that opium-smoking is to some extent more seductive than swallowing opium pills, as it is a gregarious habit, and as the trick of puffing at a pipe becomes itself a kind of pastime, but that is I believe the whole difference.

57. If my description of the effects of opium-smoking in China is anything near the truth, I do not see how it is possible for England to force India to put an end to the export of opium, even if the advantage to China was far less problematical than it is. England, like many other countries, exports alcohol largely free of all duty, whereas India puts on all opium exported to China or elsewhere as heavy a duty as the article will bear. The alcohol exported by England, has, as we all know, done great harm in some countries. England is now, I believe, exporting to China morphia, the abuse of which is doing harm there. The condemnation of the Indian opium traffic proceeds upon an exalted doctrine of Christian morality, which neither England or any other nation practise in their commerce, and which the Indian people would strongly object to be forced to practise to their great loss. If we destroy or damage the Indian opium export trade from motives of Christian sentiment, or from sympathy with the success of Christian missions, or if we are influenced in part by a hope of improving the trade with China in English products, in all these cases England is bound in justice

to make good to the Indian people the whole loss and cost : the people of India do not share these sympathies or these hopes.

58. Nothing that I have written above prevents me from strongly holding the view that the Chinese Government should be left entirely free to deal as it likes with the question of the import of foreign opium, provided that if it wants to alter or annul in respect to opium either the Chefoo Convention or the Treaty of Tientsin, it first consults us in the usual way and hears what advice we have to offer. I consider that no pressure of any kind should be employed to prevent the Chinese Government disregarding our advice and doing what it wishes, provided that it appears to be acting with a serious intention of checking the opium-smoking habit. If it appears that it is acting merely to transfer to itself revenue from the Indian opium which now goes to the Indian Government, then I think we may fairly oppose, so far as peaceful diplomatic means allow. The Chinese Government must be already aware from Sir James Fergusson's speech in Parliament and from the opium Debates in Parliament that there is no risk of England going to war to maintain the opium provisions of any Treaty if China decides to denounce them. I at one time thought that this Commission ought to recommend that a distinct intimation should be made to China as to her freedom of action in the question, but I now think that with reference to the declarations made in our Parliament and the Chinese Ministers' admissions in 1883 and 1885 regarding the Chefoo Convention, such action is clearly unnecessary, and if so, it is unadvisable, as the Chinese are likely to misunderstand it.

59. I think it should be an instruction to the Bengal Opium Department not to license poppy cultivation in any village in which there has been no cultivation for the last five years, or in which hereafter all cultivation may be abandoned for a period of five years. I would also again warn the Department not in any way to press cultivators, directly or indirectly, to take advances or to refrain from abandoning the cultivation. In this way the cultivation under the Bengal Opium Agency will be kept from increase and will probably be gradually somewhat reduced. This, I think, is the right policy, as it will tend to keep up the price of Indian opium and to prevent our having to reduce the transit duty on Malwa opium. If, however, prices in China and at Calcutta show that the rate of transit duty on Malwa opium is at any time too high, it should of course be promptly reduced. The Government of India should be left the judge in that matter.

J. B. LYALL.

Bombay, 15th February 1894.

APPENDIX B.

HISTORICAL MEMORANDUM.

BY MR. R. M. DANE, OF THE INDIA CIVIL SERVICE.

Introductory.

The object of this Memorandum is to supplement the information, contained in Sir James Lyall's Note of 15th February 1894, regarding the history of the production and consumption of opium in India and of the trade in opium in the East, and the policy of the East India Company in regard to opium in the 18th and in the earlier years of the 19th century.

The Memorandum is in three sections.

Section A. contains a collection of references to opium and the opium trade, which occur in works written by European, Chinese, and Indian authors before the establishment of British supremacy in Bengal.

Section B. describes the circumstances, under which the monopoly of the manufacture and internal trade in opium in Bengal was assumed by the East India Company in 1773, and the early policy of the Company in regard to opium.

Section C. gives some account of the measures taken by the Company, subsequent to the assumption of the Bengal monopoly, to regulate and restrict the trade in opium from India, particularly from Central India and the West Coast, and to introduce in India a system of Excise on opium consumed in the country, up to the time of the introduction of the Pass duty system on Malwa opium in 1829-30.

The extracts from Chinese authors in Section A. of the Memorandum have been taken entirely from the valuable Historical Note on opium in China by Dr. Edkins of the

Chinese Customs Service, published in May 1889, which is printed as Appendix II. to the Minutes of Evidence published with the first Report of the Royal Commission, dated 30th December 1893.

Sections B. and C. are based on official documents and records, most of which have been presented to Parliament and are published in the Appendices to the Reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons upon the affairs of the East India Company.

SECTION A.

Opium and its uses were well known to the Greeks at least as early as the first century A.D., and as the Arabic Afyun and the Chinese Yapien are apparently derived from the Greek *ἑπιον*, it is supposed that a knowledge of the drug was communicated by the Greeks to the Arabs, and that the drug was introduced by the Arabs into China and India.

In China the first discovered reference to the poppy occurs in a work by Chén T'sang Chí, a writer in the reign of T'ang Ming Huang, in the first half of the 8th century. Chén T'sang Chí quotes an earlier author, Sung Yangtzu, as saying: "The poppy has four petals. It is white and red Within there are seeds like those of a millet."

Historical Note on Opium in China, by Dr. Edkins, of the Chinese Customs Service, published in May 1889.

A poem written in the closing years of the T'ang dynasty by Yung Tao, a native of Chéng-tù-fu in Szechwan, shows that the poppy or minang flower was then known in that province.

In 973 A.D., the Emperor Sung Tái-tsu directed the preparation of a medical work, in which the poppy is called ying-tzu-su, and medicinal properties are attributed to the seeds. Su Ché, a poet of the same period, and a native of Western China, in a poem on the cultivation of the poppy refers to a pleasure-producing decoction made from boiled poppy seeds.

In 1057 A.D., Su Sung, and others, compiled under the orders of the Emperor Jén Tsung another medical work, in which the following passage occurs: "The poppy is found everywhere. Many persons cultivate it as an ornamental flower. There are two kinds, one with red flowers and another with white, &c." In the same work a drink made from poppy seeds was said to be serviceable in cases of nausea and vomiting.

At the beginning of the 12th century, in the reign of Hui Tsung, one of the Court physicians, writing about the poppy, says, "The seeds are cooling in their nature; if taken in good quantity they are beneficial for such affections as diarrhoea"; and in the same century Lin Hung, a medical writer in the time of the Sung dynasty, alludes to preparations from meal, the milk from poppy heads, and other ingredients.

Other medical writers in the 12th and 13th centuries refer to the medicinal use of poppy capsules in the treatment of dysentery, diarrhoea, and asthmatic cough, Wang Shih, in the 13th century, describing their effect in the case of dysentery as simply magical. Chu Chén-Héng, another writer in the 13th century, in the time of the Yuan dynasty, and a native of South China, refers to the preparations from the capsule "as killing like a knife."

In the 14th century a brother of the Emperor C'héng Tsu mentions the use of the poppy capsule, prepared in vinegar, in the treatment of dysentery.

*Opium, however, is mentioned for the first time, in the 15th century, by Wang Hsi, who died in 1488 A.D. He describes the process of extraction of opium from the poppy capsule, and refers to the use of opium as a medicine.

In India the earlier Sanscrit writers make no reference to opium, but evidence has been given before the Commission to the effect that opium is mentioned and its uses described in Bhavaprakasha and other Ayur-Vedic medical works supposed to have been written not less than 800 years ago. The history of the production and use of opium in India before the commencement of the 16th century is, however, obscure, but the writings of Europeans who visited the country in the early part of that century, afford abundant evidence to show that opium was then a staple product of the country,

* NOTE.—The statement in Sir James Lyall's Note that the preparation of opium is distinctly described by a Chinese writer of the 12th century is not supported by Dr. Edkins' Historical Note.

the opium habit was widely prevalent, and a well-established trade in the drug existed between India and other countries in the East, opium from India and opium from Egypt and Turkey competing with each other for the markets of China and Malacca.

Note by Mr. F. C. Danvers, the head of the Record Department of the India Office.

The first Letter Book of the East India Company 1600-1619, by Birdwood and Foster, published in 1890, p. 55 of the introduction.

Copy obtained from Mr. F. C. Danvers.

In the list of articles sent to Lisbon from India in Cabral's fleet, in 1501 A.D., Vespucci mentions "opium, Indian aloes, and many other drugs too numerous to detail."

In a letter in the Archivio Storico Italiano of 1511 A.D., Giovanni da Empoli mentions the capture of "eight Guzzurate ships," laden with "arfiun, for so they call opio thebaico," and other merchandise.

Again, in a letter written by Don Alfonso De Albuquerque to the King of Portugal, from Cananor, on 1st December 1513, the following remarkable passage occurs on the subject of opium: "I also send you a man of Aden, who knows how to work afyam (opium), and the manner of collecting it. If your Highness would believe me, I would order poppies of the Açores to be sown in all the fields of Portugal and command afyam (opium) to be made, which is the best merchandise that obtains in these places, and by which much money is made; owing to the thrashing which we gave Aden, no afyam has come to India, and where it once was worth 12 pardoes a faracolla, there is none to be had at 80. Afyam is nothing else, Senhor, but the milk of the poppy; from Cayro (*sic*) whence it used to come, none comes now from Aden; therefore, Senhor, I would have you order them to be sown and cultivated, because a shipload would be used yearly in India, and the labourers would gain much also, and the people of India are lost without it, if they do not eat it; and set this fact in order, for I do not write to your Highness an insignificant thing."

The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa (a Portuguese), translated from the Spanish, and edited for the Hakluyt Society by the Hon. H. E. J. Stanley, in 1866.

Duarte Barbosa (1516 A.D.) makes several references to opium and the opium trade in his description of places in India and of countries in the East. Adem (*i.e.* Aden).—"Some ships from Ormuz likewise touch there to trade and also from Cambay whence they bring much cotton stuff, spices, drugs, jewels, and pearls, alaquequas, spun cotton, and unspun, and they take from these madder, opium, raisins, copper, quicksilver, &c."

Duy (*i.e.* Diu).—"They (the Malabars) load at this port for the return voyage, cotton cloths of the country and silk stuffs, horses, wheat, vegetables, sesame, cotton, oil of sesame, and opium, both that which comes from Aden and that which is made in the kingdom of Cambay, which is not so fine as that of Aden."

At Palecate (Coromandel) opium and many Cambay goods are said by Barbosa to fetch a good price; and the prices of Aden and Cambay opium at Calicut, and in the Malabar country, are given in an account of the drugs and spices there obtainable; the price of Aden opium being 25 per cent. higher than that of Cambay. The merchants of Bijanaguer (Vijayanagar in the Deccan) are also said to import "much anfiyam which is opium;" and the prevalence of the habit of opium eating in India is referred to in the following passage, which occurs in an account of Sultan Mahomed, King of Cambay:—"As we see by experience with the opium which the Indians eat, for if they leave off eating it they die immediately, that is if they begin as children to eat it in such a small quantity that it can do them no harm, for some length of time, and then increasing the quantity by degrees until they remain accustomed to it. This anfiyam is sold in the fourth degree and on account of being so cold it kills. We call it opio, and the women of India when they wish to kill themselves, in any case of dishonour or of despair, eat it with oil of sesame and so die sleeping without feeling death."

Peigu.—"Many Moorish ships from different parts assemble at these ports of Peigu, and bring thither much cloth of Cambay and Palecate, coloured cottons and silks, which the Indians call patola, which are worth a great deal there; they also bring opium, copper, . . . and a few drugs from Cambay."

Ava.—"The merchants bring there for sale quicksilver, vermilion, coral, copper, saffron, rose water, opium, scarlet cloth, coloured velvet from Mekkah, and many other things from the kingdom of Cambay."

Ansiam (Siam).—"Opium, Cambay stuffs and all these goods fetch a high price in this place."

Kingdom and city of Malacca.*—"They (merchants Moorish and Gentile) bring thither . . . vermilion, quicksilver, opium and other merchandise and drugs from Cambay."

* "This city of Malacca," writes Barbosa, "is the richest trading port, and possesses the most valuable merchandise, and most numerous shipping and extensive traffic that is known in the world."

China.—“They (the Chinese) go with all these goods to Malacca where they also carry much iron, saltpetre, and many other things, and for the return voyage, they ship there Sumatra and Malabar pepper of which they use a great deal in China, and drugs of Cambay, much anfiām which we call opium, wormwood . . . and many other things.”

Garcia d’Orta, a Portuguese physician, who wrote in 1563 A.D., also refers to the use of opium in India, and mentions the case of the minister of Nizam ul Mulk of Ahmīadnagar, a Khorasani, who was in the habit of eating three tolas and a half (630 grains) of opium in the day. Cambay opium was said by d’Orta to be soft and yellowish, while that from Aden was black and hard.

Paper by Dr. da Cunha in the Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay, 1882.

John Huighen van Linschoten, a Dutchman, who wrote an account of his voyages, in or about 1596 A.D., refers to the opium and drugs of the Kingdom of Cambay, and gives the following interesting account of the use and effects of opium in India; though his statements as to the effects of opium, like those of Barbosa and other early European writers, were not unnaturally much exaggerated.

Discours of Voyages unto ye Easte and West Indies, printed in London by John Wolfe, printer to the Honble. City of London.

“Amfion, so called by the Portingales, is by the Arabians, Mores (Moors) and Indians called affion; in Latin opio or opium. It cometh out of Cairo in Egypt and out of Aden upon the coast of Arabia, which is the point of the land entering into the Red Sea, sometimes belonging to the Portingales, but most part out of Cambaia and from Deccan; that of Cairo is whitish and is called Mecerii: that of Aden and the places bordering upon the mouth of the Red Sea is blackish and hard; that which cometh from Cambaia and Deccan is softer and reddish. Amfion is made of sleepe balls or poppie and is the gumme which cometh forth of the same, to ye which end it is cut up and opened. The Indians use much to eat amfion, specially the Malabares, and thither it is brought by those of Cambaia and other places in great abundance. He that useth to eate it must eate it daylie, otherwise he dieth and consumeth himself. When they begin to eate it, and are used unto it, they eate, at the least twenty, or thirty grains in weight everie day, some times more; but if for four or five days he chanceth to leave it, he dieth without fail. Likewise he that hath never eaten it and will venture at the first to eat as much as those that daylie use it, it will surely kill him, for I certainly believe it is a kind of poyson. Such as use it goe alwaiss as if they were halfe asleepe. They eat much of it because they would not feel any great labour or unquietness when they are at work, but they use it most for lecherie,.....although such as eate much thereof are in time altogether unable to company with a woman and whollie dried up, for it drieth and whollie cooleth man’s nature that useth it, as the Indians themselves doe witness: wherefore it is not much used by the nobilitie but only for the cause aforesaid.”

Cæsar Fredericke, a Venetian merchant, who travelled in the East for 18 years, and published an account of his travels in or about 1581 A.D., mentions opium as one of the staple commodities of trade at the ports of Cambay and Chaul, and gives an account of two ventures in opium, which he made himself from these ports to Pegu; the venture from Cambay, in particular, being described at considerable length. “And for, because that at my departure from Pegu,” he writes, “opium was in great request, I went then to Cambay to employ a good round summe of money in opium, and there I bought 60 parcels of opium, which cost me 2,000 and 100 duckets, every ducket at 4 shillings 2 pence. . . .” and “arriving at S. Tome I had news, through or by the way of Bengala, that in Pegu opium was very deare, and I knew that in S. Tome there was no opium but mine to go for Pegu that year, so that I was holden of all the merchants there to be very rich, &c. &c.” However, a ship from Cambay bound for Assi (Acheen) with “great quantity of opium, there to lade pepper” was driven by adverse winds to Pegu the day before he arrived, so that opium, which was “before very deare,” fell to a “base price,” and Fredericke had to remain for two years in Pegu to dispose of his opium. Notwithstanding this disappointment, he went on his return from Pegu to Chaul, and there laid in another stock of opium, with which he travelled back by way of Cochin to Pegu, where he disposed of it at a good profit. “Once more,” he writes, “I lost occasion to make me riche, for whereas I might have brought good store of opium againe, I brought but a little, being fearefull of my other voyage before. In this small quantitie I made good profite.”

Hakluyt’s Voyages, edited by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S., Vol. IX., Asia part II.

Fredericke also mentions the fact, that opium was brought to Pegu and Cirion by ships from Mecca, and that Cambay opium was the only commodity that could profitably be brought from the Indies (*sic*) to Pegu at that time.

Goldsmid's
edition of
Hakluyt's
Voyages,
Vol. X., Asia,
Part III.

Ralph Fitch, an Englishman, whose travels in the East lasted from 1583 to 1591 A.D., visited Agra, Benares, and Patenaw (Patna), which he describes "as a very long and great towne," where there was a "trade of cotton and cloth of cotton, much sugar which they carry from hence to Bengala and India, very much opium and other commodities."

Fitch also visited Burma, and like Fredericke mentions that opium from Cambay and Mecca was in demand in the kingdom of Pegu at the time of his visit. "In India," he writes, "there are few commodities which serve for Pegu except opium of Cambaia painted cloth of S. Tome or of Masulipatam, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity." Again:—"To Cirion, a port of Pegu, come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, scarlets, velvets, opium and such like."

Purchas His
Pilgrimes in
five Bookes,
printed at
London in
1625.

William Finch, a merchant connected with the London East India Company, who landed at Surat with Captain Hawkins on 28th August 1608, and passed through Malwa in the course of a journey across India from Surat to Agra, refers in his journal to the abundance of opium there produced in the following terms: "This country is called Malwa, a fertile soile, abounding with opium . . . I enquired the price of opium. They give the head three scratches, from whence issue small teares, at the first white, which with the cold of the night turneth reddish, which they daily scrape, not without infinite trouble, the head being very small and yeelding little."

Purchas His
Pilgrimes.

Captain Hawkins also, in his account of his adventures in India, refers casually to the existence of the opium habit at Surat in the following passage: "As I was neere the governor's house, word was brought me that he was not well, but I thinke rather drunk with affion or opion, being an aged man."

Dr. Edkins'
Historical Note
on Opium.

Jacobus Bontius, a Dutch physician, writing at Batavia in 1629, says that the nations which use opium seem drowsy, and are dull in commerce and arms, but that the drug is invaluable as a medicine in hot countries, in cases of dysentery, cholera, burning fever, and various bilious affections.

The Local
Muhammadian
Dynasties—
Gujarat, by
Sir E. Clive
Bayley,
K.C.S.I.

Turning from European to Native sources of information, we find in the account of the Kingdom of Gujarat and its revenues contained in the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, a work compiled by Ali Muhammad Khan, Diwan of Gujarat in the reigns of the Delhi Emperors Muhammad Shah and Alamgir II., (1719 to 1759 A.D.), that the customs and other taxes of the City of Ahmedabad in the time of Sultan Muzaffar and other Gujarat Kings, before the overthrow of the dynasty by Akbar in 1573, A.D. amounted to 15 lakhs and 50,000 rupees, and of this sum Rs. 5,000 were obtained from daribas or stalls for the sale of opium.

Translations
of the Ain-i-
Akbari, by
Gladwin and
by Blochmann
and Jarrett.

The Ain-i-Akbari or Institutes of Akbar, which forms the third volume of the Akbar Namah, by Shekh Abul Fazl, (1590 A.D.), shows that the poppy was at that time cultivated in the Subahs or Provinces of Agra, Allababad, Oudh, Delhi, Lahore, Multan, and Malwa; and the excellence of the crop in the Province of Malwa is specially noticed. The people of Malwa, according to Abul Fazl, were even then in the habit of giving opium to their children, until they were three years old.

The poppy is not mentioned by Abul Fazl in a description of the agriculture of Behar, though the excellence of the rice and sugar cane there grown is referred to. From Fitch's reference to opium at Patna, however, it seems probable that the poppy was cultivated, and opium produced in Behar in the 16th century, though the cultivation had not at that time come under the notice of the Government.

The fact that the Emperor Akbar was in the habit of taking opium is incidentally referred to by Abul Fazl, and the use of stimulants by the Muhammadan nobles of the time appears to have been very common.

Blochmann's
Translation of
the Ain i-
Akbari.

In the Tuzuk i Jehangiri, a later work, Jalal ad Din Masud, a Muhammadan noble, is said to have eaten opium like cheese, out of the hands of his mother.

The early records of the London East India Company, also show that opium was a recognised product of India when the Company first commenced to trade with the country.

Report on the
Miscellaneous
Old Records at
the India Office,
by Sir George
Burdwood, M.D.
K.C.I.E., and
L.L.B.

In a list prepared by John Chamberlain for the Company in 1599, opium appears as one of the "Commodities of the Este Indies," imported by Portugal and Holland.

The General Lieutenant and Captains of the fourth voyage commissioned by the London Company in 1606, were instructed to buy good opium, among other things (indigo, cotton yarn, fine calicoes, &c.) as part of the cargo for the return voyage for sale in England; and similar instructions were issued to the officers commanding the ships that took part in the sixth and eighth voyages.

First Letter Book of the East India Company 1600-1619, by Birdwood and Foster.

A letter from Surat, dated 30th August 1609, regarding the prices of goods in India contains the following passage:—"Opium in great abundance, but ther is such great expence (use) hereof in India that it is worth 80 mamoodies, and somewhiles also 120 m. per maund; heer is a whitish sort of opium brought from Mezer or Cayro that is worth 16 m. per sere."

A mamoodie is explained to be equal to about 11*l*. sterling.

Thomas Barber, writing from Persia to Sir Thomas Roe in 1618, says:—"We are informed that the opium growing in these parts is better than that of Indya, whereof we are determynd to send musters for England the better to knowe yts true worth and valewe there." Again—"Opium groweth in these partes in greate aboundance, yet is worth 180 shahees per maen, but we suppose it is much better than yt of Indya, which is worth there 45 roopees the maen of 40 seres; hereof to send onely a smale quantetye to experience yts goodness and vend in these partes."

In 1682-83 also, instructions for the purchase of opium for sale in England were issued to the Company's servants in India.

Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records at the India Office, by Sir George Birdwood.

The quantities of opium thus ordered by the Company from India were however inconsiderable, and the opium was purchased for sale in England, and not for export or trade in the countries to the East of India.

The references to opium by Tavernier, Kaempfer and other travellers in the latter part of the 17th and early part of the 18th centuries are also interesting and important.

Tavernier, in 1676, in a description of the commodities of the dominions of the great Mogul (Aurangzeb) mentions opium as one of the drugs brought to the port of Surat. "Opium," he writes, "is brought from Brampour (Berhampur), a town of good trade between Agra and Surat. The Hollanders buy great quantities, which they truck for their pepper."

Collections of Travels through Turkey into Persia and the East Indies: London, 1684.

Christopher Schewitzer, about the same time, refers to the use of opium by the Javanese to promote courage in time of war: "They (the Javanese) he writes fell upon us like mad dogs in vast numbers, and on all sides. The opium that they used to take always before they engage had made them stark mad."

Voyage to and through the East Indies, from the year 1675 to 1683, by Christopher Schewitzer: London, 1700.

Kaempfer, the Westphalian, in 1689, saw the Javanese smoking tobacco steeped in opium water, and says that the opium was brought in Dutch ships from Bengal and the Coast of Coromandel.

Kaempfer's Amoenitates Exotice, published in 1712.

Francois Valentyn, a Dutchman who wrote in 1726, says that the Javanese are Madat-smokers and opium eaters, and that "Java alone consumes monthly 350 packages each of 136 cattis, though the East India Company (*i.e.* the Dutch East India Company) counts them as 145 cattis."

Old and New East Indies, published at Amsterdam in 1726. Vol. IV.

Captain Alexander Hamilton, an Englishman who published an account of his travels in the East in 1727, says:—"Patana (Patna) is the next town frequented by Europeans, where the English and Dutch have factories for saltpetre and raw silk. It produces also so much opium that it serves all the countries in India with that commodity."

A new Account of the East Indies, being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alexander Hamilton who spent his time there from the year 1688 to 1723, printed at Edinburgh in 1727.

In another passage he speaks of opium, the property of other merchants, being conveyed in the English East India Company's fleet from Patna to Fort William, Calcutta, with the Company's saltpetre, piece goods and silk.

Hughli however, was the furthest point up the Ganges reached by Hamilton in person, and his account of Patna was based on the reports of others. As regards Hughli he writes:—"This town of Hughli drives a great trade. . . . To mention all the particular species of goods that this rich country produces is far beyond my skill; but in our East India Company's sales all the sorts that are sent hence to Europe may be found; but opium, long pepper and ginger, are commodities that the trading shipping in India deals in, besides tobacco, and many sorts of piece goods that are not merchantable in Europe."

Captain Hamilton also refers to the trade in opium carried on by the natives of India on the Malabar Coast and by the Dutch in Sumatra. "The chiefs of Calcutt" he writes, "had for many years vended between 500 and 1,000 chests of Bengal opium, yearly, in the inland countries where it is very much used."

Again as to Sumatra:—"The Dutch Company formerly drove a good trade in opium at Pullamban, which (like French claret and brandy) drew much ready cash out of this country, as those do out of ours, but in anno 1708, the king ordered only the importation of three chests each containing about 160 pound weight; and if smugglers were detected they paid their goods and lives for their disobedience."

"The Dutch have another factory right opposite to Malacca on the side of a large river called Bankalis. Whether that be a branch of Andraghira river I know not, but I believe it is. The Company vends a great deal of cloth and opium there and brings gold dust in return. That beneficial trade was not known to the Dutch before 1685, that (*sic*) one Mr. Lucas, a factor in the Company's service at Malacca, was advised by a Malaya to send some Surat baftaes dyed blue, and some Berams dyed red, which are both coarse cotton cloth much worn in that country; and opium is as much in request there as tea is with us."

Other references to the use of opium and its effects by travellers in the latter half of the 18th century need not be reproduced.

SECTION B.

It is clear from Captain Hamilton's remarks, that Patna was established as an emporium of the opium trade in the early part of the 18th century; and in regard to the control maintained over the trade at this period by the Native Government, we have the authority of the Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 28th July 1812, for saying that the practice of the Mogul Government was to farm out the opium on "an exclusive privilege for a *peiscush* or annual payment in advance." Warren Hastings, also, in a letter to his Council dated 15th October 1773, (which will be subsequently referred to) observed, that the culture of opium in Behar from its first introduction or, at least, for a long series of years was said to have always been a monopoly; and Sir John Macpherson, who succeeded Hastings as Governor-General, in a minute dated 4th July 1785, said that "the whole of the opium and saltpetre of Behar was held for many years by a merchant named Foker ul Toojar, who had the exclusive privilege of supplying the different European Companies with those articles." The exact nature of the arrangements which existed before the establishment of British supremacy in Bengal is, naturally however, somewhat obscure.*

App. 59 A. to the 9th Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to take into consideration the state of the administration of justice in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, &c., printed in 1783, and Appendix of documents to the trial of Warren Hastings. Vol. VI., No. 386.

The time when the trade in opium from the east of India first attracted the attention of the European Companies is also at present uncertain; though the Dutch records, if available, would probably throw some light upon the subject.† John Hinchman,

* Sir James Lyall supposes that the Mogul monopoly of opium was probably established in the time of Akbar, but I have not been able to find any evidence to show that the monopoly existed as early as this. The *Ain-i-Akbari* is silent on the subject.

† Since the above was written, I received on the 26th October a Memorandum by Mr. F. C. Danvers, the head of the Record Department at the India Office, on the Dutch trade in opium during the 17th century, principally compiled from the Dutch East India records at the Hague. The Memorandum, which is here reproduced *in extenso*, shows that the Dutch began to trade in opium at the commencement of the 17th century, and that they obtained opium from Bengal as early as 1659. The greater antiquity of the trade from the west coast appears to be satisfactorily established by the additional evidence afforded by Mr. Danvers' inquiries.—R. M. D., 5th November 1894.

MEMORANDUM ON THE DUTCH TRADE IN OPIUM DURING THE 17th CENTURY, principally compiled from the DUTCH EAST INDIA RECORDS AT THE HAGUE.

Before the Dutch took possession of the Malay archipelago, opium was supplied to Malacca and Singapore by the Portuguese. This trade was unknown to the Dutch in the latter part of the 16th century, and Cornelius Houtman, writing in 1596, does not mention it as existing at Bantam. Mr. Wybrandt van Warwyck does, however, mention that drug in 1603. When the latter had permission to establish a factory at Bantam he stated in a memorandum on the articles of trade to be embarked in, that at Banda, Moluccas, and Achin opium should form part of the cargoes. A few years later Martelief stated that opium was in use at Ternate.

In an account of the Indian trade of the Dutch, in 1613, it is said that 200 lbs. of opium were yearly sold in the Moluccas, and also that it was then profitably sold to Siam, Pegu, and China. The Guzerat merchants went yearly to Achin for spices, &c., which they paid for partly in money and partly in Guzerat clothes and opium, "which is a necessary article in the Moluccas, Amboyna, and Banda, and can be sold at a good profit."

who was examined as a witness before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to report on the affairs of the East India Company, in 1783, stated that no opium was provided on behalf of the English East India Company until after the cession of the diwani of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa in 1765, except a small quantity which was sent to Bencoolen. "From," he said, "the acquisition of the territory to the years 1771-72 there was no investment provided for the Company. From that time, by order of the Governor and Council, a certain quantity of opium was annually provided by the Chief and Council of Patna on the Company's account, but, whether the Council provided it at a fixed price settled by the Governor and Council of Calcutta, or whether they were left to make contracts with the native inhabitants of Patna, or whether they provided it by agents sent into different parts of the province for the purpose, he could not directly say." Ram Chandar Pandit, who in the first year of the Company's monopoly was joint agent or contractor for the provision of opium in Behar, and afterwards, in 1788, was agent for the provision of opium in the province of Benares, submitted in 1788 a report on the subject of opium to the Resident at Benares, in which the Dutch were said to be the first large purchasers of opium.

The notices of opium by Tavernier and Kaempfer in 1676 and 1689 show that the Dutch were dealing in the drug in the 17th century; and the fact, that for several years the best opium of the Dutch East India Company was the standard according to which the opium contractors in Behar bound themselves to supply opium for the English East India Company's sales, affords corroboration of the correctness of the Pandit's statement.

The French, the Portuguese, and the Danes also took some part in the opium trade from the East of India during the latter part of the 18th century.

Ram Chandar Pandit said further, that the principal seat of opium culture had always been in Behar, but this statement does not accord with the statistical information contained in the Ain-i-Akbari; and the Pandit was evidently not well acquainted with the circumstances of the poppy cultivation in Central India. As regards Behar and

App. 59 B. to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

Selections from the Duncan Records, by A. Shakespear, Commissioner of Benares, published by authority, in 1873.

(1.) Griffith's Contract for Behar, in 1775; App. 67 to the 9th Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1783.

(2.) Advertisement for the Opium Contract, dated 11th July 1785, published in Colebrooke's Digest of the Bengal Regulations, p. 405.

(Note continued.)

In 1631 no opium had been openly imported into Batavia by Dutch ships, but it is thought probable that it was even then surreptitiously introduced there by the Dutch Company's officers and servants. After the capture of Malacca by the Dutch in 1640, Batavia greatly increased its trade, which was conducted directly with Bengal, and opium was, after that, imported direct into Batavia; and 19 years later its use had become general in that city. In 1656 Mr. Van Doens went as Ambassador to Mataram, where opium was also then in use. In the same year, according to an old MS. by Van Dam, at Burnei in Borneo proper "opium and clothes are very much in demand, and can be exchanged for gold. . . . In Palambang and Jambi, instead of Mexican reals and cloths, opium can also be exchanged for pepper."

In the first firman of the Dutch Company in Bengal, granted by Aureng-zeb, no mention is specially made of opium. In 1664, Mr. Hustaart submitted a report to the Governor General in Council at Batavia, about affairs in Malabar and Ceylon, wherein he stated that "the Company sent opium to Cochin in order to be exchanged for pepper," that opium was considered there "the principal sort of profitable merchandize," and that interlopers from the inland found means to bring opium "over the mountains, against which we have no remedy."

From a letter dated "Madura, the 28th November 1676," it appears that in the year 1667 no less than 85,000 lbs. (Dutch) of opium were required from Bengal for Cochin and the surrounding country. The profit from this trade at Batavia became so great that in 1676 the Dutch procured a monopoly for it, which was obtained in the following manner:—The Mataram Prince had made war against Troena Djaja and Macassar, when, in accordance with a treaty of 1646, the Dutch had to help the Mataram. The latter were successful, and in recompense for the aid afforded, the Dutch not only obtained an extension of their territorial possessions at Batavia, but they also specially had granted to them a monopoly for the importation of cloth and opium. This new treaty was signed in 1677. The principal object in securing this monopoly was in order to check the trade of Macassar, Malay, Bali, the Chinese, and the Moors, who had previously been the chief traders with Java in cloths and opium. In the following year the Dutch also obtained a similar monopoly from the Sultan of Cheribon. For a time the English and other Europeans who had factories at Bantam prevented the Dutch from maintaining a very strict monopoly in that trade; but after their conquest of Bantam in 1682 this was more effectually enforced.

In 1683 private trade in opium at Batavia was prohibited by the Dutch, and a notification was issued by the Government there to that effect, in which it was declared that all caught indulging in it would be liable to capital punishment; but the gradual decrease in the value of this article at Batavia, leads to the conclusion that large quantities must have been regularly imported by private traders in spite of this proclamation. In August 1684 the Dutch Government at Batavia issued a proclamation declaring the trade in opium at Malacca to be a monopoly.

Previously to 1659, the Dutch procured their opium from Surat, whence in 1640 they exported 187 lbs., and in 1650 this trade had increased to 648 lbs. In 1659 they began to procure opium from Bengal, in which year 1,312 lbs. were exported thence, and by 1677 their exports amounted to 12,025 lbs. But in 1678, the year after obtaining a monopoly from the Mataram, the Dutch imports of opium from Bengal amounted to 67,444 lbs. This trade then continued to increase, and by 1748 the Dutch imports into Batavia had risen to 217,500 lbs. After this the trade of the Dutch East India Company gradually decreased, being affected, no doubt, by the private trade of interlopers.

Benares, however, he was an undoubted authority, and his report, which was submitted by the Resident to the Governor-General in Council, contains much information of value.

According to Ram Chandar, when Europeans first appeared in the market as purchasers of opium for export, the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium were in the hands of the ryots or cultivators, and the opium produced was purchased by a body of merchants at Patna, known as the opium dealers, and by petty traders throughout the country called pykars, cash advances to the ryots being made, as required, by the Patna merchants. The competition of the English, French, and Dutch kept the trade in a flourishing state, the price paid for opium to the dealers usually averaging 100 to 150 rupees per maund; but on the temporary overthrow of the English Company by Suraj ud Dowla in 1756, the Dutch were left with a practical monopoly of the trade, and they beat down the price to 70 rupees per maund, so that "all the merchants and the pykars were next thing to ruin." After the battle of Plassey the English re-established their factory at Patna, and the gentlemen of the factory began to interfere actively in the trade, sending their gumashtahs (agents) into the different districts to make purchases for them on advances which they made for the purpose, and this led to quarrels between their agents and the agents of the French and Dutch. Eventually, in the Fasli year 1176 (1765) a joint concern was made of it, and "the French and Dutch were admitted to a share, so that there was but one " general agent as manager and purchaser of all the opium produced." The monopoly, however, was not so complete as to prevent those Europeans, who had no share in it, from dealing with the Pykars, and buying opium on their own account, and this led to complaints and litigation, which were put an end to by the assumption of the monopoly of the internal trade for the East India Company in 1773.

Report on the Miscellaneous Old Records at the India Office, by Sir G. Birdwood.

The trade in opium was officially recognised by the Directors of the East India Company, at least, as early as 1769, as the Commissioners sent out to India in that year to supervise the management of the Company's affairs throughout India were instructed to encourage the export of silk, yarn, and opium. The Commissioners were lost at sea, but it is not improbable to suppose that the instructions issued to them may have had the effect of directing the attention of the Company's servants in India to the subject of opium, and may have indirectly contributed to the establishment by them of the direct connexion of the Company with the traffic. The records indeed show that opium was provided on account of the Company for export to Bencoolen and Balam-bangan in Samatra, before any attempt was made to interfere with or regulate the arrangements for its production.

App. 59 A. to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

The circumstances which led to this interference are thus described in the letter of 15th October 1773, from Warren Hastings to his Council, to which reference has been already made:—"The competitions which had begun to take place for the purchase of " opium (*sic*) in the province of Behar induced me to make some inquiries concerning " the state of the trade and the mode of conducting it. I learn that from the first " introduction of the culture of opium into Behar, or, at least, for a long series of years, " it has always been a monopoly, and, of course, always in the possession of power and " influence. This is the footing upon which it now stands.

"You are already informed that Meer Monhur (*sic*) contracted to furnish the " quantity wanted for the Company's use, which is 800 chests. In effect, he is in " possession of the whole exclusive trade in virtue of the powers granted to him by " the Council and Council at Patna. Besides the quantity delivered to the Company the " Dutch factory is allowed 400 chests annually, and the French Resident puts in his " claim for 100 more. These may both be considered as indulgences, as it is optional " with the gentlemen of the factory to permit or disallow them."

The monopoly of the gentlemen of the Patna factory was not, according to Hastings, a new creation, but existed as far back as the year 1761, and was "in no way imputable " to the members of the Patna Council of the time," *i.e.*, 1773.

The exclusive privilege enjoyed by the Council was not, however, allowed to exist without challenge. As Hastings expressed it, "Everyone considered himself to be " equally entitled to the benefit of a trade from which he was not excluded by any " authentic act of Government," and the attempts made by Englishmen employed by the Company in Behar, and by others, who were mere adventurers, to share in the profits of the monopoly, produced a state of things in the Province which was held to necessitate the interference of Government. For the future, therefore, the Governor, while declaring his own conviction that it was not possible for Government, constituted

as it then was, to abolish the monopoly altogether, proposed three courses for consideration :—(1.) That a property should be declared in the trade upon conditions that would afford compensation to the Company for foregoing the advantages that the trade might yield if possessed by themselves. (2.) That the trade should be taken over for the whole emolument of the Company. (3.) That it should be made free. In discussing the arguments for and against the third course, and with special reference to the argument that free trade would increase production, Hastings urged that it was undesirable to increase the production of any article not necessary to life, and that opium was “not a necessary of life, but a pernicious article of luxury which ought not to be permitted but for the purposes of foreign commerce only, and which the wisdom of Government should carefully restrain from internal consumption.”

In the course of consideration of the question by the Council, Mr. Vansittart recorded a minute, in which he stated, as a matter within his own knowledge :—“ Ever since the establishment of our influence in Bengal by the battle of Plassey, almost the whole of the opium trade of the Behar Province has been in the hands of the gentlemen residing at Patna. Through different Gomashas being employed, frequent disputes arose, and sometimes lives were lost in the frays which happened between them, as has already appeared in the Company’s records. Since the year 1765 it has been uninterruptedly carried on as a joint concern, under the charge of a single Gomashas.”

Extract Ben.
Rev. Cons.,
23rd Nov. 1773,
App. 59 A to
9th Report of
the Select
Committee in
1783.

On 23rd November 1773, the Governor General and Council unanimously decided to assume the monopoly of the internal trade in opium, and the Resolution embodying this decision is here reproduced in extenso : “ The Board, having fully debated and considered the subject, are unanimously of opinion that the trade could not be laid open at this juncture without being productive of evil consequences to the ryots and to the country, and if it be continued a monopoly, they think it had better be so avowedly, and for the advantage of the country, than in a clandestine manner for the benefit of a single factory. It is, therefore, resolved that an exclusive privilege be given to Meer Manneer, the successor of Meer Ashrof, for providing opium in the Behar Province; that he shall engage to deliver in Calcutta all which may be produced in the Behar Province, at 320 sicca rupees, and what he may procure from Ghazypore or any other district of the Nabob Shuja ud Dowla, at 350 rupees (per chest), agreeably to the annexed writing, which shall be sent to Patna for him to execute; that he shall deliver to the Dutch the usual quantity with which they have been supplied at the customary price; that half the money shall be advanced immediately and half on the delivery of the opium; that the quantity delivered to the Company shall be sold on their account by public auction; and that what may be required for the settlement of Balambangan shall be reserved for it and invoiced at the medium price of the sales at the auction. The Board are induced to give this exclusive privilege to Meer Manneer in preference to anyone else, because, being the person who has for some years been employed by the gentlemen of Patna in this business, he is the best acquainted with the proper mode for managing it, and will account with them for any advances which they may have already made.

Extract Ben.
Rev. Cons.,
23rd Nov. 1773,
App. 59 A as
above.

“ As the success of the opium trade depends much upon its quality and the exportation of any which is bad, renders the Malays suspicious of the whole, and thereby diminishes the demand for it, and is injurious to the commerce of Bengal, the Agent shall be required to be particularly attentive to this subject. And as considerable quantities of a bad quality have of late been imported from Nyapur, and other parts of the Nabob Shuja ud Dowla’s country, it is resolved, that as a discouragement to such importation and the manufacturing of bad opium, an additional duty of 1 sicca rupee per seer be levied upon all opium not provided by the aforesaid agent, and that orders be in due time issued to the Customs Houses.”

It is clear from this Resolution, that the Board when deciding to assume the monopoly, merely intended to place themselves in the position hitherto held by the Patna Provincial Council as monopolists of the internal trade, with an undefined right of interference in the manufacture of opium, and that they did not propose to assume any monopoly of the seaborne trade to China, Java, and other places.

The Resolution does not refer to the allotment of any chests to the French, but subsequent records show that they were allowed to receive 300 chests a year at a favourable rate.

At first sight it seems strange that a section of the Company’s servants at Patna should have succeeded in monopolising the internal trade in an important staple

product of the country, but the circumstances of Bengal at the time were peculiar. The following description of the state of affairs then existing was given in the 9th Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon the affairs of the East India Company in 1783: "The Company's servants, armed with authorities, delegated from the nominal Government, or attended with what was a stronger guard, the fame of their own power, appeared as magistrates in the markets in which they dealt as traders. It was impossible for the Natives in general to distinguish, in the proceedings of the same persons, what was transacted on the Company's account from what was done on their own; The servants, therefore, for themselves or for their employers monopolised every article of trade foreign and domestic, not only the raw merchantable commodities, but the manufactures; and not only these but the necessities of life, or what in these countries habit has been confounded with them; not only silk, cotton, piece-goods, opium, saltpetre, but not unfrequently salt, tobacco, betel nut, and the grain of most ordinary consumption."

A monopoly, therefore, which, as stated by Warren Hastings, had always been in the possession of power and influence would naturally under these circumstances have fallen into the hands of the Company's servants, employed at the head centre of its operations.

Translation of Agreement dated 2nd Dec. 1773, in App. 61 to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

Letter from the Governor General and Council to the Court of Directors dated 29th December 1781. App. 79 to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

Report of the Commission appointed by the Government of India, to inquire into the working of the Opium Department in 1883.

Letter from the Patna Council dated 9th Jan. 1775, Ben. Rev. Cons., dated 18th Jan. 1775, App. 61 to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

Ben. Rev. Cons. of 18th Jan. 1775, App. 61 to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

The agreement executed shows that Ram Chandar Pandit was associated with Meer Manneer in the exclusive privilege or contract granted in pursuance of the Board's Resolution of 23rd November 1773, and the arrangements thus made for the provision of opium were continued for a second year 1774-5.

A letter written from Bengal in 1781 shows that the Danes, like the French and Dutch, were also allowed to receive, as an indulgence, a certain number of chests of the opium provided on behalf of the East India Company.

The allotments to the French and Dutch were withdrawn upon the conquest of the possessions of those nations in India and Ceylon in the wars which followed the French Revolution. The concession to the Danes was maintained for some years longer. The concession to the French was renewed in 1815, and their right to an allotment of a specified number of chests annually is still recognised, though the right has since 1884 been commuted for a cash payment.

In January 1775 while the provision of opium was still in the hands of Meer Manneer and Ram Chandar, the Patna Council applied for instructions in regard to its management, as the Board of Trade had apparently evinced an intention of taking it under their charge. "The management of the opium business," wrote the Council, "from the manner in which it is provided, is so closely connected with, and of such material import to the collection of the revenues, we apprehend the superintendancy (*sic*) cannot be separated without great impediment to the provision of that article or danger to the revenue arising from it. Disputes must unavoidably happen between the Gumastahs employed in collecting the opium and the revenue officers."

This letter came before the Council General constituted by the Regulating Act of 1773 and the question was considered whether "the contract of opium ought to be considered as an article of revenue or of the Company's investment."

The question in the form in which it was before the Council seems to have been mainly one of management. As Clavering put it:—The management and government of all territorial acquisitions and revenues of Bengal had been entrusted to the Governor General and Council by the Legislature of Great Britain, while the management of the commercial affairs of the Company had been entrusted by the Board of Directors to the Board of Trade. If, therefore, the contract were a commercial transaction, the management of the concern would rest with the Board of Trade, while if the income derived from it were regarded as revenue, the Governor General and his Council would be responsible for the duty of supervision. Francis, Clavering and Monson, forming a majority of the Council were of opinion that the contract was a branch of the territorial revenue. Hastings, and Barwell thought that it was an article of investment. The matter however was not thought to be of much importance. "It seems immaterial in effect," wrote Francis, "to the Honorable Company to which Board this contract may belong." "After all," wrote the Governor General, "I think it a matter of little consequence on which way the question may be determined. It may be hereafter and I wish to be correct in my own opinion upon it."

The decision of the majority was duly communicated to the Board of Trade and reported to the Directors, who wrote in reply :—" As the Revenue Council at Patna are of opinion that the opium business may be more conveniently conducted by their Board than by our commercial servants ; on that consideration only, we direct that the provision thereof be continued under your management, but that you consign the same, when provided, to our Board of Trade, at prime cost ; who are to dispose thereof at public auction and to apply the produce towards the provision of our investment."

Letter to the Board of Trade, dated 18th Jan. 1775.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General and Council in Bengal, dated 15th Dec. 1775, App. 60 to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

Hastings' minute on this question contains the following description of the position then occupied by the Company in regard to the opium. " It is received from the contractor by the factory at Patna and sent down to the Presidency where, a part being reserved for the trade of the settlement of Balambangan, the rest is sold at public auction ; and the produce, after deducting the prime cost and charges, is set apart as a fund for payment of the gratuities proposed to be allowed to members of the late council, in lieu of their advantages of trade from which they interdicted themselves."

Ben. Rev. Cons. of 18th Jan. 1775, App. 61 to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

In the same year that this question was raised as to the management of this business, the Patna Council were directed to submit their opinion " what mode it will be most advisable to adopt for the future provision of the opium," and in a letter, dated 27th March 1775, they recommended that a monopoly of the whole trade should be established in favour of the Company, and suggested that the Company should export the opium on their account to China. As an indication of the demand for opium and extent of the trade then existing, it is noteworthy that the Council estimated that if the French and Dutch were excluded from the trade and smuggling stopped they would be able to provide at least 33,000 chests a year, the profit on which if sold on the Company's account in China with a contract price in Bengal of 230 Rs. or 240 Rs. a chest would, as they said, be prodigious.

Letter from the Patna Council, dated 27th March 1775, in Ben. Rev. Cons. of 3rd May 1775 ; App. 59 A. to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

On this letter Hastings proposed, " that the whole produce of opium, manufactured in the Province of Bahar, be appropriated to the Company's use ;" and that the opium should in future be provided for the Company by the Patna Council or (if this should be thought undesirable) by a single agent, remuneration being given by a per-centage on the profit from the sales. The suggestion that the Company should export the opium on their own account to China was ignored.

Minute of May 1775 Ben. Rev. Cons. of that date.

The letter of the Patna Council with Hastings' minute came before the Council, and the question considered was whether the opium should in future be provided by agency or by contract. Hastings and Barwell favoured an agency, but Francis, Monson, and Clavering, forming a majority of the Council, decided in favour of a contract.

Ben. Rev. Cons. of 23rd May 1775, App. 62 to the 9th Report of the Select Committee of 1783.

" Upon the whole," wrote Francis, " I am of opinion that if it be not thought advisable to lay the trade open, the best method both for the Company and the country will be to contract with some native merchants of known credit and character, upon such fair terms as may enable them to make a reasonable profit, without squeezing the farmers or ryots who cultivate the lands. The Provincial Council will then be a check upon the contractor ; and if the present salaries of the Provincial Councils be thought inadequate to their stations, a proportion of the Company's profits by the contract may be set apart and divided equally amongst them. I am satisfied of the insufficiency of their present salaries ; and I believe there is no other fund out of which they can receive an augmentation so properly as the opium contract."

" I think," wrote Clavering, " it ought to be managed by contract ; because, as Mr. Francis has very well observed, the ryot can have no appeal from any injustice that may be done him, if the agency be entrusted to those who constitute the Government."

" To prevent the adulteration or debasement of the quality of the opium," the Council further decided that the opium in its crude state should be brought by the contractor to a place fixed by the Patna Provincial Council, and be there manufactured by him under the supervision of a person or persons appointed for the purpose by the Board.

Tenders were accordingly invited, and contracts for one year were assigned to the lowest of 13 bidders, to Mr. Griffith for the provision of 2,980 chests in Behar, at 180 Rupees a chest and 2½ per cent. commission on the sales at Calcutta, and to Mr. Wilton, for the provision of 1,000 chests in Bengal, at 240 Rupees a chest without commission.

Letter from the Governor-General and Council in Bengal to the Court of

Directors,
dated 24th
Nov. 1775,
App. 61 to the
9th Report of
the Select Com-
mittee in 1783.

Ben. Rev.
Cons. of 3rd
Sept. 1776,
App. 63 to the
9th Report of
the Select
Committee in
1783.

Letter from
the Governor-
General and
Council in
Bengal to the
Court of
Directors,
dated 18th
Nov. 1777,
App. 66 to the
9th Report of
the Select
Committee in
1783. Letter
from the Court
of Directors to
the Governor
General and
Council, dated
23rd Dec. 1778,
App. 70 to the
9th Report of
the Select
Committee
in 1783.

Letter from the
Governor-
General and
Council in Ben-
gal to the Court
of Directors,
dated 25th Nov.
1780, App. 78 to
the 9th Report
of the Select
Committee in
1783, and letter
from Mr. Mac-
kenzie dated 16th
May 1780 to the
Governor-Gen-
eral and Council
in the Appendix of
Documents
produced at
the trial of
Warren Hastings,
Vol. VI., No. 382.
Extract Ben.
Rev. Cons.,
dated 16th
March 1781
and 6th Nov.
1781, App. 71
and 73, and
letter from the
Governor-
General and
Council in
Bengal to the
Court of
Directors,
dated 5th May

In acknowledging the report of these proceedings on the 24th December 1776, the Court of Directors wrote:—

“If you shall be of opinion that abolishing the monopoly of opium will contribute in any great degree to the relief of the natives, we authorise you to give up that commodity as an article of commerce, only fixing and reserving a reasonable duty thereon to the Company, which we think should not exceed 30 Rupees a maund.”

Messrs. Griffith and Wilton received an extension of their contracts for one year for 1776–77, but the question whether the monopoly should be retained or not was further considered before the extension was granted. Francis, who was strongly opposed to all monopolies on principle, was in favour of its abolition. “The general principles,” he wrote, “upon which I have invariably condemned monopolies, whether in the hands of individuals or of Government, will not permit me to consent to the continuance of this, or any other monopoly of the labour of the subject.” Clavering, however, declared he was convinced that as long as there was a Provincial Council at Patna “a monopoly would exist in spite of every effort of Government to abolish it,” and that an avowed monopoly was better than supposed free trade; and his vote decided the question.

In 1777 Mr. Mackenzie received the whole contract for three years on the same terms as the former contractors, a measure which called forth a strong protest from the Court of Directors. After referring to the authority given in their letter of December 1776 for the abolition of the monopoly, with the reservation of a reasonable duty to the Company, and to the information which they had received of the grant of the contract for Mr. Mackenzie, they remarked:—“If any means could be devised to prevent the monopoly of opium and at the same time to secure a proper revenue to the Company from that article we (should) still prefer the opening of the trade; but we find it repeatedly urged in your proceedings that a monopoly of opium cannot be prevented; that it will exist in spite of every effort of Government to abolish it. And if this be true we must of necessity consider it an evil to which no adequate remedy can be applied, and acquiesce in giving the Company a preference which may be less oppressive in their hands than in those of individuals. We observe Mr. Mackenzie’s offer was to pay 10,000 sicca rupees per annum as a consideration for holding the opium contract on the terms of his predecessors and of being indulged with such additional advances of money as he might require. These proposals you accept without acquainting the former contractor or any other person with the terms therein contained. But after two years’ experience of providing opium by contract you should have ascertained, by advertising for other proposals, whether the price thitherto paid to the contractor had been reasonable or whether any other respectable person would engage to provide it on terms more advantageous to the Company; and as you acted otherwise and, so far as appears to us, concluded a contract of great importance without advertising for proposals or making previous inquiries necessary to guide your judgment therein and to warrant the measure, we therefore disapprove your conduct on that occasion.”

Notwithstanding this disapproval, Mr. Mackenzie received, in 1780, an extension of his contract for another year, and at his request the packing and despatching of the opium were taken out of the hands of the Patna Council and made over to him, and he was directed to consign the opium to the Superintendent of the Khalsa Records at Calcutta for sale instead of to the Board of Trade, the proceeds of the sales being, as before, made over to the order of the Board of Trade for application to the purpose of the investment. The delay caused by the packing and despatching of the opium from Patna was said by Mr. Mackenzie to have “enabled the private merchants in the districts of the Vizier (of Oudh), and Rajah Cheyt Singh to get their opium to Calcutta before the Honourable Company’s.”

In 1781, Mr. Stephen Sullivan received, on the recommendation of the Governor-General, a contract for the supply of opium for four years on the terms upon which the contract had been held by Mr. Mackenzie, and the offices of Inspectors of opium at Patna were at the same time abolished as being no longer necessary. The officer entrusted with the conduct of the opium sales at Calcutta was however, required to report to the Council the quantity and condition of all opium delivered there by the contractor.

This contract was condemned by the Board of Directors and formed the most important of the charges of wasting public money, which were comprised in the 4th Article of Hastings’ Impeachment, the terms of the contract being described as “glaringly extravagant and wantonly profuse.” The Directors censured the Governor-

General and Council, for concluding the contract without leaving the terms of it for their decision, after they had already condemned the contract entered into with Mr. Mackenzie, and remarked that they could not "withhold their displeasure at such an instance of contempt of *their* authority." "It would," they added, "have been much more agreeable to us to have seen that the monopoly of this trade had been entirely abolished, leaving the article of opium as open as any other produce of the country. The cultivator should receive every advantage from the produce of his lands, which would be a most pleasing inducement to him to consent to an increase of his rent."

At Hastings' trial the charge relating to this contract appears to have been strongly pressed. It was proved that Mr. Sullivan resold the contract at a large profit, and the contempt displayed for the standing orders of the Court of Directors on the subject of public contracts, which required that all contracts should be advertised and the lowest offers with security for due performance accepted, and for the orders communicated in the letter of 23rd December 1778 condemning the contract granted to Mr. Mackenzie, was much relied on by the Managers of the impeachment. Corrupt motives on the part of Hastings were not, however, established, while in regard to the contempt which he had displayed for the orders of the Court of Directors in giving the contract by favour, subsequent to the receipt of the orders passed in regard to Mr. Mackenzie's contract, it was forcibly urged in his behalf that the extension granted to Mr. Mackenzie, for which Francis and Wheeler, forming a majority of the Council, were said to be responsible, was equally an act of contempt. The verdict was acquittal on the charge by 19 votes against 5.

In the same year that the contract was given to Mr. Sullivan the Governor-General and Council forwarded opium on the Company's account for sale to China and the Straits, and this venture formed another of the charges against Hastings of wasting public money; the charge being that for the purpose of advancing money to the opium contractor and in order to favour certain individuals a loan was raised and the Company engaged in a smuggling venture in opium to China.

This matter was, it may be noted, incidentally referred to by Bishop Thoburn, one of the anti-opium witnesses who appeared before the Royal Commission.

The facts are as follows:—On 29th March 1781 a Colonel Watson wrote a letter to the Governor and Council suggesting that the opium trade to China should be taken by Government under its own management, and that opium required for that market should be consigned for sale to the Company's Supracargoes at Canton, and offering his ship the "Nonsuch" for the purpose. On 28th July 1781 Mr. Cudbert Thornhill made a similar offer of his ship the "Betsey" for the export of opium on the Company's account to the Straits and to China. The Company's opium was at the time unsaleable at Calcutta, even at Rs. 400 per chest, as the shipping of the port was engaged in supplying the Madras coast with grain; the navigation of the China Seas was rendered dangerous by privateers from Mauritius and Batavia; and the Batavia market was temporarily closed. The export of opium also would, it was anticipated, obviate the necessity for cash remittances to China for provision of the Company's investment there. The offers, therefore, were accepted: 2,000 chests of opium were sent in the "Nonsuch" to the Supracargoes at Canton, and 1,450 chests were sent in the "Betsey" for sale in the Straits of Malacca. In the meantime, to raise money to "meet calls from other Presidencies and make up for the resource expected from the sale of the opium," a loan of 10 lakhs of rupees was raised on the security of the cargo of the "Betsey" from the civil and military servants of the Company, to be repaid by bills of exchange on the Company from the Canton Supracargoes in the event of the safe arrival of the opium or the produce thereof in China, while, in case of failure, the loan was to be repaid in India with interest at 8 per cent. Another loan of 10 lakhs was raised from the public on the cargo of the "Nonsuch" on similar terms. The venture, from various causes, was not successful, though the object of avoiding a cash remittance to China appears to have been attained. The "Betsey" was captured in the port of Rhio by the French and Dutch, but some portion of the cargo was sold before her capture to great advantage. The Supracargoes at Canton also had considerable difficulty in disposing of the cargo of the "Nonsuch," on account (as they reported) of the prohibition of the import of opium by the Chinese Government, and on account of the "immense quantities" of opium brought to Macao in Portuguese ships before the arrival of the "Nonsuch"; and eventually sold the consignment at a loss of 69,973 dollars.

The Court of Directors also, on hearing of the venture, condemned the export of opium on the Company's account to Canton on the ground that the import of the drug

1781, App. 85 B. to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

Paras. 53 and 54 of letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General and Council in Bengal, dated 12th July 1782, App. 86 to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

Extract Ben. Rev. Cons., of 17th Sept. 1781, App. 80 to the 9th Report of the Select Committee in 1783.

Letter from Captain Robert Geddes to Mr. Cudbert Thornhill in Extract Ben. Rev. Cons., dated 3rd March 1783. Letter from the Supracargoes to the Court of Directors dated 26th Dec. 1782, in a Collection of papers relative to Warren Hastings' impeachment, at the India Office.

Paras. 55 and 56 of letter from the Court of

Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated 12th July 1782, App. 87 to the Report of the Select Committee in 1783. Books entitled, History of the trial of Warren Hastings, and Debates of the House of Lords on the evidence delivered in the trial of Warren Hastings.

was prohibited by the Chinese Government, and that it was beneath the dignity of the Company to be engaged in a clandestine trade; and prohibited such export in the future. They held, however, that there was no objection to the scheme for the sale of opium in the Straits of Malacca.

Hastings' action in regard to this enterprise was denounced in the course of his trial by the Earl of Carnarvon, but the objects with which the loans were raised were shown to be above suspicion, and he was unanimously found not guilty upon the charge; the questions covering this and one other charge being the only two out of the 16 put to the adjudicating peers, upon which Hastings was unanimously acquitted.

In a "History of the trial of Warren Hastings from February 7th, 1786, until his acquittal on 23rd April 1795," written it must be said by a friend and admirer of Hastings, the following passage occurs in the course of a summary of the facts established by the managers of the impeachment in regard to the charge:—"It appeared that the Board of Control have approved a plan exceedingly similar to this (i.e., the sending of opium on the Company's account to China), and it is not improper to say that Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons declared there could be nothing criminal in sending opium to China, nor was he at all ready to say that the scheme was not a very proper one."

This direct venture was, however, undoubtedly an exception to the course of policy pursued by the East India Company in regard to the trade.

The dislike of the Court of Directors to the opium monopoly was, as has been shown, manifested in more than one communication, and the Select Committee of the House of Commons in their 9th Report in 1783, expressed themselves unfavourable to the principle of a monopoly though they did not directly recommend its abolition.

Minute by Sir John Macpherson as Governor-General, dated 9th April 1785, and letter from the Governor-General and Council to the Court of Directors, dated 29th April 1785, in Collection of papers relative to Hastings Impeachment.

In 1785 therefore the subject was further considered by Sir John Macpherson, who succeeded Hastings for a short time as Governor-General. The question of providing the Company's Supracargoes in China with funds for the investment without draining India of specie was then seriously engaging the attention of the Company's Government in India and of the Court of Directors, as the reduction of the tea duties in England would, it was thought, lead to a large increase in the demand for that article.

The opium of the year was accordingly offered for sale on the understanding that payment for it should be made at the Canton Treasury; and Sir John Macpherson and his Council determined, subject to the approval of the Court of Directors, to apply in future the proceeds of the opium monopoly to the "exclusive benefit of the China trade." With this object in view Sir John Macpherson proposed for consideration three schemes for the future management of the opium trade.

- (1) That the exclusive right to the manufacture of and trade in opium should be assigned to an Association of merchants residing in Calcutta for a period of five years, on condition that the whole amount of the Benares and Behar opium or at least 3,500 chests should be annually exported from India for sale abroad, and that an annual payment of 400,000 rising to 800,000 Spanish dollars should be made by the Association into the Company's Treasury at Canton; the price payable by the Association for the opium to the East India Company being fixed at Rs. 200 for each chest, and the Company agreeing to reimburse the Association in rupees at a fixed rate of exchange for any excess in the amount paid at Canton over the sum due for opium exported. Opium of "the 2nd and 3rd sort not deemed fit for the export trade" was to be left to the Association to dispose of, on payment at Canton to the East India Company of a sum of Rs. 100 per chest.
- (2) That the trade should be conducted by the East India Company's servants as a monopoly for the Company; that part of the opium should be sold to the Dutch in Java, and that for the sale of the remainder a depôt should be established at Tringana in the Eastern Islands, whence the demand in China, (which was estimated at 1,200 out of a total of 3,500 chests), and in the other adjacent islands, might be supplied without difficulty; and that the money realised for the opium should be sent as a remittance to Canton.
- (3) That a contract for the provision of opium should be given to the persons offering the most advantageous terms, and that the opium provided should be sold by public sale at Calcutta on condition that the price in cash should be paid before a date specified to the Supracargoes in China.

“We consider,” wrote the Governor-General in Council, “the further exportation of specie from these Provinces, as public credit now stands, in so alarming a point of view, that we imagine it would be more for your interest to transfer the opium entirely to the Dutch on the condition of their paying its value in money into your Treasury at Canton, than to leave it on its present uncertain footing.”

Subsequently in July 1785, before receipt of a reply to these proposals, Sir John Macpherson and his Council discussed the measures which should be taken, upon the expiration of Mr. Sullivan's contract on the 31st August, for the future management of the opium revenue.

Extract of Ben.
Rev. Cons.,
dated 11th July
1785, in the
Appendix of
Documents
produced at
the trial of
Warren
Hastings.
Vol. VI. No.
386.

Three methods of raising a revenue were considered :—

- (1) By increasing the rent (*sic*) of lands under poppy.
- (2) By laying the trade open to all purchasers and levying an export duty on the opium.
- (3) By maintaining the monopoly in the form then existing, or by creating a monopoly in favour of an Association, as suggested in the Governor-General's Minute of 9th April 1785.

The first measure, though pronounced to be “conformable to the sentiments and wishes of the Court of Directors” was rejected on the grounds that it was unsuitable to the agricultural conditions of Behar; that a fourfold enhancement of rent would be necessary to produce a revenue equal to the profits annually derived from the opium monopoly; and that the Zemindars and Ryots who were naturally suspicious of innovations, would not agree to any enhancement of rent for a problematical advantage; while on poppy lands held rent free the measure would necessarily be inoperative.

The second measure was thought to be superior to the first, though the risk of smuggling and the certainty of deterioration in the quality of the opium with a consequent loss of its reputation in the Eastern market, were held to be weighty objections to it.

In regard to the third measure, the Governor-General strongly defended the principle of a monopoly. “I entertain,” he wrote, “my share of the general prejudices which prevail at home against every system that bears the appearance of monopoly. Much has been said against the monopoly of the opium; nor does the immediate apparent gain upon it as a monopoly appear of magnitude enough as an inducement to persist in it; but the value of the commodity to these provinces is a different consideration; and I very much believe that it never was and never can be secured to this country on any footing but that of a monopoly of some kind or other, such are the dispositions and habits of the natives, and the peculiar customs of the country.”

“It is a mistake to imagine that monopolies were not practised under the old country government; they always did exist in various degrees. It is well known that the Salt Collaries (*sic*) of Bengal were actually farmed out to a few substantial merchants, who on agreeing for the rents and to pay a certain duty at the Custom Houses had the entire salt trade in their own hands; and the whole opium and saltpetre of Behar was held for many years by a merchant named Foker ul Toojar, who had the exclusive privilege of supplying the different European companies with those articles, for which he paid an annual peishcush or rent to Government.

“Monopolies were of the earliest date in this country, and a principal means of raising the revenue long before it came in the Company's possession. It was upon the principle of monopolies that foreign Companies were first admitted in these Provinces and protected in particular branches of trade. The farming of the revenue to Zamindars and Renters was a part of this system; and I fear that it will be found in the end that it is only by some species of monopoly that the opium can be made any certain source of productive revenue.”

The Governor-General's views were approved by the Members of his Council, and subject to the possibility of the adoption by the Court of Directors of the scheme suggested for the creation of a monopoly in favour of an Association of Calcutta merchants, it was decided to retain the Company's monopoly of the right of purchase from the cultivators, and to offer the contract for the provision of opium for the public sales, for four years, to the person or persons offering the most advantageous terms.

The advisability of providing opium by agency instead of by contract, as proposed by Warren Hastings in 1775, was also discussed, but the contract system was preferred as it was said to have worked well for 13 years, and the suspicion of favouritism which, it was thought, would certainly attach to the appointment of an agent, was regarded as a strong objection.

Paragraphs of letter proposed by the Court of Directors to be sent to Bengal, as approved by the Board of Control, in the Collection of papers relative to Hastings' impeachment.

Collection of papers relative to Hastings' impeachment.

Selections from the Duncan Records, by A. Shakespear, printed at Benares in 1873.

Trial of Warren Hastings, Appendix of Documents, Vol. VI., App. 429,

In acknowledging the communications on the subject the Court of Directors, with the approval of the Board of Control, appointed in accordance with the Act of 1785, declared their opinion that opium was "undoubtedly a proper object of encouragement for foreign commerce," and accepted the principle that the proceeds of the monopoly should be applied to the benefit of the China trade; the conduct of the Governor-General in Council in the several steps he had taken to place the opium trade "upon a beneficial footing to the Company" and to supply the Supracargoes with specie "without draining the Provinces" was commended; and permission was given to him to adopt any plan which he might think best fitted to secure the object in view. A preference was however expressed for the third of the schemes proposed by Sir John Macpherson, as "appearing to be more consistent with the general freedom of commerce than the other two;" and the second scheme, in so far as it contemplated the direct supply of opium to China, was pronounced open to objection on the ground that it would involve the Company in an illicit trade. The advantage of possessing a trading establishment in the Eastern Islands whence any opium that might be required by the Chinese would find its way to China was, however, favourably commented on.

The most advantageous terms for the opium contract were offered by Messrs. Young and Heatly, and the contract was accordingly granted to them for four years from 1785 to 1789.

In 1787-88, the arrangements for the provision of opium were extended to the Zamindari or Province of Benares, provision being made in the first two years by the agency of Rann Chandar Pandit and subsequently by public contract.

In 1788-89 also, Earl Cornwallis and his Council once more considered the possibility of throwing open the trade, and scrutinised the arrangements which had been adopted for the provision of opium. No important change of system was, however, introduced, and another four years' contract was granted with some modification of the conditions intended for the relief of the poppy cultivators.

The following extract from the Minutes of a Consultation of the 29th July 1789, at which the Governor-General, the Hon. Charles Stuart and Mr. John Shore were present, gives the reasons for the decision to retain the monopoly:—"Although upon general principles, the Board cannot but disapprove all monopolies, especially when in the hands of Government, many considerations induce them to reject the abolition of the monopoly in question, of which the following is (*sic*) the principal. 1st. Were the trade to be laid open, the Board are of opinion that the quality of the opium would soon be so much debased as to destroy the reputation of the commodity in the Eastern markets, and thereby lessen the demand for it, which might ultimately affect the cultivation of it in Bengal and Behar, to the detriment of the revenue.

"2nd. The relinquishment of the monopoly would occasion an immediate defalcation on the resources of Government, equal to the amount of the profits now derived from it; nor would this loss be made up by any other means; but a very small part of it could be resolved by imposing an increase of rent in the poppy lands without oppressing the cultivators, who would in consequence relinquish the cultivation altogether, and the late arrangements made in the Customs would render the imposing any duties on the exportation of it less practicable than heretofore.

"3rd. The opium now serves as a remittance to China to answer the bills drawn upon Canton for the provision of the investment. Were the trade to be laid open, it is probable that this resource might in some measure fail, and occasion the exportation of large sums in silver from this country, already too much drained of its circulating specie.

"These considerations may in course of time have less weight, but in the present state of the Company's affairs, they appear to the Board of sufficient importance to induce them to give up all thought of relinquishing the monopoly, more especially as they have little doubt that by increasing the price to be paid to the cultivators, abolishing the cesses imposed upon them by former contractors, and defining the rights of the ryots, and limiting the authority of the contract, the cultivation of the poppy may be rendered equally advantageous to the ryots as any other article of produce."

The provision of opium by agency instead of by contract was also once more considered; but the greater certainty of profit under the contract system, and the undesirability of adding to the duties and responsibilities of Government and Government officers, were held to outweigh the advantages that might be expected from direct management, while the evils which had been found to attend the provision of opium by contract might, it was thought, be obviated by modifying the terms of the agreement.

In 1793 the office of Preparer of Public Reports (Superintendent of the Opium Sales) was abolished, and the management of the opium concern was transferred from the Revenue Department to the Board of Trade; and Regulation XXXII, of 1793 was passed embodying the provisions of the four years contracts in Bengal and Behar from 1793 to 1797, and containing measures for the protection of the cultivators against coercion by the contractors, and of the contractor against frauds by the cultivators, and for the prevention of illicit traffic in opium.

App. 9 to the 2nd Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th May 1810.

In 1795, a similar Regulation, Number XXXII., was passed for the Province of Benares; and Regulation LIII. was enacted to prevent illicit trade in opium in the Province of Bengal and the cultivation of the poppy in that Province without the knowledge of the contractor.

In 1797, on the expiration of the four years contracts concluded in 1793, orders were issued to discontinue the provision of opium in the Province of Bengal on account of the inferiority of the produce; and the cultivation of the poppy was restricted to Behar and Benares. The import into the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares of opium produced in the territories of the Nawab Vazir of Oudh or in any foreign country was also formally prohibited, and breach of the prohibition was made a punishable offence, by Regulation I. of 1797.

Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th May 1810.

The opium revenue declined considerably during the latter years of the contracts. The conditions of the contracts were rendered stringent by competition; the price at which the crude opium was to be purchased from the cultivators was prescribed; and the price at which Government agreed to take over the opium was fixed so low as to leave to the contractors an insufficient margin of profit. This led to deterioration in the quality of the opium and to a consequent diminution in the price realised for the opium at the public sales. The contract system was discredited, and in 1797 the Governor-General in Council "with a view of restoring and improving this important branch of the public revenues" decided that the contracts should be discontinued and that the opium should in future be provided by agency. Bengal Regulation VI. of 1799 was accordingly enacted to give effect to this decision.

Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 28th July 1812.

Cultivation of the poppy in the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, Benares, and Orissa, except on account of Government, was prohibited by the Regulation, but it was left to the option of the cultivator to enter into engagements at a settled price or to decline the cultivation altogether. The Regulation also prescribed rules for the guidance of all persons concerned in the provision of opium on behalf of Government; for securing to Government all opium produced in the four provinces, and for preventing the illicit cultivation of the poppy and the illicit importation or traffic in opium.

Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th May 1810.

This Regulation, which was subsequently modified by Regulations V. of 1807 and VI. of 1809, laid the foundation of the Opium Department in Bengal.

In 1803, with the object of further safeguarding the revenue derived from opium in the Provinces of Behar and Benares, the cultivation of the poppy in the provinces ceded by the Nawab Vazir of Oudh was prohibited by the enactment of Regulation XLI. of that year, and rules were framed to prevent the illicit cultivation of the poppy and traffic in opium in the ceded provinces, and the importation of opium from them into the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Benares, and Orissa.

The measures above described were scrutinised and reviewed by the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into and report on the affairs of the East India Company in 1808-1812.

The Committee in their Second Report, submitted in 1810, recognised that the opium trade was liable to be affected by many contingencies such as "adverse seasons and the state of the markets to the eastward," and that the revenue must therefore be "considered as fluctuating in its nature." They commented, however, favourably upon the advantages of the agency as compared with the contract system, remarking that the "measures resorted to for securing the provision of the drug, pure and unadulterated, had proved of essential service," as the prices obtained for the opium had risen largely of late years.

Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th May 1810.

In their Fifth Report submitted in 1812 the Committee observed that the "monopoly of the opium produced from the culture of the poppy" was the third principal branch of the East India Company's territorial revenue in India, and further that the trade under judicious management was calculated to be, and "had shown itself to be, a very considerable financial resource."

Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 28th July 1812.

The question whether the opium revenue was a desirable financial resource, or whether it was open to serious objection on moral grounds, does not seem to have suggested itself for consideration.

SECTION C.

Letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Government of Bombay, dated 7th April 1803.

No information is apparently available in official records regarding the trade in opium from the West of India during the 18th century. The disturbances which attended the establishment of Mahratta dominion in Malwa and Gujarat probably affected injuriously the poppy industry in Central India; but the trade does not appear to have been interrupted, and in 1803 it attracted the attention of the Marquis Wellesley, then Governor-General.

The Government of Bombay was accordingly asked for information as to the quantity of opium usually exported from Bombay and the stations subordinate thereto, and as to the country in which it was produced.

Letter from the Government of Bombay to the Governor-General in Council.

The Bombay Government in reply submitted a report on the subject by the Reporter-General on External Commerce, in which the quantity of opium imported into Bombay and the stations subordinate thereto, for purpose of re-exportation from Surat and the northern ports of Gujarat and the Arabian Gulf during the three years 1800-1, 1801-2, and 1802-3, was said to amount to 3,700 Surat maunds, and the average quantity annually imported to 1,233 maunds. "The opium exported from Bombay," wrote the Reporter-General, "is principally produced in Malwa, and in the vicinity Ougein (Ujain). That some small quantity of inferior quality is produced in the northern parts of the Guzrat, and that it sometimes occurs that a small quantity of Turkey opium is imported."

Letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Government of Bombay, dated 30th June 1803.

The Governor-General in Council then addressed the Government of Bombay pointing out that the extent to which the trade in opium from the western side of India (of which he was not before apprised) appeared to have already attained, and the detrimental consequences which might result from the increase or continuance of that trade to the revenue derived from the monopoly of opium in Bengal, required "that the most effectual measures should immediately be adopted for the prevention of further growth of that commerce, and for its ultimate annihilation." The Bombay Government was accordingly requested to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy within the territories subject to its immediate authority, and also to prohibit the import into Bombay, or the shipment at British or foreign ports in vessels sailing under the British flag, of any opium except that purchased at the Company's sales in Bengal, and to state its opinion as to the best means of preventing the cultivation of the poppy in the territories of the Baroda State and any of the neighbouring countries, and the export of opium from those countries. A report was also asked for regarding the origin and progress of the trade in opium from the West of India, the persons concerned in it, the price of the opium, and the markets to which it was ultimately consigned for sale.

The intention of the Government of India to request the Government of Fort St. George and his Excellency the Governor of Ceylon to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy, and to restrict the trade in opium within their jurisdiction, was at the same time incidentally mentioned.

Letter from the Government of Bombay to the Governor-General in Council, dated 2nd Aug. 1803.

On receipt of this letter, the Bombay Government* directed the Collector of Surat and the Resident at Baroda to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy in the Company's territories under their charge, and to state their opinions as to the best means of prohibiting poppy cultivation in, and the export of opium from, the territories of the Gaekwar and from any of the neighbouring countries. The Resident was also asked to prohibit the export of opium from the Company's ports of Dhollerah and Gogho, and to write to the Nawab of Cambay through the Political Officer to take similar precautions. The Custom Masters at Bombay and Surat were at the same time directed to only permit in future the export of Bengal opium, and to caution vessels sailing under the British flag not to receive any other opium. Reports also as to the origin of the trade and other particulars were called for from the above-named officers and Mr. Miguel de Lima de Souza, the Chief Local Administrative Official in Gogho, &c.

Letter dated 24th Aug. 1803, from the Resident to the Government of Bombay.

The Resident at Baroda in compliance with these orders instituted an inquiry, and reported the result on the 24th August 1803:—"It appears," he wrote, "from the uniform declarations of the retailers and wholesale dealers in that article, and from the information of many respectable inhabitants, as well as of the Civil Officers of the Gaekwar's Government, that the poppy is not planted or cultivated in Guzerat (Gujarat) for the purposes of profit or exportation. Here and there a few seeds

* The Bombay Government raised no objection to the prohibition of cultivation within the territory under their administration, as supposed by Sir James Lyall.

“ may be sown in a private garden, and the produce consumed by the family, but this practice is extremely rare. All the persons to whom I have applied for information agree that Malwa is the country where the poppy is cultivated and whence whatever quantities brought to market in Guzerat are imported. The chief ports of exportation are Cambay, Jambhoseer, Broach and Surat. The era of cultivation, of this article in Malwa appears very remote, and to owe its origin, like the cotton of this country, to a climate and soil favourable to the growth of the plant. . . . The disturbed state of Malwa has caused the cultivation of opium to decline, and consequently the exportation is less than formerly. The means of exporting this drug are so easy that it will be very difficult to prevent by any prohibitory regulations. It is carried away in small vessels that can approach any part of the coast, and were they excluded from the greater ports, the motive of smuggling is so strong that they would discover other channels. A great quantity of opium is imported into Kathiawar with a view to exportation principally to Arabia and Persia. This is also supposed to be the course of a considerable proportion of the exports from other places. The rest find their way to Bombay and the ports of the Konkan, from which the opium is distributed into the interior of the Peninsula. None of the emporia that I have mentioned are within the jurisdiction of the Gaekwar Government, and such is the universal and strong passion for this deleterious manufacture that any attempt to reduce its consumption in Guzerat would produce the greatest dissatisfaction. It is probably an apprehension of this kind that has induced the Administration to levy comparatively light dues on the home consumption of opium, while the petty States through whose territories it passes from Malwa, not being restrained by this consideration, impose heavy transit Customs.”

Numerous persons in Guzerat (Gujarat) were said to be concerned in the trade, and dealers were reported to “run considerable risks in smuggling the commodity” to evade the heavy transit duties imposed upon it when on its way from Malwa to that Province.

In a subsequent communication, the Resident forwarded extracts of letters, which he had received, from the Nawab of Cambay, the Managers of the port of Dhollerah and the Agents of the Company’s districts under his charge at Dholka and Moondeh.

Letter dated 16th Sept. 1803 to the Government of Bombay.

The Managers of Dhollerah reported that no opium had been exported from that port since the British flag had been there hoisted; and the Agents of the Company’s districts reported that no poppy was there cultivated, and that the opium sold was brought from Malwa.

The reply from the Nawab was laconic:—“No opium,” he wrote, “grows in this country. In Malwa it is cultivated, and comes thence into Cambay and Kathiawar, where its use is much indulged in. A very little is bought and brought here; and it would avail little to forbid its ingress.”

The Collector of Surat reported on 26th September 1803, that the cultivation of the poppy had been strictly prohibited throughout his Collectorship, and that from the best information he had been able to obtain it did not appear that any opium was produced in the countries subject to the Gaekwar State. “From the information of the oldest and most respectable merchants of this city,” wrote the Collector, “as well as from the Custom House records, which I have deemed it advisable to consult as forming the only clue by which authentic intelligence could be deducible, it appears that opium has been an article of traffic ever since Surat has been a place of trade from time immemorial.”

Letter from the Collector of Surat to the Government of Bombay, dated 26th Sept. 1803.

The replies from the Custom Masters at Surat and Bombay, dated 27th August 1803 and 22nd November 1803, were also full and interesting. “The merchants of Surat,” wrote the former, “have traded in opium ever since it became a place of trade, and from the information of some of the oldest traders they believe it has not increased or decreased in any considerable degree until within the last 18 or 20 years, when it increased a little owing, it appears, to a greater number of strangers repairing hence for Malwa opium from Bhaunagar, Diu, Cutch, Malabar, Prince of Wales Island, the Malay Coast, and China. . . . The persons concerned in this trade are Hindoos of various sorts, Muhammadans, and a few Jews—in all 300 to 400 persons.” Two kinds of opium were said to be imported, one from Malwa, and the other, which was the produce of Upper Egypt, from the ports in the Red Sea; the price of the Malwa opium on re-export from Surat being $5\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per seer, and of the Egyptian $7\frac{1}{4}$ to $8\frac{1}{4}$. Malwa opium was, according to the Custom Master, consigned to Malabar and other

Letters dated 27th Aug. and 22nd Nov. 1803 from the Custom Masters at Surat and Bombay to the Government of Bombay.

places in India, the Malay Coast, and China, while the Egyptian opium was re-exported to Multan (in the Punjab) and no other country.

The Bombay Custom Master reported that opium was produced in Malwa, Ujain being "the grand mart for all the opium produced in the different districts," where it was "purchased by all descriptions of merchants, with the only exception of Mussalmen." The quantity of opium annually brought to Ujain he estimated at 15 lakhs of rupees, of which 5 lakhs were exported to Hownabad (*sic*) in the Bounsella's (Bhonsla) country, about 3 lakhs to Poona, and one to two lakhs to Bombay, the remainder being distributed over the adjacent country and Gujarat for internal consumption and for exportation. "In regard to the origin of the trade in opium," wrote the Custom Master, "no certain information can be obtained from the Native merchants, other than that it is a generally received opinion, that it has existed for centuries back."

The conditions under which the cultivation was carried on in Malwa were thus described: "From the best information procurable, I do not find that in the Ougein and surrounding districts the opium manufacture has ever become an object of attention to the Government of those Parganahs, but that is indiscriminately subject to the same taxes and duties as all other produce, and the trade equally open and free to all. That there exists no sort of monopoly of farming thereof in any form, or in regard to any quantity; that the cultivators of the land produce as much as they think proper, and generally all bring it for first sale to Ougein."

Mr. de Souza's reply was rather vague, but the information, which he collected, was to the effect that the opium was produced in Malwa, and consumed all over Gujarat and other countries, about 1,500 or 2,000 Surat maunds being brought to Bombay.

The prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy throughout the Company's territory was followed by the enactment of provisions in Bombay Regulation I. of 1805, by which the export of opium from Bombay to China was forbidden, and only Bengal opium was permitted to be imported into, or exported from, Bombay on pain of forfeiture of the opium, and a fine of treble its value.

Some action also appears to have been taken with the acquiescence of the Gaekwar, with whom the British Government was at that time in close political relations, to suppress poppy cultivation in Baroda and other Native States in Gujarat.

The Court of Directors, however, in a letter written on the 9th April 1805, expressed themselves doubtful as to the wisdom of the measures adopted for the prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy and the suppression of the trade in opium. "Considering," they wrote, "the drug as an article of almost universal consumption, the prohibiting altogether the cultivation of the poppy within the territory under the immediate authority of the Bombay Presidency appears to be a measure of severity, and calculated likewise to render Government extremely unpopular, particularly in Guzerat (Gujarat), in which Province it appears that the poppy is not planted or cultivated for the purposes of profit or exportation, but for the consumption of families." The policy of attempting to "at once annihilate" a trade which was said to have existed for centuries past was also regarded as questionable.

In forwarding an extract from this letter to the Government of Bombay, the Hon. the Vice-President in Council, Sir George Barlow, in a letter dated 17th October 1805, expressed an opinion, that it would be expedient to permit the cultivation of opium in Gujarat for the use of the inhabitants of that Province, as the quantity of opium there produced was reported to be inconsiderable, and to be intended "solely for the use of the inhabitants and not for the purposes of exportation;" and requested "that this part of the subject" might be reconsidered.

The cultivation of the poppy in Baroda therefore was not interfered with, but the prohibition in British territory was maintained, and the policy of suppressing as far as possible the cultivation in other States, and of restricting the traffic in opium to the Portuguese Ports of Diu and Daman, by prevailing on the Native Princes to prohibit the export of opium from their ports, and to establish duties on the transit of the drug by land, appears to have been kept steadily in view.

In pursuance of this policy the chiefs of the Mahi Kantha Political Agency were required to prevent opium smuggling through their territories, by Article XIII. of a Security Bond taken from them in the year 1812; and the export for sale of opium from the Gaekwar's districts to seaports or other territories was prohibited by the

Letter from Mr. de Souza dated 8th Aug. 1803 to the Government of Bombay.

Section 9 of Bombay Regulation I., of 1805.

Précis of Correspondence in the Baroda Residency Office on the subject of our relations with H.H. the Gaekwar with regard to Opium, contained in the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Financial Department No. 28, of Feb. 1878; and Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor General in Council, dated 9th April 1805.

Letter from the Governor-General in Council to the Government of Bombay, dated 17th Oct. 1805.

Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. VI., pp. 338 to 341.

Gaekwar's Government under an arrangement made in 1817. In 1818 also, a duty of 12 rupees per Surat ser was imposed by order of the Gaekwar's Government on the sale and transport of opium within the territory of the State.

The Marquis Wellesley, moreover, aided doubtless by the course of events in Europe, succeeded in the early part of the century in effecting an arrangement with the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, under which the export of opium from Portuguese ports was temporarily prohibited; but the understanding thus arrived at was of short duration. In 1815 Major Schuyler, the Envoy at Goa, reported to the Bombay Government that the Portuguese Viceroy of the time was rumoured to have declared the arrangement made by his predecessor unjust and ruinous to the revenue of his Sovereign and to the commerce of the Portuguese settlements on the coast, and that he (the Viceroy) had given a small brig of war to a certain Major Antonio Periera to enable him to transport 69 chests of opium, brought from Daman from Goa, to Macao for the China market. On receipt of this report the Company's Collectors and Custom Masters were directed by the Bombay Government to prevent, as far as possible, the passage of opium from Malwa through the Company's territories. In January 1817 also, the Governor-General in Council addressed the Court of Directors, representing the injury which the opium revenue was likely to sustain from the trade in opium between Goa and other ports in India, not subject to British jurisdiction, and the Portuguese settlement of Macao, and suggesting that an arrangement should be made between the Governments of Great Britain and Portugal for prohibition of the import by Portuguese subjects into Macao of all opium except Bengal opium, and for the imposition of such a duty on Malwa or Turkey opium, when imported by foreigners, tantamount to prohibition.

The Court of Directors, however, thought it is so improbable that the Portuguese Government would accede to such an arrangement, that they deemed it "unnecessary" to submit the proposal to His Majesty's Government." In communicating this decision, however, the Directors expressed a hope that the superiority in quality of the Bengal opium over that manufactured in other parts of India would insure to it a preference in the foreign market, if the superiority were not more than counterbalanced by the difference in price. "Should," they wrote, "a reduction in the price of Bengal opium become necessary, the expediency of proportionately increasing the annual provision will naturally engage your attention. We know of no practicable way of guarding against the evil you apprehend, except by supplying the markets, at a moderate price, with a better article than can be procured from different quarters and through other channels."

From 1815, therefore, Malwa opium began to compete seriously with Bengal opium in the Eastern market, and a decline in the opium revenue from 1814-15 to 1817-18 was ascribed to the competition of Malwa, Turkish, and smuggled Bengal opium.

In the Bengal Presidency, in the meantime, the prohibition of poppy cultivation in the province of Bengal was found to have been ineffectual; smuggling from Behar on an extensive scale was officially reported; and the existence of a strong demand for opium for local consumption within the Presidency was forced upon the notice of Government.

The policy, therefore, which had been inaugurated by Warren Hastings, of regarding opium merely as an article of foreign commerce was abandoned, and opium was included with spirituous liquors and intoxicating hemp drugs as an article of the Provincial excise.

Regulation X. of 1813, which consolidated the rules at the time in force respecting the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs, authorised the retail sale of opium under license, on payment of a daily tax to Government. The retail sale was, however, to be confined to one or two of the principal towns in each district, and Collectors were enjoined to "discourage to the utmost extent of their means, the sale and consumption of the drug except for medicinal purposes." The quantity of opium required for internal consumption was to be supplied at 10 rupees per ser by the Opium Department, and the price realised was to be credited to the Department.

These measures were followed by an attempt, in 1815, to collect, through the Commercial Resident of Bangalore, the produce of the poppy illicitly cultivated in

Proceedings of the Government of India in the Financial Department, Nos. 18-30, of February 1878. Letters from Maj. Schuyler Envoy at Goa, to the Government of Bombay, dated 8th and 9th May 1815, and paragraph 88 of Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated 24th Oct. 1817. Minutes of Proceedings of the Government of Bombay, dated 22nd May 1815.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal, dated 27th Jan. 1819 in App. IV. to the 3rd Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal, dated 30th Jan. 1822, in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Letter from the Opium Agent in Behar, dated 21st Nov. 1814, referred to in para. 79 of letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated 24th Oct. 1817 in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Section XVII., clause (3) of the Regulation.

the Bengal districts of Rangpore and Dinagepore, but, although the area under poppy was estimated to be not less than 10,000 bigahs, the Resident was only able to procure 30 maunds of opium at a comparatively high cost.

An Opium Agency was accordingly established at Rangpore for the provision of opium for internal sale and consumption in the Presidency by Regulation XIII. of 1816; and the produce of the Behar and Benares Agencies was reserved exclusively for the export trade. By this Regulation the retail sale of opium in the interior was formally declared to be a branch of the Abkari revenue, and the superintendence of the sale was vested in the Board of Revenue, under rules similar to those established for the sale of spirituous liquors and hemp drugs.

Shops for the sale of excise opium were established by Government, in accordance with the provisions of the Regulation, at the places "deemed most convenient for supplying the wants of the community;" and Collectors were also authorised in certain cases to permit individuals to establish shops in specified localities and sell excise opium under regular licenses and on payment of a daily tax, which was to be fixed as high as possible "without risk of giving rise to the illicit manufacture and sale of opium."

The Opium Department was, however, continued as before under the general authority of the Board of Trade, and, to improve the administration in respect to the provision of the drug, the number of European officers in the Department was increased, and the provisions of the law intended to prevent the illicit manufacture and sale of opium were made more stringent. The provisions of Regulation VI. of 1799, which governed the dealings of the officers of the Department with the cultivators, were, however, maintained with little material alteration.

Letter from the Governor-General in Council in Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 20th Feb. 1816, in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

The principles, upon which the supervision of the arrangements for the internal sale of opium should be conducted, were thus laid down :—

"The Board has also been informed that the rules for the conduct of the officers employed in managing the retail sale of the opium, should clearly define that the object of Government in interfering in the traffic was more with a view to control the use of an article, which is so prejudicial to the morals of the people, and to the interests of society in general, than with a desire of increasing the revenue by an extensive sale of it; and that the superior means which Government will in future possess of regulating and restricting the retail sale of opium, when conducted under the immediate superintendence of its own officers will, it is hoped, not only prevent illicit traffic in the article which now notoriously exists, but gradually reduce the excessive use of the drug, which is now known to prevail, the object of course being to confine the consumption of it to medicinal purposes."

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal, dated 24th Oct. 1817, in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

The Court of Directors, in conveying their sanction to "the measures adopted for the purpose of supplying from the Government Stores a quantity of opium for the internal consumption of the country," desired it to be distinctly understood that sanction was given to the measures, "not with a view to the revenue which they may yield, but in the hope that they will tend to restrain the use of this pernicious drug; and that the regulations for the internal sale of it will be so framed as to prevent its introduction into districts where it is not used; and to limit its consumption in other places as nearly as possible, to what may be absolutely necessary."

The establishment of the Rangpore Agency was approved, as the Directors considered it a fair object "to substitute an allowed, instead of an illegal, proceeding; to restrain an evil which cannot be suppressed; to place under regulation a habit of indulgence from which the people cannot be wholly weaned, and to employ taxation less as an instrument of raising the revenue than as a preservative of the health and morals of the community."

After some practical directions as to the necessity for keeping and packing Bengal opium in such a way as would prevent it from being passed off in India and other countries as Behar or Benares opium, the Court of Directors concluded their letter with a second, and more explicit, declaration of their policy in regard to the sale of opium :—

"After all, we must observe that it is our wish not to encourage the consumption of opium, but rather to lessen the use, or, more properly speaking, the abuse of the drug; and for this end, as well as for the purpose of revenue, to make the price to the public, both in our own and in foreign dominions as high as possible, having due regard to the effects of illicit trade in our own dominions, and of competition in foreign

places, from opium produced in other countries. Were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except strictly for the purpose of medicine, we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind; but this being absolutely impracticable we can only endeavour to regulate and palliate an evil which cannot be eradicated."

It is clear from these despatches that the policy of treating opium as an article of excise was adopted, mainly with the view of restricting consumption and of securing more complete control over the internal traffic in the drug, the revenue that might be obtained from a tax on its use being regarded as a secondary consideration.

In 1814 the East India Company's monopoly in the Indian trade was withdrawn by the Statute 53rd George III., chapter 155; and in 1815-16 Turkish opium was imported by merchants unconnected with the Company into both the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies. In Bengal legal proceedings were contemplated, though they were not actually taken; and in Bombay the importers, Messrs. Forbes & Co., were prosecuted for an infringement of the rules contained in Regulation 1 of 1805. The prosecution, however, failed, the Recorder holding that the absolute prohibition of import contained in the Regulation was invalid under the provisions of the Statute throwing open the trade to and from India to the public.

Letter from Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, dated 11th Oct. 1816. in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

The reservation of the monopoly of the China trade, which was maintained by the Statute in question, enabled the Company to prevent vessels sailing under the British flag from carrying any opium to China, except that sold at the Company's public sales; and, in order to secure the exclusive trade in opium in India, a duty of 24 rupees per seer was imposed on all opium, other than that produced in Bengal, imported into the territories immediately dependent on the Presidency of Fort William, and of 12 rupees per Surat ser on such opium imported into the Presidency of Bombay, by Bengal Regulation XVI. of 1817, and Bombay Regulation I. of 1818.

Letter from the Governor-General in Council in Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 11th Oct. 1816.

In submitting for approval to the Court of Directors a draft of the above Bombay Regulation in 1815, the Bombay Government was compelled to recommend the exemption of Gujarat from the provisions permitting the import and consumption of Bengal opium only on account of the extensive consumption of opium which existed in that Province. "Your Honourable Committee are aware," wrote the Governor in Council, "that from the high price at which opium is sold at the public sales in Calcutta, the purchasers cannot afford to bring it round to this side of India, and our territories to the southward have therefore been supplied with that article from Malwa. As your subjects in Gujarat indulge in opium so as to render it quite a necessary of life, and as no supply of the article can be expected from Bengal, we must still admit of opium, the produce of Malwa, finding its way into Gujarat, which may be done by an Order in Council, authorising the Collectors to waive the strict operation of the Regulation in favour of that description of opium, without providing for any exception in its favour in the proposed enactment."

Letter from the Government of Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 11th Dec. 1816.

The exemption of opium imported into Gujarat from duty was not, however, long maintained, as it was found to lead to the illicit export of opium, and in 1820 the Government of Bombay decided to discontinue it, and to supply opium itself to licensed vendors for retail in the Company's territory in Gujarat in accordance with the provisions of Regulation VII. of 1817, a Regulation for licensing the sale of tobacco, ganja, and snuff, and preventing their clandestine importation. The object in view, as explained to His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda was "to retail opium at rates that would check the inordinate use of it, and yet, besides a profit to the retailer, be within the reach of those who may be accustomed to indulge in opium and at the same time yield a revenue."

Letter from the Secretary to Government of Bombay to the acting Resident at Baroda. No. 1031, dated 16th Aug. 1820, in the proceedings of the Government of India in the Financial Department, No. 22 of February 1878. Bengal Regulation No. IV. of 1819.

In 1819 it was found desirable to modify the constitution of the Boards entrusted with the supervision of the revenues of the Bengal Presidency, and unite under one authority the control of the Departments of Customs, Salt, and Opium. A new Board was accordingly constituted by Regulation IV. of 1819, entitled the Board of Revenue in the Customs, Salt, and Opium Departments, and the "powers, duties, and authority" exercised by the Board of Trade in the Opium Department were vested in the new Board.

The measures taken to exclude Turkey opium from India, and prevent vessels under the British flag from trading with China in opium other than that sold at the Calcutta sales, appear to have been successful, but it was impossible to prevent a trade in such opium with the Eastern Isles and China in the ships of foreign nations and from foreign ports; and the establishment of British supremacy in Malwa, and the

Par. 9 of letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated 10th May 1816, in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

pacification of the country consequent on the termination of the Pindari war, led naturally to a large increase in the out turn and export of the Malwa drug.

Abstract of correspondence regarding Malwa opium from 1818 to 1828, in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

In 1818, therefore, the Government of India consulted the Bombay Government as to the best method of checking the exportation of Malwa opium from the Portuguese ports of Diu and Daman. In reply the Bombay Government suggested that cultivation of the poppy for the purpose of export should be prohibited in Malwa; or, if this were thought impracticable, that cultivation which had been prohibited in Gujarat in 1803 should be once more permitted, so that Gujarat opium might compete with the Malwa drug in the Eastern markets.

Resolution of 12th Nov. 1819, in Abstract of correspondence regarding Malwa opium from 1818 to 1828.

In 1819 the Government of India discussed the subject in a Resolution. The competition of Turkey opium in the Chinese markets was not thought to be serious, provided that the price of Bengal opium were not kept too high, but the demand for Malwa opium in China made, it was considered, the maintenance of the high prices up to that time obtained for Bengal opium an impossibility. A project therefore was formulated for securing the entire control of the China market, by obtaining in Malwa a supply of opium that would suffice, with the opium already produced in Bengal, to meet the total demand. The Bengal supply was calculated as 4,000 chests, and the demand was estimated at 8,100 chests, and the objects in view were firstly to obtain a supply of 4,000 chests from Malwa, and secondly to prevent by restrictive measures the production of any quantity of opium in excess of that supply. Objections to the scheme as an improper interference with the affairs of Native States, and the course of trade, and as being likely to render our Government unpopular, were recognised, and it was left to the Bombay Government to propose measures which would obviate these objections.

Abstract of correspondence regarding Malwa opium and par. 4 of letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council in Bengal, dated 16th Sept. 1829, in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Eventually the idea of restricting the quantity of opium produced in Malwa was temporarily relinquished, and a scheme for the purchase there of the amount of opium required without interference with the production was adopted; and the opium thus obtained was sold partly at Calcutta, and partly at Bombay, by the Government upon principles similar to those which regulated the Bengal sales, the first sales at Bombay under this system being in the year 1820-21.

At the same time Bombay Government Regulation I, of 1818, was followed by Regulation II, of 1820, a Regulation for explaining Regulation I, of 1818, and for the more effectually preventing the clandestine importation of opium into any port or place within the limits of the territories dependent on the Bombay Presidency; and the policy of restricting the cultivation of the poppy in the Native States of Gujarat, and the transit of opium through these States to the ports on the west coast was vigorously prosecuted.

Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. VI., pp. 163 and 164; and letter from the Government of Bombay to the Acting Resident of Baroda, dated 16th August 1820.

In Baroda the Gaekwar was informed in July 1820 of the decision, which had been arrived at, to prohibit the importation of opium into British Gujarat, except on payment of the duty prescribed in Bombay Regulation I. of 1818, and to supply opium for sale by licensed vendors for local consumption, and was invited to adopt similar measures within the territory of his State. Negotiations followed; the Gaekwar accepted the policy of Government with certain stipulations, and these stipulations received the assent of the Government of Bombay on October 17th, 1820. By this Convention the British Government agreed to make no objection to the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium in the Baroda State to an extent sufficient to provide for local consumption, and the Gaekwar undertook to purchase the local produce, and to supply opium to the merchants and subjects of the State. Any opium required for this purpose in addition to the local produce was to be obtained from the warehouses of the British Government in the districts adjoining the State, and in the event of a deficiency of supply in the warehouses of the two Governments the import of opium free of duty from Malwa was to be permitted. The sale price of opium also in Baroda was to be assimilated to the price in British territory.

Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. VI., pp. 232 to 237.

In Kathiawar, on the assumption by the British Government of supreme authority in the same year, the transit of opium not covered by a pass from the British Government was prohibited, and the Chiefs engaged to procure all opium required for consumption in their respective talukas from a store maintained by the British Government, to regulate the retail sale, and to treat as contraband all opium not so procured which might be found in their territories.

Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. VI., pp. 307 and 308.

In 1822 the Diwan of Palanpur and Deesa, and a number of petty Chiefs in the Palanpur Political Agency and the Chief of Danta, now under the Mahi Kantha Agency, entered into engagements to prevent the passage of opium through their

territories. The Chiefs of the Mahi Kantha were, as has been already noticed, under an obligation to prevent opium smuggling through their territories as early as 1812, and in 1821 seven of the Chiefs further bound themselves to allow no trade in opium except that regulated by the orders of the British Government. The Chiefs and inhabitants of a number of villages in the Megraj Taluka also bound themselves about the same time to attend to the regulations of Government regarding opium in every respect.

Aitchison's
Treaties,
Vol. VI.,
pp. 366 and
367.

In the Rewa Kantha the Chief of Balasinore agreed in 1820 to regulate the import of opium into his territory in accordance with Bombay Regulations 1 of 1818 and 11 of 1820, to procure opium for internal consumption from a depôt prescribed by the British Government, and to regulate the retail sale of it in accordance with the rules in force in British territory. In 1822 the Raja of Chota Udaipur agreed to prevent the smuggling of opium not covered by a pass, and to seize and dispose of smuggled opium in accordance with the orders of the British Government; and in 1823 the Raja of Rajpipla, the most important State in the Agency, agreed to abide by any orders issued by the British Government in regard to opium, and to seize all opium clandestinely conveyed through his dominions.

Aitchison's
Treaties,
Vol. VI.,
pp. 411, 412,
401 and 397.

No agreements appear to have been made with the States of Cutch and Cambay.

No special agency was at first appointed to purchase opium in Malwa. According to the original scheme, purchases were to be made by political officers under the orders and subject to the approbation of the Government of Bombay, and the importation into the Company's territories of any opium other than that which was brought on the Company's account to the appointed purchasing stations was prohibited, and such opium on seizure was made liable to confiscation. This scheme proved a failure, and in April 1821 Sir John Malcolm, who was at that time in political charge of the Native States in Malwa, proposed that an Opium Agent should be appointed either in Malwa or at Baroda to deal direct with the proprietors of opium, whether ryots, farmers, or merchants, and to purchase opium on the best terms obtainable.

Par. 65 of
letter from
the Court of
Directors to the
Governor-
General in
Council, dated
30th Jan. 1822.

Précis of cor-
respondence
regarding
opium in
Native States,
by Mr. Craw-
ford, 1884.

The Agent was to be subject to the general control of the political authority of the Province, but the latter was not to interfere further with his concerns than to give him all the aid that he could to promote their success.

Sir John Malcolm, however, appears to have had some misgivings as to the results of the policy upon which Government had decided to embark. "That our extension," he wrote, "of the monopoly of opium to Central India will be attended with considerable trouble, and that it will, from the immunities we may require, and the connexion with managers and others to which it may lead, give rise to much annoyance and general jealousy and bad feeling, is not to be doubted. It will, and indeed has already made an impression not favourable to our interests."

Par. 41 of
letter from
the Court of
Directors to
the Governor-
General in
Council in
Bengal, dated
11th July 1827,
in App. IV. to
the Report of
the Select
Committee,
dated 11th
Oct. 1831.

The Bombay Government and the Government of India approved of the proposal for the appointment of a special purchasing agent, and Mr. Taylor was accordingly appointed by the Bombay Government to be Deputy Opium Agent in Malwa.

Mr. Crawford's
Précis, p. 2.

The right of the Native States to levy transit duties on opium purchased by the British Agent was at the same time expressly recognised, and defined by the Bombay Government in the following terms: "The Government does not contemplate any demand of concessions or indulgences regarding remission of duties upon the opium hitherto established by the Native States through which it may have to pass. It is expedient, however, that they be accurately defined, and that they shall not be increased hereafter either on the transit or on the cultivation of opium. It will also be the duty of the Agent to transport his purchases by that route which may afford the greatest facilities and immunities."

A letter from the Bombay Government, dated 14th December 1821, described the route then taken for conveying smuggled Malwa opium to the Ports of Din and Daman. It was conveyed from Malwa to Pali in Marwar, thence to Jeysalmer, thence to the Port of Kurrachee in Sind, and from there by ship to Daman.

Abstract of
correspondence
regarding Malwa
opium from 1818
to 1828.

In January 1822 the Court of Directors reviewed exhaustively the circumstances of the opium trade. It was, in the opinion of the Court, sufficiently established that the demand for opium in the Eastern market had recently considerably increased, and that the Company's opium was preferred to every other variety; but its price placed it out of the reach of the poorer classes of consumers, and encouraged the competition of other opium, while the quantity exported was insufficient to supply the entire market. The principles of a strict monopoly which pre-supposed the exclusive possession of the market, were, therefore, admitted to be inapplicable, and the necessity for some change

Letter to the
Governor-
General in
Council from
the Court of
Directors, dated
30th Jan. 1822, in
App. IV. to the
Report of the
Select Committee,
dated 11th Oct.
1831.

of system was recognised and accepted. The smuggling from Bengal was regretfully referred to as an "evil of serious magnitude," but the competition either of illicit Bengal or of Turkey opium was not regarded as so serious a matter as the competition of opium from Malwa. "The importation," wrote the Directors, "of Turkey opium into China is stated to be as (old as) the earliest period of European commerce with that country, though it at first took place in very small quantities. Previously to the agency system, the Turkey opium was on a par with or not much lower than the Bengal." Opium of this class was described as very inferior and much adulterated, and was said to be conveyed to China and the Malay Coast direct from the Mediterranean, principally by Americans and by British ships from Madeira. The Directors, therefore, though doubtful as to the possibility of underselling or completely preventing the sale of this opium, were of opinion that "the Company's opium, if supplied of the standard quality of 1798, would command over the Turkey opium in the Eastern market a preference sufficiently decided to ensure a large profit on a supply nearly commensurate with the entire demand of the market."

The Malwa opium they regarded as a more formidable rival owing to its quality "approaching and sometimes surpassing the quality of that of Behar." Suppression of the trade in this opium either by underselling it or by putting a better article in the market was held to be impracticable, and the prohibitory Regulations which had been designed to prevent its export were said to have been "reluctantly adopted by the Native Governments," to have been "attended in their operation with the most serious hardships to the monied, agricultural and mercantile classes," while their success unaided was, to say the least of it, doubtful.

The scheme therefore of purchasing opium in Malwa to enable Government to supply a quantity sufficient to command the Eastern market, though open in the opinion of the Directors to many objections, was approved "as a measure of justice" and as the "only compensation that could be offered for the injury sustained by the people from the operation of the prohibitory Regulations." If, as they said, "those Regulations had been abolished, the open competition of the Malwa drug would have destroyed our opium revenue. If they had been continued without the alleviation of the present measure, they would have continued to produce the greatest hardships to the people, and could only have been rendered effectual at an enormous expense in establishments and by means which Government could not pursue without a just impeachment of its equity."

Abstract of
correspondence
regarding
Malwa opium,
from 1818 to
1828.

The scheme of purchasing annually 4,000 chests of Malwa opium was accordingly discussed, and finally decided on by the Governor-General in Council in a Resolution in September 1822, and the principles which should regulate the purchases were authoritatively laid down. The Agent, it was observed, ought never to buy opium which was not likely otherwise to come into competition with the public sales, and ought never to give such a price as the private merchant could not afford.

Mr. Taylor's purchases, however, were not regulated by these principles. He appears to have bought recklessly and to have managed his money matters injudiciously, and he also made suggestions which were considered to be unnecessary as to the expediency of indemnifying the Native Chiefs for the losses they sustained on account of the export of opium being prevented.

Resolution of
the Governor-
General in
Council, dated
27th June 1828,
in Abstract of
Correspon-
dence regard-
ing Malwa
opium from
1818 to 1828.

In June 1823, therefore, the management of the opium business in Malwa was taken out of the hands of the Bombay Government and the office of Opium Agent was entrusted to a Bengal Civilian. In the Resolution announcing this decision the Governor-General observed, that though it had been declared in 1819 that the principles of a strict monopoly could no longer be followed, it was never designed to intimate that the opium concerns were to be conducted according to the maxims of a free trade; and that as long as the existing system of a "modified monopoly" was retained, it was desirable that the opium business in Malwa and in Bengal should be conducted as one concern under the control of the Supreme Government.

Mr. Samuel Swinton was the Bengal Civilian appointed to the charge of the Malwa Agency.

Note by
Mr. Holt
Mackenzie,
dated 18th July
1823, and
Abstract of
Correspon-
dence regarding
Malwa opium
from 1818 to
1828.

At the same time, the necessity for reversion to the principles that were in favour when the Resolution was first taken to purchase and sell Malwa opium on account of Government, was advocated by the Secretary to the Supreme Government, Mr. Holt Mackenzie. The existing system, as he pointed out, left the cultivation of the poppy and the inland transit of opium free and uncontrolled, and some check to the competition of individual traders was, in his opinion, required. "If," as he wrote, "some arrangement for shackling the trade in Malwa opium be not adopted, I confess

" I see little chance of our being able to prevent such a fall in price from a superabundant supply as will render the possession of the monopoly in Behar and Benares of little value."

The establishment of a restrictive system in Malwa was accordingly recommended, and to enable Government to effect this, Mr. Mackenzie proposed that the Native Princes should be given a "distinct and powerful influence in the monopoly" in the form of a "share in the net receipts," which would induce them to prevent undue extension of the cultivation and illicit dealings in the opium.

The futility of an attempt to control the Eastern market by a system of free purchase in Malwa was by this time apparent, and Mr. Mackenzie's note led to a change in the policy of Government, and to the adoption of measures to restrict the cultivation of the poppy and to establish a Government monopoly of the purchase for export of opium produced throughout Central India. In 1824 the necessity of interesting the different Chiefs in our monopoly, so as to impede the operations of private capitalists, was impressed upon the Opium Agent, Mr. Swinton; and steps were taken to carry the new policy into practical effect.

As a purchaser of the opium, Government had naturally an object in securing it as free from adulteration as possible, and Mr. Swinton appears to have devoted his attention to the improvement of the quality of the drug brought to market, but the measures taken were mainly of a restrictive character.

The natural route of the opium to the west coast lay through Udaipur, and in July 1824, the Political Agent of that State was instructed to make the best arrangement practicable with the State for the prevention of the export of opium. In pursuance of these instructions the Political Agent, Captain Cobbe, negotiated a treaty with the Maharana in October 1824, by which the Maharana bound himself, in consideration of a cash compensation of Rupees 40,000, to prevent the sale and transit of opium through his dominions; to confine opium provided for internal consumption to the purpose for which it was supplied; and to agree to the confiscation of all unlicensed opium. Opium required for local consumption was to be supplied by the Political Agent, and in order to prevent disputes, or imputation of connivance on the part of the State officers, the Agent was to have control of all arrangements and checks necessary to the fulfilment of the treaty. A copy of the treaty was forwarded to and approved by the Government of India; the Political Agent was directed to enforce its performance; and instructions were issued to the Resident at Indore, to conclude treaties calculated to secure the objects in view with the different Chiefs under his authority.

In accordance with these instructions, treaties providing for the supply of a specified quantity of opium at a fixed price, for restriction of the area under poppy, and for the prohibition of the export of opium not having the sanction of the British authorities, were negotiated with the States of Kotah, Amjhera, Indore, Dhar, Diwas, Ratlam, Sailana and Sitamau. Treaties similar to that concluded with the State of Udaipur for prevention of the transit of opium appear to have also been concluded with Bundi and other States. The States of Gwalior, Bhopal, Kishengarh, and Jeypore were, however, unwilling to enter into any engagements.

Before confirmation of the treaties the Resident at Delhi, Sir C. Metcalfe, in a letter dated 9th February 1827, submitted a remonstrance from the Kotah Darbar against the system that had been adopted. Persons of all ranks were, it was said, exposed to a search for opium on leaving the city of Kotah, and the people were in consequence discontented, while the system had caused a loss of 60,000 Rupees to the Raj Rana, and had interfered with the trade of the country. In another letter of the same date Sir C. Metcalfe expressed his conviction that the treaties concluded with some of the Native States in Rajputana had been procured by an "improper exertion of our irresistible influence; that such measures were alike detrimental to the people and to the princes and must ultimately be so to us;" and recommended that we should "resign our pecuniary profits rather than forfeit our name and reputation."

In February 1827 a further representation was made by the Kotah Darbar, asking to be released from part of the agreement referring to a tract held in farm from Maharaja Sindia, as Sindia had not agreed to co-operate in the restrictive measures.

In consequence of these complaints the Governor-General addressed Mr. Wellesley, the Resident at Indore, requiring from him and the opium agent conjointly specific information in regard to the objections urged against the system which had been adopted.

The Resident at Indore and the Opium Agent in reply defended the treaties which had, they said, been readily entered into without the exertion of any extraordinary

Letter from Mr. Mackenzie to Mr. Swinton, dated 20th April 1824, in Abstract of correspondence regarding Malwa opium, from 1818 to 1828.

Evidence of Mr. Swinton before the Select Committee of the House of Lords upon the affairs of the East India Company in 1830.

Abstract of correspondence regarding Malwa opium, from 1818 to 1828.

Abstract correspondence regarding Malwa opium, from 1818 to 1828.

Abstract of correspondence regarding Malwa opium, from 1818 to 1828.

Pol. Cons. 22nd June 1827. Abstract of

correspondence
regarding
Malwa opium,
from 1818 to
1828.

Letter from the
Deputy Secre-
tary to Govern-
ment in attend-
ance upon the
Governor-
General to G.
Wellesley, Esq.,
Resident at
Indore, dated
18th April
1827.

influence, and were injurious to and unpopular with the traders alone. The price paid for the opium was, they said, fair and liberal; the evils supposed to result from searches for opium was denied; and the small extent of the trade in Malwa opium before the establishment of our supremacy in Malwa was relied on as a justification of our interference.

The objections raised by the Kotah Rana and Sir C. Metcalfe were held to have been sufficiently answered by these replies; and in April 1827 the Governor-General in Council (Lord Amherst) decided to persevere with the restrictive policy. The existence of discontent among the trading class owing to a diminution of the high profits from opium which they had temporarily received, was recognised as possible; but the fact that the developement of the Malwa trade in the drug "to any great and particularly profitable extent" was of very recent origin and was the result of the pacification of Central India by British arms and treasure, was considered to be a sufficient justification of an artificial restriction of their commercial dealings; while the system in force was held to be the most fair and equitable that could be adopted, unless the British Government was prepared to relinquish all restrictive measures and to abandon consequently a revenue of nearly a million sterling. The treaties concluded by the Resident of Indore with the States of Indore, Dhar, Diwas, Amjhera, Ratlam, Sailana, and Sitamau were accordingly confirmed and sanctioned: the Political Agent at Bhopal was instructed to enter into negotiations with the States under his control for the acquisition of the necessary command over the growth of opium in Eastern Malwa and the export of the drug by that route; and the Political Agent at Kotah was authorised to negotiate afresh with the Raj Rana, leaving it optional with him to confirm his engagements or not as he pleased. The Resident at Gwahor also was directed to make another attempt to procure the accession of the Court of Gwalior to the general scheme for limiting the growth and restricting the export of Malwa opium.

Aitchison's
Treaties, 3rd
edition, vol.
IV. pages 174
to 176.

The treaties entered into with Indore, Dhar and other opium producing States in Malwa are said to have been almost identical in terms; and a copy of the Indore treaty, which is published as a specimen in Aitchison's Treaties is here reproduced for facility of reference.

SUBSTANCE of an ENGAGEMENT in PERSIAN between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and MAHARAJAH HOLKAR'S GOVERNMENT regarding Opium, dated 18th February 1826.

ARTICLE 1.

The British Government engages to take annually from Maharajah Holkar's Government 5,000 Surat maunds of pure opium in cakes, each maund consisting of four punseerees and each punseeree weighing 401 Oujein Halee rupees or 391 new and 407 old Furrackabad Kuldar rupees, and to pay for the same at the rate of 30 Furrackabad Kuldar or Oujein Halee rupees. If a higher price than this should be given for purchases from others, the Maharajah's Government shall be entitled to a similar price. The said quantity to be delivered and weighed in all November at the Honourable Company's godowns at Indore or Mahidpore as may be desired by the Company's Opium Agent. Whatever quantities the Opium Agent or his deputies may object to as adulterated, damp, or otherwise faulty, shall not be taken, but pure and prime opium, such as the Agent is in the practice of purchasing from the merchants of Malwa, shall be taken.

ARTICLE 2.

The British Government will pay the Maharajah's Government for the opium as above stipulated in three equal instalments, the first on the 1st January, the second on the 1st of March, and the third as soon as the opium has been delivered and weighed.

ARTICLE 3.

The Maharajah's Government engages to confine the cultivation of the poppy in his territories within an extent calculated to yield a quantity not exceeding in any year 6,000 Surat maunds of dry opium. Of this produce 5,000 maunds are to be delivered to the British Government, and the remainder to be appropriated by the Maharajah's Government for necessary purposes.

ARTICLE 4.

If a diminution should take place in the cultivation of the poppy within the Maharajah's territories, or the crops be damaged by inclemency of weather, and the

Maharajah's Government finds itself in consequence unable to complete the stipulated quantity of 5,000 maunds from the produce of its own territories, and the same should be made clearly manifest to the Company's Opium Agent, in such case, and provided the Opium Agent should be able to make purchases in the Malwa markets at rupees 30 per punseeree, the Maharajah's Government will complete the stipulated quantity by purchases in the markets. But if the Opium Agent should be unable to purchase in the markets at that price, then the Maharajah's Government will not be required to make up the deficiency, notwithstanding which the British Government will gratuitously, in consideration of the intimate union subsisting between the two Governments make up to the Maharajah's Government the difference to the full price of 5,000 maunds at rupees 30 the punseeree as stated in the First Article.

ARTICLE 5.

The Maharajah's Government engages to prevent to the best of its power the exportation of opium from his territories not having the sanction of the British authorities, and to confine the sale of opium for internal consumption in his territories to vendors under its license. Any quantities passing in or out that may be stopped of their own motion by the officers and agents of the Maharajah's Government shall be delivered over to the Company's Opium Agent, and the Maharajah's Government shall receive two thirds of the value of the same rated at rupees 30 per punseeree, or less in property (proportion?) to its quality if of inferior quality. The British authorities moreover shall be at liberty to cause to be stopped and to appropriate any opium herein prohibited which they may discover passing to and fro in the Maharajah's territories, and for all such the Maharajah's Government shall receive one third of the value rated according to the quality as above stated.

ARTICLE 6.

The British Government being anxious that the Maharajah's Government should sustain no loss from this arrangement whether in transit collections or otherwise, but on the contrary being desirous of obliging and benefiting it, agrees to give it at the end of the year in addition to the price of the opium as settled in the first article a bonus of rupees five per punseeree on the quantity therein stated provided it shall have observed faithfully the conditions of this engagement.

ARTICLE 7.

This engagement shall hold good as long as the British Government may deem it expedient to maintain special arrangements for the control of Malwa opium.

This engagement consisting of seven Articles, is settled at Indore this 18th day of February 1826, A.D., corresponding with the 10th of Rujub 1241 Hegira and the 11th of Magh Soodee 1882 Sumbut, by Mr. Gerald Wellesley, Resident, &c. on the part of the British Government, and Etul Punt Tantea Jogh, &c., on the part of the Maharajah's Government, and in confirmation thereof counterparts, ratified with the seal and signatures of the Governor-General in Council and the Maharajah shall be exchanged between the contracting parties.

In the meantime Mr. Mackenzie's note of 10th July 1823 reached the Court of Directors and the scheme recommended was regarded by them as impracticable. "To prevent," wrote the Court, "clandestine cultivation through such an extent of country as Central India in which the machinery of our Government is very imperfectly and in some places not at all introduced, and to obtain a faithful execution of any compact for that purpose which the Native Chieftains may enter into with the British Government, appears to us still more difficult than the other expedients which have so imperfectly answered your expectations. The unfavourable impression on the mind of the people, which we are informed by Sir John Malcolm has been the effect of our endeavour even to monopolise the produce must be still greater if the monopoly and limitation of the manufacture is attempted."

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated 11th July 1827 in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Sir C. Metcalfe also was not prepared to rest content with the decision arrived at. In September 1827, the Political Agent at Udaipur applied for an enlargement of his preventive service to enable him to effectually prevent the transit of opium through the State. The application was supported by the Opium Agent but was objected to by Sir C. Metcalfe who was then Member of Council, and who took the opportunity to repeat his objections to the existing system. The exercise by the Political Agent of

Abstract of correspondence regarding Malwa opium from 1818 to 1828.

Abstract of
correspondence
regarding
Malwa opium,
from 1818 to
1828 and copy
of Minute, by
Sir C. Metcalfe.

the powers of search and interference was, in his opinion, unjustifiable as injuriously affecting the sovereignty of the Maharana of Udaipur in his own dominions, and a revision of the whole system was necessary. "Being," he wrote, "strongly persuaded " that our measures for the establishment of a monopoly of opium in our favour in foreign " States have excited great disgust and alarm ; that they are oppressive and unwarrantable; " that they are carried into effect solely by our irresistible influence in opposition generally " to the interests and wishes of the princes who have subscribed to them and universally " to those of the people ; that they injure our reputation and they weaken our Empire " by the disaffection which they excite or aggravate, I am naturally most anxious to see " these measures revised." He proposed therefore that a thorough enquiry should be instituted for the purpose of ascertaining the feelings which did exist upon the subject.

Abstract of
correspondence
regarding
Malwa opium
from 1818 to
1828, and
copy of Minute
by the Govern-
nor-General,
dated 1st Dec.
1827.

The proposal for enquiry was supported by another Member of Council, Mr. Bayley, but the Governor-General, Lord Amherst, was unwilling to abandon the arrangements which had been adopted. "I have not yet," he wrote, "divested myself of the belief " that whatever degree of discontent prevails in the Malwa State is confined to the " Soucars, and is not seriously felt by either Prince or people."

Abstract of
correspondence
regarding
Malwa opium
from 1818 to
1828.

A letter from the Political Agent, Harauti, dated 27th January 1828, reporting the occurrence of an affray between opium smugglers and the Raja's troops in the State of Bundi, in which a relative of the Raja's was killed, gave Sir C. Metcalfe another opportunity for pressing his views upon the Government, and on 21st March 1828 Mr. Bayley, who was then acting as Governor-General, decided to institute an enquiry. Circular instructions were accordingly issued to all Political Officers in Rajputana and Malwa calling upon them to state candidly and unreservedly their observations and reflections upon the whole subject.

Mr. Wellesley, the Resident at Indore, adhered to the opinions which he had already expressed, and Captain Cobbe, who as Political Agent in Udaipur had negotiated the treaty with the Maharana, and one or two other officers defended the system, but the majority of the officers consulted were strongly adverse to it. Sir E. Colebrooke, who had succeeded Sir C. Metcalfe as Resident at Delhi, entirely concurred in his predecessors opinions, and Mr. Clerk, the officiating Political Agent at Jaipur, reported that the Jaipur Darbar "exult" and triumph in being exempt from the opium engagements which are considered to have been enforced on neighbouring states in violation of their independence. The Kishengarh Raja, on the other hand, who had declined to enter into any engagement, was reported to be well pleased with the arrangements as his country had become a grand emporium for the drug. The unwillingness of Maharaja Scindia to enter into any agreement with the British Government on the subject of opium was referred to by more than one officer as being fatal to the complete success of the restrictive system. The State of Bhopal also was reported to be adverse to the treaties on account of their mercantile character.

The reply from the Resident at Gwalior shows that the negotiations with the Gwalior Darbar on the subject of the proposed treaty had made no progress, as the Darbar intimated that they would expect more favourable stipulations than had been made with other States, and objected to agree to any provisions authorising seizures of opium by British authorities within the limits of the State.

Resolution of
the Governor-
General in
Council in the
Political
Department,
dated 19th
June 1829.
in App. IV. to
the Report of
the Select
Committee,
dated 11th
Oct. 1831.

The replies received convinced the Governor-General in Council (Lord William Bentinck) that a change of policy was required, and the system of restriction on the production, export, and transit of opium in Malwa was accordingly abandoned.

The decision of Government was announced in a Resolution in the following terms :—
" Although some difference of opinion exists among the authorities employed in Malwa
" and Rajputana regarding the practical effect of the opium treaties upon the
" prosperity of the country at large and the feelings with which they are viewed by
" the Native Princes ; the general tenor of the evidence now before Government leads
" irresistibly to the inference that evils of a very serious nature are inflicted by our
" monopoly system in Central India on all who fall within the sphere of its operation.
" It has been found altogether impracticable to enforce that part of the original
" scheme which contemplated a positive reduction of the quantity of the poppy cultiva-
" tion, and we have already therefore determined to abstain from any direct inter-
" ference with the production of the article and have instructed the local authorities
" accordingly."

" Nearly all our agents concur in representing that our measures for controlling the
" transit and exportation of Malwa opium are vexatious and oppressive to the people,

“ unpalatable and offensive to their rulers; whilst we have abundant proof of their
 “ imperfect efficacy in the continually increasing prevalence of smuggling, and the yearly
 “ augmentation of the export of the drug from Diu and Daman to the China market.
 “ The intervention of Sindia’s scattered and extensive possessions, which it has been
 “ found impossible to include in the general arrangement, would alone defeat our hopes
 “ of preventing the escape of contraband opium in considerable quantities from Central
 “ India. And further the temptations to smuggling are so powerful, the pursuit of the
 “ illicit traffic is so congenial to the tastes and habits of the wild tribes and dissolute
 “ adventurers who abound in Malwa, and the public sentiment is necessarily so hostile
 “ to our monopoly, that it may reasonably be doubted whether the Native States, how-
 “ ever well disposed to co-operate and anxious to fulfil their engagements, are strong
 “ enough to carry the system into complete effect either with or without the constant
 “ and minute interference of our local agents. In the meantime, there is reason to
 “ fear that the repeated and desperate efforts made to pass the opium beyond the limits
 “ of our restrictions by large armed bands of smugglers, and their open systematic
 “ defiance of the local authorities whilst engaged in the enterprise are operating to
 “ demoralise and disorganise the country, and to revive the ferocious and turbulent
 “ habits of the Meenahs and other uncivilised tribes in a degree which demands the most
 “ serious consideration. . . . Impressed with this view of the subject, and being
 “ quite unable to devise any middle course of procedure, which affords the promise of
 “ satisfactory results, his Lordship in Council cannot avoid the conclusion that we are
 “ bound by paramount considerations of justice and good faith to withdraw altogether
 “ from interference with the growth and transit of opium throughout Central India,
 “ confining our restrictions upon exportation to our own territories and to Guzerat,
 “ Kattywar (Kathiawar), and Cutch, where the prohibition should still be maintained by
 “ the Bombay Government, as it appears from the communications of the Honourable
 “ the Governor in Council that no injury and discontent are produced by our arrange-
 “ ments which have been in force for many years in that quarter.”

The treaties with Udaipur, Bundi and other States which provided merely for prevention of the transit of opium were accordingly immediately relinquished; preventive establishments were withdrawn from Malwa; and the rulers of all opium-producing States, with which treaties had been made, were relieved from those articles of their engagements which prohibited independent exportation.

The question whether a system of voluntary purchase of Malwa opium should be continued either on the existing terms or on others that might be negotiated was reserved for subsequent consideration.

At the time when this decision was arrived at, a proposal made by the Bombay Government for an increase in the quantity of Malwa opium provided for the Bombay sales and for consumption in British territory and in that of allied Native States was under the consideration of the Government of India in the Separate Financial Department, as the demand for opium in China was increasing and the supply for local consumption was found to be insufficient.

Various measures were accordingly discussed for the maintenance of the Bombay opium revenue.

Deliveries of opium under the treaties to nearly the full stipulated extent were made for the year 1829–30, but in October 1829 Major Stewart, the Officiating Resident and Opium Agent at Indore, reported that all the States except two inconsiderable ones had given notice of their wish to cancel the engagements they had entered into in regard to opium altogether after the close of the season. Major Stewart therefore suggested three schemes for consideration:—

- (1.) That new treaties should be negotiated with the States for securing the opium produced.
- (2.) That Government should cease to buy opium and should raise a revenue by the issue of passes to Bombay.
- (3.) That the agent should purchase the drug in the open market for transmission to Bombay for sale.

Major Stewart favoured the third of these schemes, as he thought that the dealers would not at first properly appreciate the value of the passes; and, influenced by this opinion, the Governor-General in Council, when authorising the relinquishment of all engagements at the close of the season, agreed somewhat reluctantly to give it a trial. The rise in the price of opium in Malwa, however, which followed the abrogation of the treaties upset Major Stewart’s calculations, and opium was not obtainable at 55 Rs. a panseree or 770 Rs. a chest, which was the maximum limit of price fixed by the Government of India.

Letters from the Governor-General in Council in Bengal to the Court of Directors, dated 3rd Aug. and 21st Sept. 1830, in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Eventually, in July 1830, after a considerable amount of correspondence between the Governor-General in Council, the Government of Bombay, and Major Stewart, resulting partly from a difference of opinion between the two Governments as to the measures which should be adopted, the Governor-General in Council decided to relinquish entirely the plan of purchasing for re-sale, and to confine the Government dealings to the grant of passes for the free conveyance of opium to Bombay for exportation.

The details of the system were left to the Bombay Government for settlement in communication with the Opium Agent, and the Governor in Council, in regulating the amount of the equivalent to be demanded for the passes, was requested to adopt the principle of "assuming something less than the net difference of expense incurred " on a shipment of opium brought to Damaun by the most favourable of the indirect " routes as compared with the cost of the transit to Bombay, and shipment by the " most favourable of the direct routes opened by the passes."

These orders introduced the Malwa pass duty system now in force, and the duty as at first fixed was 175 Rs. per chest of 140 lbs.

The monopoly in Malwa, therefore, was abolished mainly for political reasons, but there is sufficient evidence to prove that the system utterly failed to stop the export trade from places not in the possession or under the control of the British Government. The amount of opium smuggled to Daman during the continuance of the system amounted in one year, according to Sir John Malcolm, to 10,000 chests; and Mr. Stark, chief of the Revenue Department in the India Board, stated in his examination before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, which reported on the affairs of the East India Company in 1832, that he thought in one year the smuggled opium to Daman amounted to between 9,000 and 10,000 chests.

Accounts of the
East India
House, dated
23rd March 1840.

Letter from the
Court of Directors
to the Governor-
General in
Council, dated
16th Sept. 1829, in
App. IV. to the
Report of the
Select Committee,
dated 11th Oct.
1831.

Letter from the
Court of
Directors to the
Governor-
General in
Council, dated
19th Oct. 1831, in
App. 145 to Re-
port of the Select
Committee of
the House of
Commons on the
affairs of the
East India Com-
pany, dated 16th
Aug. 1832.

Notwithstanding the smuggling, however, the system appears to have been attended with a fair measure of financial success, the total net profit derived from it during the 10 years from 1820-2, to 1829-30 having been calculated to 127,63,397 rupees.

A report of Mr. Swinton's proceedings from the time of his appointment to nearly the time of his resignation, which reached the Court of Directors in 1828-29, caused them to take for a time a more favourable view than they had hitherto done of the power of the Government of India "to restrain the exportation of Malwa opium so as "to prevent it from materially interfering with the opium revenue." On receipt, however, of the letters from the Governor General in Council, forwarding the Resolution announcing the abolition of the restrictive policy, and describing the measures taken for the introduction of the pass duty system, the Court agreed that good policy required the abolition of the treaties; and observed, with reference to a remark in one of the letters, dated 21st September 1830, which indicated the possibility of a re-establishment of the monopoly under certain contingences, that they "should decidedly disapprove any recurrence to a system of "monopoly in the purchase of opium grown within "the territory of any of the independent Powers in Central India."

It is unnecessary to add much to the information already given regarding the measures taken to introduce a system of Excise upon opium consumed in India, and a brief reference to the other principal measures taken during the period covered by the Memorandum will suffice.

In Bengal, Regulation XIII. of 1816 was followed by Regulation XI. of 1818, which authorised the possession of foreign opium in specified quantities by travellers and horse dealers from foreign countries for private use and consumption, and enlarged the quantity of opium which individuals were permitted to possess from two to five tolas; and also provided for the grant to native medical practitioners of special licenses free of tax, authorising them to possess for medical purposes opium in a quantity in excess of five tolas, and for the supply to such practitioners of Government opium at a reduced price.

The Rangpore Agency, which was established for the provision of opium for internal consumption, was abolished in June 1820, as the quality of the drug there manufactured was found to be very inferior, and the quantity of it obtained also was insufficient; and opium for internal consumption as well as for foreign commerce was thereafter supplied from the Behar and Benares Agencies. Regulation VII. of 1824, (as amended by Regulation VIII. of 1826) enacted additional rules for the better security of the revenue derived from the exclusive manufacture and sale of opium, and for the realisation of the custom duty chargeable on foreign opium imported by sea, and introduced

a system of leasing or farming the duties leviable on the retail sale of intoxicating drugs, including opium.

In Bombay, Regulation XXI. of 1827, a Regulation framed, as explained in the preamble, with “the combined views of checking deleterious and vicious habits in the people and of securing and improving the public revenue,” codified the excise law of the Province, and enacted rules for the supply of opium for internal consumption and for its retail sale; and in 1830 another Regulation, Number XXX. of that year, was passed to legalise the import of Malwa opium into the Presidency, if accompanied by a pass granted by an officer of Government duly authorised in that behalf; the provisions of Regulation XXI. of 1827, which imposed an import duty of 12 rupees per Surat ser on such opium, being at the same time rescinded.

The abandonment of the attempted monopoly in Malwa compelled the Government of India to increase the quantity of opium offered for sale in the Bengal Presidency. “We are taking measures,” wrote the Governor-General in 1830, “for extending the cultivation of the poppy with a view to a large increase in the supply of opium to be offered for sale at this Presidency. Our proceedings for this purpose will be reported hereafter. In the meantime we look upon the difficulties which threaten this resource through the removal of the restrictions in Central India, and from which the restrictive system was not exempt, for during its existence the exportation from Daman to China was continually increasing, to merit the watchful care of Government; for the final effect of an increase beyond assignable limit in the quantity of this drug exported to China from both sides of India is a result beyond the power of our foresight to discover or even to hazard at present any speculation upon.”

Par. 15 of letter, dated 21st Sept. 1830, from the Governor-General in Council to the Court of Directors, in App. IV. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

The following STATEMENT, (1) of the number of chests of BENGAL OPIUM sold at the public sales of the East India Company from 1787-88 to 1819-20; (2) of the number of chests of Bengal and Malwa opium similarly sold from 1820-21 to 1826-27, and (3) of the number of chests of Bengal opium sold in the four years from 1827-28 to 1830-31, and also in 1835-36, and 1840-41, shows the extent of the Bengal opium trade in the latter part of the 18th and early part of the 19th century, and illustrates the effect of the measures taken by the Government in 1830 to increase the supply of Bengal opium.

The statistics of chests sold from 1787-88 to 1826-27 have been taken from par. 37 of a letter from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council, dated 30th Jan. 1832, in App. IV. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th October 1831, and from App. 143 to the Report of the Select Committee, dated 16th Aug. 1852. The prices realised for Bengal opium from 1787-88 to 1796-97 have been taken from the letter of the Court of Directors abovequoted; and those from 1797-98 to 1830-31 from chap. V. of Part I. of the Report of the Commission appointed by the Government of India to inquire into the working of the Opium Department in 18-3. The figures showing the number of chests of Bengal opium sold in the four years from 1827-28 to 1830-31 have been taken from the same Report. Data for ascertaining the average prices realised for Malwa opium from 1820-21 to 1826-27 are not available. Statistics of the chests of Bengal opium sold and prices realised in 1835-36 and 1840-41 have been taken from a Return submitted by the India Office to the House of Commons on 2nd March 1866.

Year.	Number of Chests Sold.				Average Price realised for each Chest of Bengal Opium sold.
	Behar.	Benares.	Malwa.	Total.	
					Rs.
1787-88 - - - -	3,113	580	—	3,693	470
1788-89 - - - -	1,907	423	—	2,330	569
1789-90 - - - -	1,963	504	—	2,467	588
1790-91 - - - -	2,267	572	—	2,839	553
1791-2 - - - -	2,474	750	—	3,220	525
1792-3 - - - -	2,152	832	—	2,982	632
1793-4 - - - -	2,979	881	—	3,860	569
1794-5 - - - -	3,502	1,148	—	4,650	559
1795-6 - - - -	4,749	1,287	—	6,026	245
1796-7 - - - -	5,331	1,233	—	6,564	264
1797-8 - - - -	3,450	722	—	4,172	426
1798-9 - - - -	3,325	729	—	4,054	750
1799-1800 - - -	3,665	905	—	4,570	718
1800-1 - - - -	3,148	799	—	3,947	831
1801-2 - - - -	2,570	722	—	3,292	1,383
1802-3 - - - -	2,224	616	—	2,840	1,378
1803-4 - - - -	2,380	779	—	3,159	1,950
1804-5 - - - -	3,004	832	—	3,836	1,608
1805-6 - - - -	3,278	848	—	4,126	1,039
1806-7 - - - -	3,649	889	—	4,538	1,583
1807-8 - - - -	3,420	788	—	4,208	1,276
1808-9 - - - -	3,793	767	—	4,560	1,460
1809-10 - - - -	3,970	998	—	4,968	1,557
1810-11 - - - -	3,885	1,006	—	4,891	1,549
1811-12 - - - -	3,959	1,007	—	4,966	1,328
1812-13 - - - -	3,844	925	—	4,769	1,955
1813-14 - - - -	3,023	649	—	3,672	2,554
1814-15 - - - -	3,381	849	—	4,230	2,257
1815-16 - - - -	3,571	747	—	4,318	2,091

Year.	Number of Chests Sold.				Average Price realised for each Chest of Bengal Opium sold.
	Behar.	Benares.	Malwa.	Total.	
1816-17 - - - - -	2,885	800	—	3,685	2,289
1817-18 - - - - -	8,863	689	—	3,552	1,876
1818-19 - - - - -	3,095	611	—	3,706	2,221
1819-20 - - - - -	3,161	783	—	3,999	2,479
1820-21 - - - - -	2,537	508	1,600	4,605	4,283
1821-22 - - - - -	3,327	573	1,600	5,520	3,489
1822-23 - - - - -	2,661	699	4,000	7,360	2,062
1823-24 - - - - -	4,148	1,242	4,000	9,390	1,383
1824-25 - - - - -	2,836	974	4,200	7,810	1,990
1825-26 - - - - -	4,982	1,588	4,000	10,570	1,385
1826-27 - - - - -	4,698	1,652	3,065	9,415	1,846
1827-28 - - - - -	5,287	2,174	—	4,761	1,328
1828-29 - - - - -	6,149	2,429	—	8,578	1,357
1829-30 - - - - -	5,101	2,214	—	7,315	1,763
1830-31 - - - - -	5,384	2,540	—	7,924	1,482
1835-36 - - - - -	11,867	6,090	—	17,257	1,498
1840-41 - - - - -	13,014	5,248	—	18,362	811

The Select Committee appointed by the House of Lords in 1830 to enquire into the affairs of the Company and the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China, took some evidence regarding the Bengal opium monopoly and the probable effect of the abrogation of the opium treaties with the Native Princes of Central India, but did not commit themselves to any expression of opinion upon the questions investigated.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons, however, in 1830-2, described, in their First Report on the China Trade, dated 8th July 1830, the conditions under which the trade in opium with China was at that time carried on; compiled, as an Appendix to their Third Report, dated 11th October 1831, a selection of copies and extracts of Despatches, sent to India by the Court of Directors subsequent to the passing of Act 53 Geo. III. c. 155, relative to the continuance and administration of the opium monopoly, and of the proceedings had thereupon; and made, in their final Report in 1832, a number of important observations and suggestions in regard to the opium revenue :—

Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 16th Aug. 1832.

“ The monopoly of opium in Bengal, ” wrote the Committee, “ supplies the Government with revenue amounting to Rs. 84,59,435 or sterling money 981,293*l.* per annum, and the duty which is thus imposed amounts to 301*¼* per cent. on the cost of the article.

“ In the present state of the revenue of India it does not appear advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue; a duty upon opium being a tax, which falls principally upon the foreign consumer, and which appears upon the whole less liable to objection than any other which could be substituted.”

Four methods which had been suggested for raising a revenue besides the monopoly were then discussed :—

- (1.) An additional assessment on lands under poppy cultivation.
- (2.) A duty to be levied according to the value of the standing crop when ripe.
- (3.) An Excise duty on the juice when collected.
- (4.) A Custom duty on the exportation of opium.

Of these (2) and (3) were considered to be open to insuperable objections. No. (1) was thought to be “ consistent with justice in the proprietors and cultivators, ” would allow “ freedom to the employment of capital and industry in the production of opium, ” and would not be liable to the evils from smuggling necessarily attending upon a system of high Customs or Excise duties. Difficulties, however, were said to have been suggested by some witnesses, and the Committee, feeling themselves unable to decide the question of the practicability of the measure, owing to their want of knowledge of the state of the country, contented themselves with recommending it as “ well worthy the careful consideration of the Government.”

A Custom duty on the export of opium was considered in itself to be a desirable mode of taxation, inasmuch as it would leave the producer unfettered, and would fall exclusively on the foreign consumer, but was thought to be incompatible with the

existing amount of the revenue on account of the encouragement it would offer to the smuggler. "If, however," it was observed, "it should hereafter be found necessary or expedient to effect such a reduction in the price of opium as should prevent any serious interference on the part of the smuggler, the substitution of a Custom duty in the place of the present monopoly would be productive of a great advantage."

The monopoly, therefore, was accepted as being, under the circumstances then existing, the best possible system. "Although," wrote the Committee, "the Government monopoly of opium must in all probability, like all their monopolies, be disadvantageous in consequence of the want of economy in the production, and the restrictions which it imposes on the employment of capital and industry, yet it does not appear to be productive of very extensive or aggravated injury; and unless it should be found practicable to substitute an increased assessment on poppy lands, it does not appear that the present high amount of revenue could be obtained in a less objectionable manner."

The precarious character of the revenue, owing to the absence of exclusive control over the production and consumption of opium was, however, pointed out, and the Committee remarked:—"It would, therefore, be highly imprudent to rely upon the opium monopoly as a permanent source of revenue; and the time may probably not be very far distant when it may be desirable to substitute an export duty, and thus by the increased production under a system of freedom to endeavour to obtain some compensation for the loss of the monopoly profit."

In regard to Malwa, the policy of the measures recently taken to abandon the attempted monopoly, and to substitute for it a permit or transit duty, was said to be beyond doubt, but the Committee added:—

"It must be recollected that every additional facility which is afforded to the sale of Malwa opium, will eventually enable it to enter with increased advantage into competition with the opium of Bengal, a consideration which tends still more strongly to recommend either the adoption of the system adverted to in the preceding paragraph" (*i.e.*, a system of free trade with an export duty), "or of some other equally calculated to meet such a contingency."

R. M. DANE.

9th August 1894.

APPENDIX C.

A NARRATIVE OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT PRECEDED AND THE CAUSES THAT PRODUCED
THE FIRST CHINESE WAR ;

By Mr. R. M. DANE, of the India Civil Service.

INTRODUCTORY.

In the accompanying narrative, which has been written by request for the Royal Commission, an attempt has been made to give a faithful description of the relations, commercial and political, which existed between Great Britain and China from the time that trade was first opened with that country up to the outbreak of hostilities in 1840, and to show what were the causes which led, directly and indirectly, to the so-called Opium War.

The narrative is in two chapters. Chapter I. contains an account of the leading incidents of British intercourse with China during the time that the monopoly of the trade with that country was held by the East India Company. Chapter II. deals with the circumstances and incidents which immediately preceded the war.

The facts prior to 1810 are taken principally from the books on China published by Sir John Davis, Bart., K.C.B., and Mr. Auber. Sir John Davis was for many years a supra-cargo of the East India Company at Canton, and was afterwards President of their Canton Committee of Management, Superintendent of British trade, and British Plenipotentiary in China. Mr. Auber was Secretary to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. Both of these gentlemen had, therefore, full access to the official records of the Company, and Sir John Davis took personally an important part in many of the occurrences that preceded, and that followed, the first war. Sir George Staunton's account of Lord Macartney's Embassy to the Emperor of China, printed in 1797, and the Miscellaneous Notices, relating to China, published by Sir George Thomas Staunton in 1822, have also been referred to.

For the 32 years from 1810 to 1842 reliance has been placed almost entirely upon official records, and correspondence which has been presented to Parliament; upon Reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons; upon the correspondence connected with Lord Amherst's Embassy to China in 1815, and Sir George Thomas Staunton's Notes relating to that Embassy; and upon Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Copious extracts and quotations have been given, and the authority for every statement made is clearly indicated by marginal notes.

CHAPTER I.

"China, An Outline of its Government, Laws, and Policy," by Peter Auber; published in 1834.

"China," by Sir John Davis (New Edition); published in 1857.

Attempts were made by the London East India Company, during the first 20 years of their establishment, to open a trade with China from Firando in Japan, but without success. In 1635 also the President of their Council at Surat sent a trading vessel, freighted partly by the Portuguese at Goa, to the Portuguese settlement of Macao, near Canton. The Portuguese Governor of the settlement, however, was hostile, and the result of the voyage was not calculated to encourage further efforts.

In 1637 Captain Weddell, who was connected with Courten's Association,* visited the port of Canton with four merchant ships, and made a determined attempt to trade. The Portuguese misrepresented his intentions, and he was received with so much hostility that he was moved in a fit of indignation to bombard and capture the Bocca Tigris fort. This heroic measure secured him a certain amount of civility, and cargoes

* Courten's Association was licensed to trade to the East Indies (i.e. to all places beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan) by Charles I. in 1635, in violation of the exclusive privilege of that trade possessed by the London Company under Royal Charter. The Association was amalgamated with the London Company in 1650.

were eventually obtained for his ships; but the v solely as a trading venture, does not appear to have been profitable, and no other attempt was made by the English to renew commercial intercourse with China until 1664.

From that year the London and new East India Companies made further efforts to trade at the ports of Canton, Amoy, Chusan, and Ningpo, and at the island of Formosa; and at Amoy, which was one of the last places in China to submit to the Manchu Tartars, these attempts seem to have met with a certain measure of success.

Eventually, Canton, owing either to advantages of situation or to the commercial instincts of its inhabitants, became the principal place of resort of British ships, and in the early years of the 18th century the United Company succeeded in there establishing a fairly regular trade.

In 1702 the Chinese Government endeavoured to constitute a monopoly of all foreign trade at Canton in favour of one man, who was known as the Emperor's merchant; but this "monster in trade," as he was called by the supra-cargoes, soon recognised his inability to carry on the business without assistance, and other merchants were allowed to participate in it for a pecuniary consideration. Each firm in the body of merchants thus created was called a Hong, and their monopoly of the foreign trade with all nations survived until a new order of things was established as a result of the war between Great Britain and China in 1840-42. The limited number of these merchants enabled them to combine, and in 1720 they formed themselves into a united firm, known as a Cohong, with the intention of fixing by agreement the prices of all foreign goods. The supra-cargoes, however, refused to trade as long as the combination existed; and a representation to the Governor was successful in defeating the project for the time.

The supra-cargoes at this time went to and fro between England and China with the Company's ships, and merely resided in Canton long enough to dispose of the outward cargoes and invest the proceeds in tea, silk, and other produce of China. In one respect their position seems to have been superior to that which the Company's representatives subsequently enjoyed, as they were allowed to communicate direct with the authorities, and had, therefore, less difficulty in making their wishes and grievances known. The Tartar Emperor, Kanghi (1622-1723) appears to have encouraged foreign trade, and the Jesuit missionaries during his reign enjoyed marked favour at Court. On the accession of his son, Yungching, however, in 1723, the policy of the Government became more inimical to foreigners, and the restrictions placed upon intercourse between the foreign traders and Chinese officials at Canton were gradually increased, until in course of time the Hong merchants became the recognised channel of communication between them.

The duties and exactions to which the trade was subject, were a constant source of complaint; and in 1727 the supra-cargoes made a formal protest, and threatened to take the trade to Amoy if the exactions were not removed. The Superintendent of Customs promised to grant all old privileges, and the trade was resumed; but in the following year an additional duty of 10 per cent. was imposed upon all exports. A deputation was sent to the city gates with a remonstrance, and an interview with the Governor was obtained, but no relief was given.

In 1734 and 1736 attempts were made by the Company to trade at Amoy and Ningpo, but without success. In the latter year the Emperor Kienlung, on his accession, issued orders directing the remission of the 10 per cent. duty and of some of the port duties; but the orders do not appear to have been properly carried out, as we find the "present" or enter-port duty, which was supposed to have been remitted, specified as a grievance by the servants of the East India Company in 1829. The European traders were required to prostrate themselves to receive the announcement of these orders; but the representatives of the 10 European ships then in the port, (four English, two French, two Dutch, one Dane, and one Swede,) combined and refused to degrade themselves and the countries to which they belonged, by submitting to the "slavish posture required."

The visit of Anson's ship, the "Centurion," to Canton, in 1742, gave rise to considerable friction with the local authorities. The Commodore successfully resisted the efforts of the Chinese to prevent him from proceeding up the river to Canton, and to levy port duties upon the "Centurion" and a Spanish ship, which he had taken as a prize of war, and obtained eventually a personal interview with the Governor, in acknowledgment of the services rendered by British seamen during a fire in the city, but the incident does not appear to have effected any amelioration of the condition of the English traders at the port.

Letter from the Court of Directors to Lord Amherst, dated 17th Jan. 1816, in Vol. 196 of manuscript.
China Records of the East India Company at the India Office.
Books on China, by Davis and Auber.

The establishment of the Hong merchants as the medium of communication between the foreign traders and the local authorities rendered it increasingly difficult for the traders to obtain redress for the grievances under which they laboured; and in 1754 the Company's ships were detained outside the port until the Governor promised to attend to their complaints. The supra-cargoes were accorded an interview with the Governor and were allowed to ventilate their grievances, but little was ultimately gained. A system, which had been introduced some years before, of making the Hong merchants responsible for the payment of customs duties by foreigners, and for the control of their proceedings, by requiring the appointment of one of the merchants as a surety for every ship entering the port, was one of the principal grievances which was ineffectually complained of upon this occasion.

"China," by
Sir J. Davis.

In 1757 the foreign trade was confined to Canton by order of the Emperor Kienlung, and Europeans were prohibited from resorting to Ningpo, Chusan, and Amoy; and in 1759 the English factory at Ningpo was destroyed. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Flint, an enterprising Englishman in the service of the Company, went later in the year to Ningpo, to try and re-establish a trade. Failing to secure his object, he proceeded to Peking, where he succeeded in attracting the notice of the Emperor to the complaints of the traders against the Canton officials. A mandarin of rank was sent with him overland to Canton; the charges made were inquired into; and as the result the Superintendent of Customs was dismissed from office, and orders were issued directing the remission of certain impositions on the trade. Mr. Flint, however, was subsequently seized by the authorities, imprisoned for two years at an island near Macao, and finally banished to England, for the offence of endeavouring to open a trade at Ningpo contrary to orders; and a Chinese, who had assisted him by writing the petition to the Emperor, was decapitated for traitorously encouraging foreigners to oppose the Imperial decree.

In 1760 the Hong merchants, apparently with the approval of the Government, re-established the Cohong and entered into a combination, which had for some years the effect of lowering the prices obtained for the Company's goods in China.

Books on China
by Auber and
Davis.

In 1765 H.M.S. "Argo" arrived at Canton on convoy duty, and the Chinese on some pretext* insisted on searching the ship. The Captain objected, but his supply of provisions was stopped, and he finally agreed to allow a mandarin to go on board. Then the Chinese insisted on measuring the ship and levying port duties; and as some demur was made, they stopped the English trade to compel the Captain to agree to the demand. Four months were occupied in discussion, but the Captain ultimately gave way, at the solicitation of the supra-cargoes, and the ship was measured. The success of the Chinese on this occasion is said to have increased their arrogance and insolence towards the traders.

In 1770 the supra-cargoes ceased to return to England with the trading ships, and took up their residence permanently in China, living at Canton during the trading season and at the Portuguese settlement at Macao throughout the rest of the year. In the same year also they succeeded, with the assistance of one of the Hong merchants, and by the expenditure of a considerable sum of money, in obtaining an edict from the Governor for the dissolution of the Cohong.

"China," by
Sir J. Davis, and
Notices relating
to China by
Sir G. Staunton.

In 1781 the Company's supra-cargoes were involved in serious difficulties with the Government, owing to the lawless proceedings of an Englishman named McClary, the master of a ship trading from Bengal. McClary, hearing the news of the declaration of war between England and Holland, seized a Dutch ship which was lying at Whampoa, and tried to carry her out of the harbour, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Company's supra-cargoes. The Chinese Government held the supra-cargoes, who were then at Macao, responsible for McClary's proceedings, and actually ordered them to be seized as hostages, but the Portuguese would not carry out the order. McClary was defiant, and finally made terms himself with the Chinese for the surrender of the vessel, on consideration that he should be allowed to retain as his prize an iron chest, containing pearls and gold, that formed part of the cargo. The Dutch ship was accordingly taken possession of by the Chinese in a triumphant manner; and McClary, who was little better than a pirate, departed with his plunder.

Auber's China.

The regulations of the Chinese Government permitted trade by barter only, and prohibited the Hong merchants from borrowing money from foreigners, but the regulations were easily evaded, and in 1782 some of the merchants were heavily indebted to British subjects, the claims amounting to 1,000,000*l.* sterling. The

* Sir John Davis says the Chinese insisted on searching the ship on the plea that there was a woman on board. Mr. Auber says that the difficulties raised were connected with the supposed shipment of opium.

creditors, who were all private adventurers, applied to the Company, and the Court of Directors consented to allow their supra-cargoes to use their influence with the authorities to obtain an adjustment. The supra-cargoes foresaw that the debts would probably be liquidated at the expense of the Company's trade, and some of the claims put forward were exorbitant. Protracted discussion therefore ensued, and some of the creditors in India applied to the Government of Madras and to Sir Edward Vernon, the Admiral on the Indian station, for countenance and support. The Admiral, accordingly despatched Captain Panton, in the "Sea Horse" frigate to Canton to submit a letter of remonstrance to the Governor; and Captain Panton carried out these instructions in spite of a protest from the supra-cargoes. The remonstrance was effectual; and the Emperor, to whom the question was referred, issued an edict, enforcing the collective responsibility of the Hong merchants, and ordering payment by them as a body of all debts which had been ascertained upon inquiry to be due. The mode of payment was left to the discretion of the Local Government.

The principle of collective responsibility, thus established, was afterwards found to be an obstruction to legitimate commerce, but the measures taken on this and on several subsequent occasions for the liquidation of debts due by the Hong merchants evinced a desire on the part of the Chinese Government for fair dealing as between the traders of the two nations. The Company, however, as the supra-cargoes anticipated, was a direct loser by the proceedings, as additional duties were imposed on the trade to provide a fund for repayment of the debts; and in 1782 the Directors, under the authority conferred by their monopoly, issued orders directing that all private persons should be deported from Canton. The duties, thus levied, remained a burden upon the trade until the Hong system was abolished by the war in 1840-42, being either reduced or increased in accordance with the exigencies of the time. They were known by the name of the Consoo fund; and when first imposed, do not appear to have exceeded 3 per cent. on the value of certain specified articles, but were afterwards, at times, considerably higher.

The Chinese law of homicide, which required a life for a life and did not admit the plea of self-defence, involved the foreign traders in continuous disputes with the Chinese authorities during the latter part of the 18th and earlier years of the 19th century.

In 1772 an affray took place between some English sailors and a party of Chinese, and several men on both sides were badly hurt. The ship to which the sailors belonged was detained in port for some time, but as the wounded men all recovered the affair was allowed to drop.

"China," by
Sir John Davis.

In 1773 an Englishman, named Scott, was surrendered by the Portuguese at Macao, and put to death by the Chinese on a charge of causing the death of a Chinese, though inquiries made by the Portuguese had satisfied them that he was not guilty of the charge.

In 1780 a Frenchman, who killed a Portuguese in an affray in self-defence, was surrendered to the Chinese on their requisition and publicly strangled. The fact that the Portuguese stabbed the Frenchman twice before he retaliated, was admitted by the Chinese judge; but was not, in accordance with their law, accepted as any excuse.

Papers relating
to the death of
Mr. Mackenzie,
at Canton, in
1830, in App. II.
to the 3rd Report
of the Select
Committee of
the House of
Commons on the
affairs of the
East India
Company, dated
11th Oct. 1831.

In 1784 again, an Englishman, a gunner on board a British ship engaged in the Indian trade, when firing a gun as a salute under orders, accidentally caused injuries to three Chinamen, who were in a boat alongside the ship; and one of the men died from the effects of the injuries received. The surrender of the gunner for trial was demanded, and the supra-cargo of the ship was treacherously seized and confined, to enforce compliance with the demand. The traders of all the foreign factories combined; ordered up the ships' boats manned and armed to Canton, as a protest against this high-handed proceeding; and entered into negotiations with the Deputy Governor to try and obtain his release. Eventually, in compliance with a written request from the supra-cargo, the gunner was surrendered for trial, a Chinese officer giving a verbal assurance that no apprehension need be felt for his life. He was, however, tried and condemned by the Chinese, and publicly strangled. The supra-cargo was released on the surrender of the gunner.

Books on China
by Auber and
Davis.

This disgraceful case appears to have been a violation even of Chinese law, which permitted the payment of a cash ransom, in lieu of the death penalty, in cases of accidental homicide; and if it be assumed that sufficient care was not taken to prevent injury to the Chinese, the man who ordered the gun to be fired, was responsible rather than the gunner.

It must, nevertheless, be admitted that the Chinese displayed no particular partiality* to their own countrymen in the administration of their criminal law; and a Chinese, who was found guilty of causing the death of an English seaman in an affray in 1785, was strangled by order of the Emperor.

The Court of Directors appear to have blamed their servants more for their attempt to intimidate the authorities by a show of force than for their pusillanimous surrender of the gunner. "Experience," they wrote, "had shown that the Court of Pekin would use its power to carry into execution, whatever it declares to be the law."

The case, however, did not form a precedent, and the supra-cargoes, though often reduced to great straits to evade compliance with requisitions of the kind, did not again surrender a British subject to Chinese justice.

The position of the English in China at this time was felt to be unsatisfactory. The greater part of the foreign trade was in their hands,† but no attempt had been made to establish political relations between the Government of Great Britain and the Government of China. The arrogance of the Canton authorities was on the increase, and no relief could be obtained from the impositions and exactions to which the trade was subject.

In 1788, therefore, it was resolved to despatch an Embassy to China, but the Ambassador, Colonel Cathcart, died on the way out, and the project was temporarily abandoned. Four years later, in 1792, Lord Macartney was sent to Pekin with instructions to try and effect some improvement in the conditions under which the trade was carried on at Canton, and in the position of the English at that port; and to arrange, if possible, for an extension of commercial intercourse to Ningpo, Tientsin, and other places, and for the appointment of a British Resident at Pekin.

"Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy to the Emperor of China," by Sir George Staunton; printed in 1797.

The Ambassador and his colleagues, who were regarded by the Chinese as tribute bearers, were received with civility, and were entertained with hospitality. Flags were attached to the boats, which conveyed them up the Peiho, inscribed in Chinese—Ambassadors Bearing Tribute—and, from considerations of expediency, Lord Macartney raised no objection to this description of the character of the Embassy. He declined, however, to compromise the dignity of his Sovereign, and to acknowledge publicly the supremacy of China by performing the ceremony of Kotou, or prostration, before the Imperial throne. The Emperor Kienlung, with commendable moderation, agreed to dispense with the ceremony; and Lord Macartney and Sir G. Staunton, Secretary to the Embassy and Minister Plenipotentiary, were honourably received at a public audience. A letter addressed by the King of England to the Emperor was placed by Lord Macartney, kneeling on one knee before the throne, in the Emperor's own hands, and was graciously accepted and acknowledged; and the Ambassador and Sir G. Staunton were, after the audience, entertained by the Emperor himself at a banquet. The members of the Embassy remained for some days as State guests in attendance at the Court in Tartary and at Pekin; but discussion on matters of business was avoided by the Chinese, and the Ambassador was only able to communicate to the principal Minister an abstract of the commercial concessions desired, the Minister on his part, promising to consider the various requests, but not binding himself to support them. The delivery by the Minister of a letter from the Emperor to the King of England closed proceedings at Pekin, and the Embassy returned overland to Canton, and thence took ship for England.

The importance and significance attached by the Chinese to the performance of the Kotou was evidenced by the fact that the Emperor preferred to receive the Ambassador

* In one respect foreigners were treated less favourably in cases of homicide, as an edict of the Emperor Kienlung, in 1743, sanctioned a proposal made by the Governor of Canton for the immediate execution of any foreigner, who might be found guilty by the local magistrates, and by the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton, of causing the death of a Native, whether wilfully, or by conspiracy, or in the course of an affray, without the usual period of imprisonment, and removal of the criminal for examination in the interior courts. (Staunton's Notices relating to China, p. 426.)

This order had naturally the effect of preventing any possibility either of appeal or reprieve; but it is not likely that foreigners would have gained much by any appeal to the higher tribunals or to the Central Government at Pekin.

† According to Appendix V. to Sir George Staunton's account of Lord Macartney's Embassy, the value of the Company's exports from England to China in 1792 was nearly 1,000,000*l.*, and of the exports from India to China nearly 700,000*l.*, besides opium worth about 250,000*l.*; and the value of the imports from China into England exceeded 1,500,000*l.* (prime cost), and into India amounted to 330,000*l.* only.

The total value of the imports into Canton, in 1792, from other European nations amounted to 200,000*l.*, and of the exports to them from China to 600,000*l.*

As between China and England the balance of trade was in favour of China, but the excess in the value of the Indian exports over that of the imports was, even at this time, considerable.

bending merely on one knee, as in the ceremonial observed at the English Court, rather than agree to an offer made by him to prostrate himself before the throne on condition that a Chinese officer of rank equal to his should do the same before a picture of the King of England.

The Emperor in his letter to the King of England declined to sanction any alteration in the conditions under which the trade between the two countries was carried on. "As the requests," he wrote, "made by your Ambassador militate against the laws and usages of this our Empire, and are at the same time wholly useless to the end proposed, I cannot acquiesce in them. I again admonish you, O King, to act conformably to my intentions, that we may preserve peace and amity on each side and thereby contribute to our reciprocal happiness. After this, my solemn warning, should your Majesty, in pursuance of your Ambassador's demands, fit out ships in order to attempt to trade either at Ningpo, Tehusan, Tiensing, or other places, as our laws are exceedingly severe, in such case I shall be under the necessity of directing my mandarins to force your ships to quit these ports, and thus the increased trouble and exertions of your merchants would at once be frustrated. You will not then, however, be able to complain that I had not clearly forewarned you. Let us therefore live in peace and friendship, and do not make light of my words. For this reason I have so repeatedly and earnestly written to you upon this subject."

Auber's China.

The inability of the Ambassador and his colleagues to communicate with the Chinese in their own language, and the consequent necessity for the employment of interpreters were thought at the time to have contributed to the failure of the attempted negotiations, but it is doubtful whether the belief had any foundation. The relations established by Lord Macartney with some of the Chinese officials, particularly with the newly-appointed Governor of Canton, who accompanied him during part of his journey across China, appear to have been decidedly cordial.

In 1795, one year after the return of the Embassy, a letter and presents were sent by the King of England to the Emperor of China, with the object of further conciliating the goodwill of the Central Government. These were accepted, and a letter, with presents, was sent by the Emperor in reply. The exchange of these civilities, combined with the growing importance of the Company's trade and the friendly disposition of the Governor, appear to have had considerable effect in improving the position of the English at Canton, though letters sent by Lord Macartney, Mr. Dundas, and the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Directors of the East India Company to the Governor of Canton were refused.

Books on China
by Auber and
Davis.

In 1799 a dispute was occasioned by the shooting of a Chinese, under the following circumstances, from a schooner belonging to the Royal Navy, which was lying at Whampoa. Some Chinese were seen at night in a boat, in proximity to the ship, and were thought to be trying to cut the cable. They were hailed, but gave no reply, and a shot was then fired into the boat. One man was wounded, and another, who jumped into the sea in his fright, was drowned. The authorities demanded the surrender of the man who had fired the musket. Captain Dilkes, of H.M.S. "Madras," which was also at Canton, demanded that the Chinese in the boat should be punished for misconduct, and would not agree to surrender the seaman. Some discussion took place, but the wounded man recovered; and the case was eventually allowed to drop. The Governor shortly after, at the request of the President of the Select Committee, or governing body of the Company's supra-cargoes, supplied an abstract of some provisions of the law regarding homicide for the information of Europeans, but stated that an inspection of the Chinese code could not be permitted without the express permission of the Emperor.

In 1803 a second complimentary letter, with presents, was sent by the King of England to the Emperor of China, and was delivered by the President of the Select Committee, in 1805, to the Governor of Canton. A letter from Lord Castlereagh to the principal Minister at Peking, and another from the Chairman of the East India Company to the Governor at Canton were, however, refused, on the ground that Chinese officers were not permitted to receive letters from the officers of other nations.

The King's letter to the Emperor was acknowledged, and presents were sent in return in the following year; the Emperor, in his reply, stating that British subjects in China were always treated "with the utmost indulgence and affection."

In 1805 the Chinese Government took umbrage at the publication, in Chinese, of books on the subject of the Christian religion, and at the circulation of such books by Roman Catholic missionaries, and by Chinese converts, among the population at Canton. The books were ordered to be burned, and the Chinese responsible for their

Auber's China.

Note relative to the suspension of the trade of the East India Company at Canton in 1807, by Sir G. Staunton (Notices relating to China), and Books on China by Auber and Davis.

dissemination were sent into banishment as slaves. An edict also was issued at Peking, admonishing the Tartars against the supposed fallacies of the Christian religion.

In February 1807, a serious affray took place at Canton. Some sailors, belonging to the Company's ship "Neptune," when drinking at a spirit shop in Canton, had quarrelled with the natives, and had, in consequence been confined to the factory. A crowd of natives collected before the factory, and began to pelt passing Europeans, and the sailors, losing patience, rushed out and attacked them, and in the fight, that ensued, several persons were injured, and one of the wounded Chinese subsequently died. The Select Committee were held responsible, and a demand for the surrender of the man, who had struck the fatal blow, was made upon them.

Inquiries were instituted by a committee of the Company's officers, which established the identity of some of the more prominent rioters, but failed to discover the individual who was responsible for the homicide. The demand was necessarily rejected, and the Governor suspended the whole trade of the Company from the 4th to the 31st of March, and prevented the Company's fleet from leaving the port. The Hong merchant, who had secured the "Neptune," and the President of the Committee were also threatened by the Chinese, with the object of enforcing compliance with the demand. The Committee were not intimidated; and an offer by the security merchant of a reward of 20,000 dollars for information that would lead to the conviction of the offender produced no result. Eventually, after protracted discussion, the Chinese, satisfied apparently that the Committee would not, or could not, comply with their demand, proposed a trial of all the sailors concerned in the riot by Chinese Judges in the English Factory. This was readily agreed to, and a promise was given, that if any individual was fairly convicted of murder, he would be surrendered. The embargo on the Company's trade was then withdrawn, the "Neptune" only being detained until the conclusion of the proceedings.

The trial, which followed, was conducted in the English Factory by the City Governor and other officers, in the presence of the Select Committee and Captain Rolles of H.M.S. "Lion," which was fortunately in the port at the time. Eleven of the seamen were found to have been prominent in the riot, and from them the judges selected (apparently without sufficient reason) a man named Edward Sheen, and decided that he had caused the death of the deceased Chinese. The other men were dismissed to their ship to be punished by their Commander in such manner as he might think proper, and the detention of Sheen in the custody of the Committee was required pending the final settlement of the case. An attempt to insist on Sheen's being kept in confinement at Canton, after the departure of the Committee to Macao, was defeated by the firmness of Captain Rolles, who threatened to take him away in the "Lion"; and eventually the authorities, to extricate themselves from an inconvenient difficulty, invented a story that Sheen had dropped a piece of wood on the deceased's head from an upper window, and caused his death by accident. The Central Government at Peking was satisfied, and the release of Sheen was sanctioned in January 1808, on payment of a fine of 4*l.* sterling to the relatives of the deceased.

The firmness of the Select Committee on this occasion was approved by the Court of Directors, and Captain Rolles received a present of 1,000*l.* from the Company for the services which he had rendered. The Court, however, strongly impressed upon the Committee the necessity of preventing the recurrence of similar riotous proceedings; and the Company's seamen, in after years, were not permitted to openly visit Canton.

Books on China by Auber and Davis.

In 1802 and 1808, during the wars with the French in Europe, expeditions were despatched from India to occupy the Portuguese settlement of Macao, to prevent its occupation by the French. The instructions issued on both occasions appear to have contemplated occupation with the consent of the Chinese; but this consent the Chinese were not prepared to give. Macao they regarded as part of the Chinese dominions; and they objected, not without reason, to the assumption that they were unable to defend their own territory.

On the first occasion the Portuguese were secretly opposed to the project, though they made no open objection. The Governor of Canton protested; but the arrival of a ship from Europe, with news of peace, caused the expedition to return to India, before the occurrence of any serious rupture. The second expedition, however, nearly led to hostilities, a result for which the Select Committee were largely if not wholly responsible. The occupation of the settlement appears to have been decided on in the first instance, in accordance with their suggestion, if not indeed upon their initiation; and Admiral Drury, who was in command of the ships, was directed to take no steps without their knowledge and concurrence, and to avoid,

as far as possible, any cause of offence to the Chinese. The Admiral seems to have been prepared to apply for permission to land the troops, but the Committee decided that this was unnecessary. A letter was accordingly addressed to the Governor of Canton by the Admiral, explaining the objects of the expedition; and troops were landed in opposition to the wishes of the Portuguese, and without any attempt to obtain previous permission from the Chinese authorities. The Governor at once protested strongly. Troops were ordered to Macao to drive the English out; trade was suspended; provisions were refused to the King's and to the Company's ships; and Chinese servants were forced to leave the English Factory. The Committee tried to discuss the question, but the Governor would not consider any representation, and insisted upon the immediate removal of the troops. Admiral Drury then demanded an interview, but the Governor declined to recognise him, or to enter into any negotiations. British subjects were ordered to embark in their ships; and H.M.S. "Antelope" passed up the river, returning the fire of the forts at the Bocca Tigris. The Governor, was firm. If, as he said in a declaration communicated to the Committee, the English wanted war, he was ready, but he would not commence. If they wished to trade, they must withdraw the troops from Macao. Finally, the Admiral, in the hope of intimidating the Governor, attempted, with the aid of the Company's seamen and boats, to force a passage through the Chinese junks, which were drawn up in a line in the river to block the way to Canton. The Chinese opened fire; an Englishman was wounded; and the Admiral gave the signal for attack. The signal, however, was not observed, and the Admiral changed his mind and abandoned the enterprise. An edict from the Emperor confirming the Governor's orders, that no trade would be allowed as long as a soldier remained at Macao, was communicated by the Governor to the Admiral; and, after further consultation with the Committee, he yielded and removed the troops.

On the withdrawal of the troops from the settlement, the trade was re-opened. The success of the Chinese naturally increased their arrogance, and the victory gained over the Admiral was commemorated by the erection of a Pagoda. The President and members of the Select Committee were removed from their appointments by the Court of Directors for their share in this fiasco; and the Governor of Canton was also removed, or transferred, by the Emperor, presumably because he had failed to prevent the occurrence of a disturbance.

In the early part of the year 1810 another affray took place between the natives and some British seamen belonging to one of the Company's ships, and a Chinese was killed. The authorities at first ordered the detention of the Company's ships, but eventually allowed them to leave on condition that inquiries should be made and that the offender, if discovered, should be punished according to the law of England.

The Select Committee, it appears, had reason to suspect some seamen belonging to one of the Company's ships, but the Chinese attributed the crime to the seamen of another ship, and the Committee took no steps to undeceive them. Inquiries were instituted by the Commodore of the Company's fleet, and the case was brought under the consideration of the Privy Council, but under the law of England the men suspected could not even be brought to trial. In the following season, 1810-11, the Chinese renewed their demand for the surrender of the offender, and refused again to allow the Company's ships to leave the port on the ground that the Committee had neither delivered up the offender, nor accounted satisfactorily for their failure to do so. The Committee determined to remonstrate, and as the Hong merchants were either unwilling or afraid to deliver their remonstrance, an address was presented to the Superintendent of Customs in person by a deputation of the Company's servants. This paved the way for negotiations; and a further explanation of the reasons, why the Committee had been unable to comply with the requisition, coupled with an intimation to the Hong merchants that the fleet would sail, without permission, if the detention continued much longer, induced the Chinese to withdraw their objection, and the ships were allowed to leave soon after.

The Court of Directors, though holding that it would not be proper to deliver up an individual, who had killed a Chinese, into the hands of the Government, unless the offence amounted to murder, disapproved of the conduct of their supra-cargoes on this occasion; and transmitted to Canton, for delivery to the Chinese Governor, a letter from the President of the Board of Control explaining the circumstances under which it had been found impossible to try or punish the offender in England. By the time the letter arrived the incident was closed, and the Select Committee was differently constituted; and the new Committee deemed it unadvisable to present the letter, for fear it might have the effect of re-opening the question. They urged,

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors dated the 28th Feb. and 1st March 1810, 31st Jan. and 10th Feb. 1811, and 10th Jan. 1812, in App. 11 to the third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

moreover, in defence of the action of their predecessors that the line of conduct adopted was, under the circumstances the only one consistent with the character and interests of the Company and of the British nation. "Whenever," they wrote, "a murderer is demanded by the Chinese Government, a consequent selection and surrender of an individual into their hands is completely equivalent in effect to a provisional sentence of death. The individual may be afterwards pardoned or not according to circumstances, but we think there can be no question that our act in such cases is held by the Chinese Government as perfectly conclusive both in respect to the law and to the fact; or, in other words, as competent evidence both of the identity of the offender and his offence having amounted to murder."

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors dated 16th Jan. 1812, in App. II., as above.

An incident which serves to illustrate Chinese impartiality, occurred in 1811. The first lieutenant of H.M.S. "Indefatigable" was attacked and roughly handled by the natives, when on shore near Chuenpee, an anchorage used by ships of war below the Bocca Tigris, and his gun was taken from him. The authorities, on application, granted immediate redress; the principal offender was brought to Canton in confinement, and the gun, which had been taken, was restored.

Fourth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 10th April 1812.

The position occupied by the East India Company in China, and the manner in which the China trade was carried on in the early part of the 19th century, are well described in the Fourth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in 1810-12, to inquire into and report on the affairs of the East India Company.

"The trade with China," they wrote, "has for a very long period formed a part of the exclusive privilege of the East India Company, and has been carried on upon principles conducive, in a very eminent degree, not only to the advantage of those embarked in it, but likewise to the interests of the British Empire in its revenue, in the employment of its shipping, and in a steady and continued demand for its manufactures. It is nevertheless a fact, universally known, that the Company have no footing whatever in China coming under the denomination of permanent; that the intercourse with the merchants of that extensive Empire is very limited, being exclusively confined to a small factory in the vicinity of the City of Canton, occupied by the sufferance of the Court of Peking, under strict regulations designating the parties with whom and the manner in which the trade is to be conducted. The factory of Canton may therefore be considered as the place of mere occasional residence for the convenience of the agents of the Company in their transactions with the merchants, who are termed Hong merchants, expressly licensed by the Chinese Government, to have dealings with them. These merchants are very limited in number, being in 1793 twelve, and in 1808 fourteen.

"The official designation of the agents of the Company is that of supra-cargoes. They are united in one Commission, and, generally, the four seniors are termed the President and Select Committee, who are assisted in the transaction of the business of the factory by the remainder, and by writers and others holding subordinate appointments, the whole being under special covenants for the performance of the duties committed to them respectively The residence of the supra-cargoes and their assistants at the factory is only during the season of their intercourse with the Chinese merchants, for receiving and paying for the produce of the country

"The business of the season being finished, and the ships laden and despatched on their return to England, the supra-cargoes retire from the factory to the island of Macao, a settlement belonging to the Portuguese, where they continue till the opening of the ensuing season. The periods of the commencement and close of the season are not distinctly laid down, being affected by various contingencies; and as to what is termed the official year, according to the books of the factory, your Committee find that no precise period has ever been fixed for its definition; but the balancing of them has generally been governed by the conclusion of the season, which has been most commonly in the months of February or March."

The position of the Company's representatives in China, and the nature of their dealings with the Chinese, remained substantially unaltered from 1812 up to the withdrawal of the Company's monopoly in 1834; and the above description therefore holds good up to that time.

The balance of the united English and Indian trade was at this time not unfavourable to China. The same Report shows that between 1792-93 and 1808-09, over 31,000,000*l.* were supplied to the Company's Canton Treasury from England and India for the purchase of tea and other products of China, over 26,000,000*l.* from England, and nearly 5,000,000*l.* from India; and that out of the 26,000,000*l.* the exports from

England of manufactures and metals provided less than 16,000,000*l.*, while the consignments of China produce to England exceeded in value 27,000,000*l.*; 2,000,000*l.* also were remitted back to India by the Select Committee, principally in bullion, for the Company's requirements in that country. The balance of trade with other countries in Europe, and also with America, appears to have been markedly in favour of China.

The value of the Indian exports to China (including opium) no doubt exceeded the value of the imports from that country, and there was necessarily therefore some export of specie from China to India for the adjustment of the balance. The opium trade also was contraband, and payment for the drug had to be made in specie. This led to the export of sycee, or native silver, which was strongly condemned and prohibited by the Chinese Government. As long, however, as the balance of the foreign trade remained favourable, the drain of specie to India was counterbalanced by imports of cash and bullion from Europe and America, and the attention of the Government does not appear to have been seriously drawn to the subject until some years later.

The Chinese, as they showed on many occasions, were not insensible to the advantages which they derived from foreign trade, but their pride and exclusiveness would not permit them to accord reasonable treatment to the foreign traders.

The connexion of the East India Company with the production of opium in India has already been fully described in the Historical Memorandum on the subject dated the 9th August 1894. The Directors were willing and indeed anxious that some of the opium produced in Bengal should reach China, but they took no direct part in the trade, and their servants were prohibited from smuggling, or from trading in the drug when employed upon the Company's service. The revenue derived by the Company from the Bengal monopoly was treated as a branch of the territorial revenue of India; and the Company, rightly or wrongly, drew a marked distinction between the sale of opium in Calcutta, with the knowledge that much of it was carried to China, and a direct trade in it in the Company's ships and by the Company's servants. The quantity of opium also which found its way to China at this time, was not large. Export from Western India was temporarily checked, and the quantity annually offered for sale at Calcutta by the East India Company was carefully limited, and a considerable portion of it was conveyed for sale to Java and the Eastern Archipelago. The trade was prohibited, but the question at this time was in no sense acute.

App. B. in this volume.

As regards the date of the prohibition, the first formal interdict appears to have been issued in 1799; but there is evidence to show that the drug was treated as contraband at Canton, at any rate, for some time before this.

The Court of Directors condemned the measures taken by Warren Hastings in 1781 to send a cargo of opium, on the Company's account, to Canton for sale, on the ground that it was beneath the dignity of the Company to be engaged in a clandestine trade; and the supra-cargoes reported to the Company that they had had considerable difficulty in disposing of the opium, as its importation was strongly prohibited by the Chinese Government.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 28th Dec. 1782, in a Collection of printed papers at the India Office relating to Warren Hastings' Impeachment.

Mr. Thomas Fitzhugh, in a letter written to Mr. Gregory on the 7th July 1782, gives the following description of the condition of the opium trade at that time:—

App. 77 to the Ninth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company in 1783.

"The importation of opium to China is forbidden on very severe penalties. The opium on seizure is burnt; the vessel in which it is brought to the port confiscated; and the Chinese in whose possession it is found for sale punishable with death.

"It might be concluded that with a law so rigid, no foreigners would venture, nor any Chinese dare, to purchase this article, yet opium for a long course of time has been annually carried to China, and often in large quantities, both by our country vessels and those of the Portuguese. It is sometimes landed at Macao, and sometimes at Whampoa, though equally liable to the above penalties in either port, as the Portuguese are, so to say, entirely under the Chinese rule.

"That this contraband trade has hitherto been carried on without incurring the penalties of the law is owing to the excess of corruption in the executive part of the Chinese Government, which of late years has been carried to such a height that the Custom House officers have agreed, for 10 dollars a chest, to let opium go out of a ship at any time of the day."

Mr. Fitzhugh's account of the penalties imposed upon the importation of opium does not accord with statements made by the officers of the Canton Government in 1836, and is also inconsistent with the terms of the edict issued in 1799; and the Chinese appear to have maintained a very correct record of all events connected with the foreign trade. In 1836, the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton distinctly stated that in the reigns of Yungching and Kienlung, opium was included as medicine

Correspondence relating to China presented to Parliament in 1840; page 163.

in the tariff of duties at the port, and that there was no prohibition against its introduction. The prohibitory edict* of 1799, which is published in full below, shows that

Edict to prohibit the sale of opium, published at Canton on the 2nd Dec. 1799; forwarded by the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors in a letter dated 6th May 1801; in vol. 134 of manuscript China Records at the India Office.

* Edict addressed by the Hoppo, or Receiver General of the Customs, at Canton, for the information of the merchants appointed to trade with foreign nations.

Whereas I have received advices from his Excellency the Fouyuen (Deputy Governor), setting forth that "The ships of foreign nations have long since been permitted to import at Whampoa and Macao in the province of Quangtung for the purpose of carrying on a trade by the free interchange of such commodities as were in demand on the one hand and superfluous on the other. From this general rule the article only of opium was excepted, a substance of whose composition we are unacquainted, but which is of a violent and powerful nature and possesses a foetid and odious flavour; being however remarkable at the same time, for a quality of exciting and raising the spirits, it has been sought after and purchased by persons without fixed homes or professions, who having prepared an extract from it, opened shops for the support of this branch of traffic. The use of opium originally prevailed only among vagrants and disreputable persons, who occasionally associated together for the purpose of partaking of this substance, but has since extended itself among the members and descendants of reputable families, students, and officers of Government, many of whom are so infatuated in their attachment to this drug, as to make an habitual use of it. Their inducement on this occasion appears to be the power, which this substance communicates to those who partake of it, of not closing their eyes for entire nights, and spending them in the gratification of impure and sensual desires, whereby their respective duties and occupations are neglected. When this habit becomes established by frequent repetition, it gains an entire ascendant, and the consumer of opium is not only unable to forbear from its daily use, but, on passing the accustomed hour he is immediately seized with pains in the head and a feverish heat, cannot refrain from tears or command himself in any degree. For relief, therefore, from these painful symptoms and to regain his wonted health, he has necessarily recourse to the same pernicious substance. When, at length, the gradual and progressive effects of this poison have pervaded the lungs and the whole bodily frame, the sufferers with the pale and sickly hue of doves or small fluttering birds, are no longer within reach of medical assistance; desirous, but in vain, of quitting so dreadful a practice, they would willingly end it with their lives by tearing out their entrails in despair. The extraordinary expense of this article is likewise to be noticed, each mace weight of which in the extract is exchanged for eight or nine mace in money; and the constant use of it raises at the same time an excessive appetite for other kinds of food, which the fortunes of the bulk of the community are unable to satisfy, and are therefore, in the course of a few years, wholly dilapidated and wasted away. Of these, the infirm and weak perish gradually from want and hunger, while the strong and vigorous become thieves and robbers, the ultimate ruin of all being thus equally certain and inevitable. Others again, among the deluded and misjudging people, from trifling causes or absurd conceits, take the premature resolution of swallowing a decoction of opium in wine, thus ending their existence by means of readier access than the generality of vegetable substances usually esteemed poisonous and destructive to the human frame. The pernicious effects arising from the use of opium were formerly confined to the province of Fokeen and Quangtung, but have spread in the course of time through the other provinces of the Empire, where the eagerness after the traffic and consumption of this article has even exceeded that of its first introducers. Thus it is that foreigners by the means of a vile excrementitious substance, derive from this Empire the most solid profits and advantages; but that our countrymen should blindly pursue this destructive and ensnaring vice, even till death is the consequence without being undeceived, is indeed a fact, odious and deplorable in the highest degree.

"Being now desirous of opposing the growing evil, for which it appeared necessary to revert to the sources whence it sprung, we discover by a careful investigation that the article of opium is imported by foreigners, and gains admittance into the Empire through the Bocca Tigris; whence, either by the pilot-vessels and armed guard boats that are stationed there, it is conveyed up the river to Shin Shin (Dane's Island) or by the means of small craft it is landed by degrees at Macao, and thence conveyed privately to the capital, while the Custom House officers and guards at the different stations, though well acquainted with the transaction, suffer it to pass without examination or inquiry; being doubtlessly bribed to a large amount for that purpose? If the utmost endeavours are not now made to cut away the root and branches of the evil, to what extent may they not proceed? We, therefore, publish these our general orders, for the information of all officers, civil or military, at the different stations and districts of the province, that they may rigorously examine into and punish the commission of this offence wherever it occurs, and at the same time we request of his Excellency the Hoppo to issue positive orders and injunctions to the officers, attendants, and guards of the several Custom Houses in his Department, that should henceforth any pilot-vessels, guard-boats, or fishermen privately take on board, those pieces of mould or earth denominated opium, a strict search and investigation shall be made, and the offenders apprehended and conveyed to the presence of the magistrate to undergo such punishment as may be thought adequate to their guilt. If, notwithstanding these our orders, bribes are again accepted, and the passage of this article connived at, it shall be traced with the utmost exactness and rigour in the districts and stations through which it has been transported, that no pains may be spared to effect a thorough reformation and amendment in these respects. Should any further mode of regulation occur, that might tend to enforce, or render more effectual, these prohibitions and restrictions, we request of his Excellency the Hoppo to give us due information thereof in reply to this our communication to him." On receiving the foregoing letter, I made a similar inquiry respecting the introduction of the substance denominated opium, and find that it is indeed imported into this country by foreign vessels, and have consequently issued orders to the Superintendent of the Custom House, at the port of Macao, to be communicated to the chief foreign residents and commanders of vessels belonging to that city, notifying our determination to prohibit the entrance of the article opium into that port; as well as our general orders to make every exertion to discover and inform us of it, if ever it should take place. Having replied to his Excellency the Fouyuen's communication, I proceed to extend the above orders to the Hong merchants, to which it behoves them to pay a strict and unreserved obedience, and communicate them to the chief supercargoes of foreign nations, that they may enforce the observance of this prohibition of the importation of opium on board the ships of their respective countries. But should, nevertheless, any ship hereafter import this article, none of the Hong merchants will be so imprudent or absurd as to become security, or undertake the disposal of her cargo; as I should in such event immediately report their conduct to the Viceroy and Fouyuen, by whom the merchant would be rigorously examined and punished for the offence without any mitigation or excuse being admitted. The Hong merchants shall, according to custom, reply hereto and make known to us their obedience to these commands.

Given at Canton on the 16th day of the 11th Moon of the 4th year of the Emperor Kia King.

opium had, for some time previously, been excluded from the commodities, in which trade by barter was permitted, and was therefore contraband; but it is very doubtful whether any penalty was provided by law either for its importation or sale. Penalties of death and confiscation of property may, however, have been threatened by corrupt preventive officers to increase their own gains.

The Select Committee, on hearing of the edict issued in 1799, wrote at once to the Governor-General, in India, requesting that "a peremptory order might be issued at the Presidencies to forbid any opium in future being taken on board Company's ships bound to China," to avoid any possibility of the implication of the Company in a charge of illicit trading; and their prompt action met with the approval of the Court of Directors. The edict, as the Committee reported in 1801, and again in 1802, checked temporarily the introduction of opium into the Port of Canton, but the trade was carried on without interruption at the Portuguese settlement of Macao. Subsequent correspondence shows that the measures taken to prevent the importation of the drug were soon relaxed, and that the prohibition was not properly enforced even at Canton itself.

Extracts from letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 2nd Jan. 1800, 6th May 1801, and 18th Jan. 1802, in vols. 126, 134, and 138 of Manuscript China Records at the India Office.

In 1813 the Chinese asserted a right to require the departure from China of a certain Mr. Roberts, who had been re-appointed by the Court of Directors as a member of the Select Committee; Mr. Roberts having, as President of the Committee, made himself obnoxious to them, on the occasion of the second occupation of Macao. The Committee determined to resist this attempt at interference with the discretion of the Directors in the appointment of their own servants, and, adopting the favourite coercive measure of the Chinese, declined to continue commercial relations, until the orders requiring Mr. Roberts to leave China were withdrawn. The withdrawal of the Company's ships and the submission of a representation to Peking on the subject of their grievances appear to have also been in contemplation. Mr. Roberts died at Macao while the question was still under discussion; and on 10th December 1813, the Governor issued an edict, which was considered by the Committee to be a sufficient disavowal of the right of the Chinese to interfere with the Company's servants, and trade was resumed.

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 23rd Dec. 1813, and 22nd Feb. 1814, in App. II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Other troubles, however, ensued. The affairs of five of the Hong merchants were at the time in a very embarrassed condition, their debts to the East India Company and to individuals amounting to nearly 4,000,000 dollars; and the Governor, either from genuine indignation at this transgression of the trade regulations, or (as was supposed by the Select Committee) on the instigation of the other Hong merchants, was for a time inclined to dismiss and banish the insolvent merchants. The sanction of an Imperial edict was obtained in July 1813 to the establishment by Government authority of a Cohong system, under which a few of the senior Hong merchants were to be placed in entire control of the foreign trade, and were to have power to fix the prices of all foreign goods. The Select Committee very naturally objected strongly to this arrangement, and considered that, in the interests of the Company, and of the other European creditors, who had made an arrangement of their own with the indebted merchants, they were bound to do their best to prevent them from being officially declared insolvent. In such a case the debts of the insolvents would, as they said, have been thrown on the remaining merchants, and additional duties would have been imposed on the trade to provide a fund for repayment. The Committee therefore took steps to support the embarrassed merchants by paying Custom duties on their account, and continuing to them a share of the Company's business with the customary cash advances.

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors regarding the embarrassed circumstances of some of the Hong merchants and the attempted establishment of the Cohong 1813-17, in App. II, as above.

In the course of these proceedings the violation of Chinese neutrality by Her Majesty's ship "Doris," involved the Committee in serious difficulties. The "Doris" appeared at Macao, in April 1814, with an American ship, which she had captured off the Ladrões, as a prize of war; and an American schooner lying at Whampoa was also attacked and captured by the "Doris" boats, though she was subsequently retaken by the Americans at Canton. Then an American brig arrived with a Bengal country ship, called the "Arabella," as her prize. Finding the "Doris" at Canton, the Americans tried to take the "Arabella" into Macao, but the Portuguese objected; and the Americans then abandoned the ship and the "Doris" took possession. The American merchantmen in Canton, which were ready to sail, were detained for some time in port, owing to the presence of the "Doris" off the mouth of the river, and the sympathies of the chief Hong merchant, who was pecuniarily interested in the cargoes of the ships, were consequently enlisted against the English.

Letters from the Canton Committee regarding their discussions with the Chinese Government in the season of 1814-15, in App. II, as above; and letter from the Court of Directors to Lord Amherst, dated 17th Jan. 1816, in Vol. 136 of Manuscript China Records at the India Office. Also Auber's "China."

The capture of the American ship off the Ladrões, and the recapture of the "Arabella" were defensible, but the attack on the schooner at Whampoa was certainly unjustifiable. The Chinese objected to the prosecution of hostilities within their jurisdiction; held the Committee responsible—and called upon them to send the "Doris" away. This the Committee were, of course, unable to do, and the Chinese, to punish the breach of neutrality, refused supplies to the "Doris;" suspended the trade both of the English and Americans—and declined to grant port clearances to some Indian vessels then in the harbour. The Deputy Governor of Canton and the Superintendent of Customs also issued edicts interdicting the employment of native servants in the European factories.

The Committee protested, representing the impossibility of carrying on business at the Canton factory with European servants, but their address was ignored; the factory was visited without previous notice by a Chinese magistrate; a captain of one of the Company's ships was detained, when proceeding from Whampoa to Canton; and a linguist, in the service of the Company, named Ayeu, was seized and imprisoned, his offence, as supposed by the Committee, being his attachment to the English and the conveyance, in 1813, of a portrait of the Prince Regent to a Minister at Pekin, who had, when Governor of Canton, shown a friendly disposition towards them.

Further addresses, written in Chinese, to the Governor and Deputy Governor on the subject of Her Majesty's ships were returned unopened; and orders were issued by the Governor to the effect that he would receive no communication in Chinese, and that if the Committee wished to address him, they must do so in English. The Chinese language had been used apparently for some time by the Select Committee in their addresses to the Government, and the prohibition of communication in that language was held to be tantamount to a denial of the right of remonstrance. The Committee determined therefore to resist; directed in their turn the suspension of all commercial intercourse; detained the ships of private traders, which had just arrived from India, at Chuenpee, below the Bocca Tigris Fort; ordered all British ships to leave Whampoa, and all British subjects to leave Canton; and prepared to submit a remonstrance to the Imperial Court at Pekin.

The removal* of the Company's ships from Whampoa evidently alarmed the authorities; and the Governor issued an edict, in which the recapture of the "Arabella" was admitted to be proper, and the orders issued for the stoppage of the trade were in consequence rescinded. The Committee thought it advisable to avail themselves of the opportunity for negotiation thus offered, and suggested to the Hong merchants that the Governor should depute an officer to meet Sir George Thomas Staunton (who was then a member of the Committee) to discuss and settle the various differences that had arisen. The Governor assented, and Sir George Staunton accordingly proceeded to Canton with two other Company's servants, Sir Theodore Metcalfe and Mr., afterwards Sir John, Davis, on 21st October 1814. There they were met by the City Governor and two other mandarins, and negotiations began.

The seizure of the linguist, Ayeu, first formed the subject of discussion; and his arrest was explained to be due to the fact that he had purchased rank, though he had once been in a menial situation, and to be in no way connected with his relations with the English. At this juncture the Governor suddenly broke off the negotiations, and Sir George Staunton left Canton, warning all British subjects to comply with the orders issued directing them to quit the port; and proceeded down to the river to the Company's ships, which were anchored below the second bar. The commanders of the Indian ships protested against the suspension of their trade, and an effort was made by the Chinese to induce them to disregard the orders of the Committee and enter the river, but without success. Deputations of the Hong merchants were then sent to the Company's ships at Chuenpee to fetch Sir George Staunton back, and after some difficulty the negotiations were re-opened. The Committee, as soon as there appeared to be any prospect of a satisfactory termination to the discussions, ordered their ships up to Whampoa as a concession to Chinese dignity; and a settlement was eventually arrived at.

The Committee were obliged to rest content with the explanations offered in regard to the arrest of the linguist Ayeu; though in a report made by the Governor to Pekin about this time, (a copy of which was privately obtained), it was distinctly asserted that the linguist was concerned with the English in treasonable practices. The privilege of presenting addresses to the superior officers at Canton in the Chinese

* The flags of other European nations had at this time been driven from Canton by the naval superiority of Great Britain, and the Company's servants were therefore in an exceptionally favourable position for negotiation.

language "without previous explanation with the (Hong) merchants" was however conceded; and although addresses submitted were returned unopened on several subsequent occasions, the right of the Committee to submit their communications, through the merchants, under seal and in the Chinese language, appears to have been established from this time. Further, the prohibition of the employment of Chinese as servants, which had existed since 1740 under the authority of an Imperial edict, was modified to some extent; and the Select Committee received permission to employ Natives as coolies, porters, tea boilers and cooks, and in other similar capacities, though they were forbidden to engage Chinese as (Shawan) personal attendants. Ships of war visiting China for the protection of merchant ships were permitted to occupy their usual anchorages below the Bocca Tigris Fort; and some minor questions regarding the right of Chinese officers to enter the factory, the use of abusive language to the Company's servants, and other matters were also adjusted.

The proceedings of the "Doris" were extenuated and defended by the Committee, as far as possible, but the attack on the American schooner at Whampoa was felt to be unjustifiable, and they assumed the responsibility of promising that the Governor "should not again have occasion to complain of a similar act of offence." The subject was referred to from time to time during the negotiations, but was not, in their opinion, the real cause of the disputes which had arisen. "We conceive," they wrote, "the origin of this discussion must be traced to a far different source; to the interested views of a few individuals, endeavouring to place the European commerce at their sole command; that in fact it has been pending some time, and would have equally rendered necessary, in a year or two, the measures now adopted, even had we succeeded in averting them for the present season."

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 24th Dec. 1814, in App. II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee, as above

The result of the negotiations, though not regarded by the Committee as altogether satisfactory, undoubtedly strengthened the position of the Company at Canton, and appears to have been more favourable than the Government at Pekin was prepared to approve of.*

The firmness displayed led eventually to the abandonment of the Cohong scheme; and in December 1815 the Governor of Canton, after much deliberation, decided to allow the embarrassed merchants to continue their business. The Imperial Government at Pekin, also, on a report to this effect from the Governor, concurred as to the desirability of the measure.

In 1815 the Chinese made a half-hearted attempt to suppress the opium trade; and an order was issued by the Governor of Canton, promulgating an Imperial edict to search all ships at Macao. The local Chinese officers were not, however, inclined to exert themselves to enforce the order, and the Portuguese had a strong interest in evading its execution. The search of vessels at Canton also appears to have been contemplated, and the Committee were prepared to resist any attempt of the kind, but the measure, if ever intended, was not carried out.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 25th July 1815, in Vol. 272 of manuscript China Records at the India Office.

The orders issued by the Court at Pekin in the case of the linguist Ayeu, in 1815, show that the Chinese Government was at this time really apprehensive of intrigues between European Missionaries and disaffected natives, and was disposed to ascribe some serious outbreaks in the Canton Province, which had occurred in 1814, to the machinations of the Christians. Ayeu was banished to a place north of Nepal, and was required before leaving Canton to publicly trample on the cross to show that he had no sympathy with the Christian religion. "It perhaps," wrote the Select Committee, "can excite no surprise that the officers of Government should generally throughout the Empire concur in endeavouring to find some other cause than their own malpractices and misgovernment in these discontents."

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 6th Feb. 1815, in App. II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

A severe persecution† was, in the same year, carried on against the Roman Catholic converts in China.

Books on China by Auber and Medhurst.

The conduct of the Select Committee throughout the discussions and disputes of 1813-14 was approved by the Court of Directors, and Mr. Elphinstone, the President of the Committee, and Sir G. Staunton were said by Lord Castlereagh to have acted "under circumstances of great difficulty with ability, firmness, and discretion." The Directors, however, were dissatisfied with the position of the trade at Canton, and

Letter of instructions from Lord Castlereagh to Lord Amherst, dated 1st Jan. 1816, in manuscript China Records at the India Office.

* One of the mandarins attached to Lord Amherst's Embassy informed Sir G. Staunton on the 24th August 1816 that the footing upon which the trade was going on at Canton was by no means approved of. (Notes by Sir G. T. Staunton regarding the British Embassy to Pekin in 1816.)

† An edict was issued by the Chinese Government in or about 1812, in which the printing of books on the subject of the Christian religion and preaching the Gospel were made capital offences. (China: its State and Prospects, with especial reference to the spread of the Gospel; by the Rev. W. H. Medhurst).

Letter from the President of the Canton Committee to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, dated 23rd Feb. 1815, in App. II. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 11th Oct. 1831; and Letter from Mr. Barrow to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, dated 14th Feb. 1815, in Vol. 197 of manuscript China Records at the India Office.

were anxious to arrange some means of communication between their representatives in China and the Imperial Government at Peking, as a check on the vexatious and capricious proceedings of the local officers; and, the Select Committee had urged on more than one occasion that a Mission from the British Government to the Court at Peking was the only measure likely to be effectual in placing the intercourse between the two countries upon a satisfactory footing. Mr. Barrow also, who had accompanied Lord Macartney to Peking, advocated the despatch of a second Embassy.

The Ministry therefore, in accordance with these representations determined to try once more the effect of direct negotiation with the Chinese Government. Lord Amherst was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Peking, and Mr. Ellis and Sir George Staunton, who succeeded Mr. Elphinstone (before the arrival of the Embassy) as President of the Select Committee at Canton, were associated with him as Commissioners. Lord Amherst, however, was authorised to act on his own responsibility in the event of any difference of opinion between himself and his colleagues.

The Ambassador was commissioned to deliver a complimentary letter from H.R.H. the Prince Regent to the Emperor, and to enter into negotiations for the encouragement and promotion of commercial intercourse. The principal objects which he was instructed to try and secure were—

1. The protection of the trade of the East India Company from the sudden and capricious interruptions to which it was exposed at Canton; a more accurate definition of the Company's position and privileges; and the concession of the privilege of dealing with such native merchants as the supra-cargoes should think fit.

2. An improvement in the position of the Company's representatives at Canton, with permission to employ Chinese servants; and their exemption from abusive language and contemptuous treatment from Chinese functionaries.

3. The establishment of a channel of communication between the members of the factory and some public department or tribunal at Peking, either by a British resident there, or by representations written in the Chinese language; and a confirmation of the right of using that language in all addresses and representations to the Local Government.

The desirability of obtaining permission for the Company's ships to trade at some "port to the northward" other than Canton was also impressed on the Ambassador; and the establishment of a "resident Minister or Agent, at Peking, through whom the " concerns of the subjects of the British Empire might be treated," was indicated as the most effectual method of securing the attainment of the objects in view.

As to the Kotou, or ceremony of prostration, which Lord Macartney had declined to perform, Lord Castlereagh's instructions directed the Ambassador to conform to all the ceremonies of the Chinese Court, which would not commit the honour of his Sovereign or lessen his own dignity, and, while not permitting any trifling punctilio to stand in the way of the success of the mission, to take the earliest opportunity of declaring that, as H.R.H. the Prince Regent had entirely approved of the ceremonial performed by Lord Macartney upon his Embassy to the Emperor's father, he had specially commanded him to adopt that precedent. A subsequent letter, however, from the President of the Board of Control appears to have authorised the Ambassador to perform the ceremony, if he should deem it expedient and conducive to the attainment of the object of the Embassy.

Suitable explanations also were to be given regarding the conduct of the captain of the "Doris" and the war in Nepal, if any discussion upon either subject were raised by the Chinese Government.

The announcement of the intention of the Prince Regent to send an Embassy to the Emperor was made by a letter from the Earl of Buckinghamshire, who was then President of the Board of Control, to the Governor at Canton, which was delivered by the President of the Select Committee, and Captain Clavel of the Royal Navy. A report was submitted by the Governor to Peking, and the Emperor in his reply expressed his readiness to receive the Ambassador, and promised him a favourable, gracious reception.

"As the English nation," he wrote, "offers presents and tenders its sincere goodwill, with feelings and in language respectful and complaisant, it is doubtless proper to allow the Embassy and presents to enter China, and the ship bearing them to proceed to Tientsin."

The Embassy arrived at the mouth of the Peiho on 28th July 1816, and was there met by a Chinese officer of high rank, and two subordinate mandarins who had been

Lord Amherst's despatches to the President of the Board of Control dated 8th Aug. 1816, 12th Feb., 28th Feb., 3rd, 8th, and 22nd March, and 21st April 1817, in Vol. 197 of manuscript China Records at the India Office, and Sir G. T. Staunton's Notes of proceedings and occurrences during the Embassy.

deputed for the purpose. At the exchange of ceremonial visits, however, Quang, the Chinese Legate, assumed precedence of the English Ambassador, a proceeding which augured ill for the success of the negotiations.

The Emperor appears from the outset to have been determined to insist on the performance of the Kotou, and the question was raised even before the Ambassador landed. Lord Amherst said that he was prepared to approach the Emperor in the most respectful manner possible, and this closed the discussion for the time. A hint also was given to the effect that the Emperor wished the number of persons in the Ambassador's suite to be limited to 50; but this point was not pressed; and the Ambassador was permitted to land with a modest guard of 23 marines and a band of musicians, the party numbering 75 in all, without servants.

The Embassy started up the Peiho on the 9th August for Tientsin, their boats carrying flags inscribed, as on the previous occasion, "Ambassadors Bearing Tribute." At Tientsin a second Chinese Legate, Soo by name, met them, and the Ambassador was informed that the Emperor proposed to receive them with even greater honours than had been shown to the former Mission, and that the honour of an Imperial banquet was to be there conferred upon them.

At the entertainment, which followed, endeavours were made to induce the Ambassador to perform the Kotou in front of a yellow screen representing the presence of the Emperor; the Legates, in their anxiety to persuade Lord Amherst to comply, asserting, first, that Lord Macartney had performed the ceremony, and afterwards that the Emperor Kienlung had disapproved of his European homage, although he had accepted it, and that it could not therefore be regarded as a precedent. Lord Amherst, however, declined to do more than bow nine times to the screen, and after much discussion the Chinese gave way. As soon as the entertainment was over, the Legates raised the question again, and inquired in what manner the Ambassador proposed to pay his respects to the Emperor. Further discussion followed, and in the course of it Lord Amherst offered to kneel* three times on one knee, and bow three times on each occasion, if such a modification of the English court ceremonial would be more conformable to Chinese etiquette. The Legates were much dissatisfied, and indulged in gloomy predictions as to the consequences of the Emperor's displeasure, but the Embassy was allowed to proceed on its way. A translation of the Prince Regent's letter to the Emperor was at this time communicated to the Legates; and exception was taken to some words which occurred in it, evidently from fear that the terms of equality upon which it was written, would be resented at Peking. The Ambassador also was informed that the Emperor had issued an order to the effect that the band might be sent back to the ships, but this demand appeared so unreasonable that Lord Amherst did not comply with it. The departure of the English ships from the Peiho was then made the subject of a grievance, and a heated argument took place, the Chinese thinking, or pretending to think, that they had been purposely misled. The Ambassador, explained that it had been intended from the first, to follow the precedent of the former Embassy, and embark for the voyage to England at Canton, and the difficulty was in the end satisfactorily adjusted. The question of the Kotou, however, was vigorously pressed; the Legates urging the necessity of recognising the position of the Emperor as Suzerain of the world, the probability that a refusal to perform the ceremony would result in the failure of the Embassy, the risk of prohibition of the trade between Great Britain and China, and the danger that might be caused to them personally if the ceremony were not performed. Lord Amherst explained that it was impossible for him to compromise the dignity of his own Sovereign; and offered, much as Lord Macartney had done, to prostrate himself if a Chinese officer of equal rank would do the same before a picture of the King of England, or if the Emperor would promise that in the event of his ever sending an Ambassador to England, he would authorise him to perform the ceremony on his reception there. This proposal was at once rejected as wholly inadmissible; and further progress was stayed, until such time as the Emperor's pleasure should be ascertained. On the following day, orders were said to have been received directing that the Embassy should be brought on to Tongcheu, where two mandarins, of higher rank than the Legates, had been specially deputed to see the Kotou performed.

At Tongcheu a deputation from the mandarins in question called on the Ambassador, and informed him in an authoritative manner that the following day had been fixed for the ceremony. Lord Amherst replied curtly that he refused to attend, and the deputation left. The mandarins, one of whom, Ho, was a noble of high

* A person performing the Kotou is required to kneel three times and touch the floor three times with his forehead on each occasion.

rank, and the other, Moo, was President of the Tribunal of Ceremonies, then invited the Ambassador to a conference. The place of meeting was at some distance from the Ambassador's residence, but the only means of conveyance provided were covered carts and horses. Palanquins were first said to be not available, and then it was urged that the Emperor might be displeased if foreigners were allowed to use them so near Peking. Lord Amherst, however, insisted, and palanquins were eventually supplied.

At the conference Ho (who is usually called the Duke in the records of the proceedings) informed the Ambassador that they had been deputed to see him practise the Kotou. Lord Amherst explained the reasons for his refusal to prostrate himself. The Duke replied that the ceremony must be performed; if the Ambassador consented, he would conduct them to Court; if not, he would send them away at once. Lord Amherst then produced a memorial, (which had previously been prepared), appealing to the Emperor himself for orders on the subject, and requested that it might be transmitted. The Duke took the memorial, and the interview ended.

The form of the memorial was then made the subject of discussion. Some verbal alterations were made to meet the wishes of the Chinese, but other alterations which they required, were refused. The strongest opponent of the Kotou was Sir G. Staunton, who had had better opportunities than his colleagues for appreciating the true significance of the ceremony, and the possible consequences of its performance. This fact appears to have come to the knowledge of the Chinese; and an objection was raised to the constitution of the Embassy upon the ground that a man who was engaged in trade was unfit for such an appointment. Sir G. Staunton's knowledge of the Chinese language also was referred to by one of the subordinate mandarins as affording a means for communicating with Chinese traitors; and the guard over the Embassy was doubled with the avowed object of preventing any such correspondence. An impression even was created that Sir G. Staunton might be forcibly separated from the other members of the Embassy; but there hardly appears to have been any sufficient ground for this apprehension. Lord Amherst cut short the attempt to assail his colleague, and addressed a letter to the Duke to inquire what was the Emperor's pleasure in regard to their departure, as it was understood that the memorial to the Emperor on the subject of the ceremony had not been forwarded. On receipt of this letter, Ho invited the Ambassador to another conference, and further discussion ensued. The Duke adopted a more conciliatory tone; and the Ambassador took the opportunity of cautiously sounding him how far the performance of the ceremony would be likely to assist the Embassy to attain its objects, particularly the establishment of a direct channel of communication between the Select Committee of the East India Company at Canton and the Imperial Government at Peking. The Duke replied that he would personally support any such proposal if the Kotou were performed, and that the Emperor would be pleased and gratified by its performance; but he could not definitely say how the proposal would be received. After this interview the question of the ceremony was reconsidered. Lord Amherst and Mr. Ellis were disposed to give way; and the Ambassador informed Sir G. Staunton that they were prepared to yield the point, if, in his opinion, the result would not be detrimental to the interests of the East India Company. Sir George Staunton, however, after consulting the other gentlemen from the Company's factory who were with the Embassy, adhered to his original opinion, and declared against the ceremony. This settled the matter, and a letter was sent by Lord Amherst to the Duke informing him that the question had again been fully considered, and that the Kotou could not be performed; the ceremony, proposed at Tientsin, representing the utmost limit of possible concession.

All hope of any satisfactory arrangement appeared to be at an end; but to the surprise of everybody the Duke called on the Ambassador the same afternoon and informed him it was the Emperor's pleasure that the Embassy should be immediately conducted to Peking, and thence to the summer palace at Yuen Ming Yuen. This announcement was so entirely unexpected that some doubts were felt as to the Duke's sincerity: and Sir G. Staunton, at Lord Amherst's request, reminded him more than once that the Ambassador, although much gratified at the invitation, would only proceed to Court on the distinct understanding that the Kotou would not be insisted upon. The Duke's assurances were somewhat vague; but the Ambassador was given to understand that the question was settled, and that he need not anticipate any difficulty on the score of the ceremony; and one of the two Legates, who were on duty with the mission, subsequently gave a more explicit assurance to this effect. The programme of the ceremonial to be observed at Court was then given to the Rev.

Morrison, who was acting as Interpreter, by one of the subordinate Chinese officials, with a memorandum of the proceedings at the time of Lord Macartney's reception, in which it was distinctly recorded that the Kotou was performed. An intimation at the same time was given to the effect that the Embassy would be received by the Emperor on the 30th August. The programme showed that the Ambassador and his colleagues were to be kept at a distance from the Emperor; and the letter from the Prince Regent was to pass through the hands of two Chinese officers before delivery, instead of being presented direct by the Ambassador to the Emperor, as on the occasion of Lord Macartney's reception by Kienlung.

The Embassy started for Peking from Tongcheu, a distance of 24 miles, at a quarter past 4 p.m. on the 28th August, and reached Peking shortly after midnight on the morning of the 29th. A halt was made at an inn half way, and some indifferent refreshments were provided; and a subordinate Chinese official hinted there that the Ambassador would be received by the Emperor on the morning of his arrival. The hint, however, was unheeded, as the information conveyed appeared to be incredible. At Peking the Englishmen were conducted through the suburbs, outside the city wall, to the road to the summer palace at Yuen Ming Yuen, and a start for the palace was made at once. The house prepared for their reception was on the Peking side of the palace: but they were taken straight to the palace, and arrived there at 4.30 or 5 a.m. On alighting, the Ambassador was informed by one of the subordinate officials in attendance on the Embassy, that the Emperor had changed the date fixed for the reception, and that the Duke was now waiting to conduct him to the Emperor's presence. Lord Amherst expressed his extreme surprise and annoyance at the manner in which they had been treated, and objected strongly to appear before the Emperor in the condition he then was, fatigued and indisposed, in his travelling dress, without the insignia of his office, and without the Prince Regent's letter to the Emperor. He however declared himself willing to submit to the Emperor's pleasure, but requested that the facts might be communicated to him, and that he might be moved to postpone the audience until the following day. The Duke and his colleague, Moo, then came and pressed the Ambassador to consent, the Duke even grasping Lord Amherst's arm with the apparent intention of leading him into the Emperor's presence, and giving him a verbal assurance that the ceremony, which he had agreed to, was all that would be necessary. Lord Amherst, however, was firm; pushed the Duke away, and refused to move until his message had been conveyed to the Emperor and His Majesty's pleasure ascertained. The bearing of the mandarins at this time was so violent and dictatorial that some apprehension of force being used was felt by the gentlemen present. The Duke left, and in a short time returned with a civil message from the Emperor to say that he would receive the Embassy on the following day, and would in the meantime send his own physician to attend on the Ambassador.

The Ambassador and his companions were then conducted back $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the road by which they had come, to the house prepared for their accommodation. Between 8 and 9 in the morning the Court physician arrived to see Lord Amherst, who informed him that his indisposition was merely due to the hurry and fatigue of the journey, and that he already felt relieved. Seeing that there was no need of his services the physician departed, and his report of the interview appears to have incensed the Emperor, who peremptorily ordered that the whole Embassy should be instantly conveyed back to Tongcheu. Accordingly, after a few hours' rest, the party started on their return journey; and again travelling all night, reached Tongcheu at 6 a.m. on the 30th August, the date originally fixed for their reception.

Late in the evening the two Legates visited the Ambassador and suggested, by the Emperor's orders, a partial exchange of presents. Lord Amherst, while expressing his indignation at the treatment they had received, agreed readily to this proposal, as it appeared to indicate a change in the feelings of the Emperor, and a desire to maintain unimpaired the amity existing between the two nations. The portraits of the King and Queen, a case of maps, and a collection of prints and drawings were selected by the Legates, and three articles—a white agate sceptre, a string of sapphire beads, and a box of embroidered purses—were presented, in return, for the Prince Regent.

The Prince Regent's letter was not delivered, and it seems probable that the proposal for an exchange of presents was due as much to a desire on the part of the Chinese to secure the payment of tribute as to any anxiety for the future maintenance of friendly relations.

* Lord Amherst, in his Despatch to the President of the Board of Control, dated 22nd March 1817, says, that this programme was received some days after the Embassy had left Peking for Canton. In the above account I have followed Sir George Staunton's version of the matter, which seems *prima facie* to be more probable.

The members of the Embassy began the descent of the Peiho on the 2nd September, and reached Canton on 1st January. They were, on the whole, well treated throughout the journey, an edict issued by the Emperor directing that they should be treated with civility and attention, and that the troops should be drawn out regularly, and military honours shown so as "to excite at once fear and gratitude." At Canton, at a public State conference between the Ambassador and his colleagues and the Governor of Canton and other Chinese officers, a letter from the Emperor to the Prince Regent, was delivered by the Governor of Canton, and this function closed the proceedings.

No business was transacted or even discussed, except in an informal manner, on the occasion of the last conference at Tongcheu between the Ambassador and the Duke and Moo on the subject of the Kotou, and no reference was made by the Chinese to the proceedings of the Doris, or to the war in Nepal. The Emperor's letter explained the reasons for the dismissal of the Embassy from the Chinese standpoint, and informed the Prince Regent that it would be sufficient, in future, to pour out his heart in dutiful obedience, and that there was no necessity for him to send another Ambassador to China. The letter, which is a singular mixture of arrogance, plausibility, and mendacity, is published below in full :—

Translation of a letter from the Emperor of China to H.R.H. the Prince Regent: received Jan. 7th, 1817; in Vol. 197 of manuscript China records at the India Office.

The Supreme Potentate, who has received from Heaven and revolving nature (the government of the world) issues an Imperial Mandate to the King of England, with which let him be thoroughly acquainted.

Your country, situated remotely beyond a vast ocean, tenders an offering of devotedness, and turns with ardent affection to the transforming influences* (which emanate from this land). Formerly, in the 58th year of Keen-Lung, when the reign of the exalted, the honourable, and the immaculate Emperor approached its close, you sent an Ambassador across the seas to our palace. At that time your Ambassador with veneration and respect performed the ceremony without excess or defect, and in the observance in the forms of decorum, he was enabled to look up and receive (Imperial) favour and affection; to see His Majesty; to be entertained at a banquet; and to have gifts, numerous and elegant, conferred upon him.

This year, you O King, again sent an Ambassador to present a written representation, and who was provided with the productions of (your) territory to introduce (to me).

I, the Emperor, considering that you, O King, were truly sincere in feelings of respect and obedience was exceedingly pleased; caused forthwith former records to be examined; and regularly enjoined a great number of officers to wait for your Ambassador, that on the day of his arrival he might respectfully see the Imperial person, and be entertained with a banquet, in all things exactly according to the ceremonies of the preceding reign.

Your Ambassador began to hold intercourse at Teen-tsin. I appointed officers to be there to confer an Imperial banquet. Behold! when your Ambassador was to return thanks for the banquet, he would not be obedient to the prescribed ceremonies.

I, the Emperor, in reference to a petty officer of State, from a remote country, did not deem forms and ceremonies of great worth; it was a matter in which indulgence and compassionate forbearance might be shown and therefore especially ordered great officers of State to be accommodating with your Ambassador, and when he arrived at Peking, to tell him that in the 58th year of Keen-Lung, your ambassador, in performing the ceremony, completely (or always) knelt and bowed the head to the ground, according to the stated forms; upon this occasion, how could a change be admitted?

Your Ambassador told my great officers, face to face, that when the time came he would obey, and would perform the kneeling and bowing the head to the ground; that no excess or falling short of the established forms should occur.

My great officers, in conformity to and in reliance upon this declaration, reported it to me, and I sent down my pleasure that on the 7th day of the 7th moon, your Ambassador should be ordered to see the Imperial person; that on the 8th, in the great hall of light and splendour, a banquet should be conferred, and rewards bestowed; and again, that in the garden of mutual pleasure, food should be conferred; that on the 9th, leave should be taken, and on the same day, it should be granted, to ramble amongst the hills of ten thousand ages; that on the 11th, at the gate of great concord, rewards should be conferred, after which (he) should repair to the board of rites to a banquet; and that on the 12th, he should be sent to proceed on his journey. The day of performing the ceremony and the etiquette to be observed, my great officers all previously stated to your Ambassador.

On the 7th, the appointed time for your Ambassador to see the the Imperial person, he had arrived at the Palace, and I, the Emperor, was about to enter the hall of audience. The Ambassador suddenly affirmed that he was exceedingly ill, and could not move a step. I thought it a possible case that the Ambassador was taken suddenly ill, and therefore ordered the Assistant Ambassador to enter and see me; but both the Assistant Ambassadors also affirmed they were ill. This was rudeness which was never exceeded. I did not inflict severe chastisement, but sent them away the same day with an order to return to their country.

As your Ambassador did not see the Imperial person, it was also inexpedient to send in the written representation brought from you, O King. It is in the state it was, carried back by your Ambassador. It is considered that you, O King, from the distance of several times ten thousand lee, respectfully presented a written representation, and duly offered up presents; that your Ambassador's inability to communicate in your behalf, with profound veneration and sincere devotedness, is his fault. The disposition of profound respect and obedience felt by you, O King, I indeed really perceive. I took from amongst the articles of tribute only maps, landscape prints, and portraits, and highly commend your feeling of sincere devotedness just the same as if I had received them all. There were conferred upon you, O King, a white corundum Joo-ee (an emblem of prosperity); a string of Court beads; two large purses and eight small ones, to manifest tender and indulgent treatment.

* It is maintained that the principles of right reason, and social order were first and best understood in China, which is supposed to be situated in the middle of the earth. The tribes and nations which occupy the extremities of the world turn to China as the centre of civilization.

Your country is distant from the central and flourishing Empire (China) too remotely. To send an Ambassador such a distance over the waves of the sea is not an easy business. Further, your Ambassador cannot understand and practise the rites and ceremonies of China. The subject involves a severe labour of the lips and tongue, to hear which is by no means pleasant. The Celestial Empire does not value things brought from a distance. All the extraordinary and ingenious productions of your country, also, it does not look upon as rare pearls.

That you, O King, should preserve your people in peace, and be attentive to strengthen the limits of your territory, that no separation of that which is distant from that which is near, should take place, is what I, the Emperor, in truth highly commend.

Hereafter there is no occasion for you to send an Ambassador so far, and to be at the trouble of passing over mountains and crossing seas. If you can but pour out the heart in dutiful obedience, it is not necessary at stated times to come to Court, ere it be pronounced that you turn towards the transforming influences which emanate from this land. This Imperial Mandate is now given, that you may for ever obey it.

Kea-King, 21st year, 7th moon, 20th day. (September 11th, 1816.)

The failure of the Mission may have been partly due to the influence at Court of the Governor of Canton, who had shown himself to be hostile to the English, and who had naturally a strong object in preventing direct communication between the supra-cargoes and the Government at Pekin; but the principal cause was the arrogance* of the Emperor Kea-King and his advisers. It is probably true, also, as stated by the Legates at Tientsin, that the reception of Lord Macartney by Kienlung, without performance of the Kotou, had been resented at the time, and Kea-King and his advisers were determined to tame the English pride.

The edicts on the subject show that the Chinese Government thought it advisable to give a somewhat different version of the occurrence at Pekin from that furnished to the authorities at Canton, whose sympathies were known to be anti-English. They appear also to show that the Emperor had not at any time agreed to dispense with the Kotou ceremony, and that the assurances given by Ho and the Legate to that effect were without foundation.

In an edict, published at Pekin on 4th September 1816, the Chinese legates Soo and Quang were censured for conveying the Ambassadors further north, after they had refused to perform the Kotou on the occasion of the Tientsin banquet. The Duke and his colleague Moo were censured, first for conducting the Ambassadors to Court, although they had not practised the ceremony, and secondly, for not explaining that the absence of their Court dresses was the true reason for their inability to appear before the Emperor at the time fixed for their reception; and the dismissal of the Embassy was ascribed to their mistakes and mismanagement. All the Ministers of State, also, who were present on the occasion were blamed for not making a true report of the circumstances to the Emperor, and soliciting him to alter the date fixed for the reception of the Embassy. "The affair," ran the edict, in which Ho has "erred, is in itself a small one; yet even in this, the officers of the Court were destitute of any expedient for the service of their country."

A subsequent edict, published at Pekin on 25th October, gave a similar version of the occurrence; but in an edict dated 25th September, which was addressed to the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton, the dismissal of the Embassy was ascribed entirely to the failure of the Ambassador and his colleagues to perform the Kotou, and to their refusal, under the pretext of illness, to appear before the Emperor at the time fixed. The Governor also was directed to invite the Ambassadors to a conference and to take leave of them in a somewhat discourteous speech. "Your good fortune," he was to say, "has been small. You arrived at the gates of the Imperial house and were "unable to lift your eyes to the face of heaven," &c., &c.

The speech, however, was not made; and Lord Amherst appears to have been treated with much more respect at Canton than at Pekin. As he wrote himself, he had at Canton for "the first time, an opportunity of assuming to its fullest extent the "character and public appearance of His Majesty's Ambassador."

Lord Amherst and Mr. Ellis left Canton on the 28th January 1817 in H.M.S. "Alceste"; and Sir George Staunton resumed his appointment as President of the Select Committee at Canton.

The Chinese officers who had been connected with the Embassy were visited, in accordance with the usual Chinese practice, with the Emperor's displeasure for their supposed mismanagement of the business. Ho, as Lord Amherst reported, was sentenced

Despatch dated
21st April 1817.

* The following is said by Sir John Davis to be an accurate translation of the fundamental maxim of Chinese intercourse with foreigners: "The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same "principles as citizens. Were anyone to attempt controlling them by the great maxims of reason, it would "tend to nothing but confusion. The ancient Kings well understood this, and accordingly ruled barbarians "by misrule. Therefore, to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and the best way of ruling them."

to forfeit the sum allowed him as Duke for five years; Moo, his colleague, who was an old man, was dismissed altogether, and the two Legates, also, were punished and degraded.

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors in App. II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

In the meantime, while the Embassy was on its way across China, serious difficulties arose at Canton in consequence of the hostility of the Governor towards the English. The "General Hewitt," a merchant ship belonging to the East India Company, which brought the presents for the Emperor to the Peiho, returned to Canton for a cargo of tea. The Chinese objected to her entering the port, surrounded her with guard boats as she lay at the second bar above the Bocca Tigris, and raised the question whether she could with propriety receive a cargo. The Select Committee acted with vigour, if not with violence. The captain was ordered to bring his ship up the river, and to open fire, if his passage was obstructed and the ship fired at by the Chinese. No opposition, however, was offered, and the ship was anchored at Whampoa. Addresses to the Governor and the Superintendent of Customs on the subject of these proceedings were returned by the Hong merchants unopened, a measure which the Committee characterised as a violation of the agreement of 1814; and the Committee then sent a deputation with an address into the city, and delivered it to a mandarin at the gate of the Governor's palace. This led to the seizure, confinement, and torture of the Company's compradore (purveyor), with the object of extracting from him information as to the native, who had shown the way to the Governor's house. One of the Company's linguists also was seized and imprisoned.

An edict from the Emperor, received by the Select Committee on the 8th November, granted the cargo required; but difficulties were raised by the Governor in regard to the shipment of the returned presents, and the question was still under discussion, when H.M.S. "Alceste" and "Lyra" arrived at the port of Canton to convey the Ambassador and his suite back to England.

The ships anchored at Lintin on 2nd November, and the "Alceste" was there visited by a mandarin, who said that he had been deputed by the Governor. Captain Maxwell, the commander, expressed to him a wish to pass the Bocca Tigris and enter the port, as had been done by H.M.S. "Lion" on the occasion of Lord Macartney's mission. Fair promises were given, but the communication produced no result; and after a few days a second mandarin appeared and declared that the first mandarin had received no authority from the Governor to act in the manner he had done. Captain Maxwell then required proof of the authority by which he had visited the ship, and the mandarin promised to bring back a communication from Canton in five days. Six days passed, but he failed to return; and Captain Maxwell moved up the river in the "Alceste" as far as Chuenpee below the Bocca Tigris. A flotilla of Chinese junks there attempted to stop his passage; and after first firing blank cartridge, a salute which was returned in kind by the "Alceste," the Chinese opened fire with ball. One shot from the "Alceste," however, silenced the fire, and, the wind failing, the "Alceste" came to anchor below the forts. In the evening, when the wind admitted, the "Alceste" weighed anchor and proceeded up the river. Fire was at once opened from the forts, and the "Alceste" was struck; and Captain Maxwell determined to retaliate. A broadside at close range silenced all the forts on one side of the river; and the "Alceste" then went on her way to Canton without molestation. As soon as the passage had been forced, an edict was published in the city, granting permission to the frigate to enter the river, as a special concession on the occasion. The firing at the mouth of the river was said to be a salute.

The "Lyra," which followed the "Alceste" after a few days, passed up the river without molestation.

The Company's compradore and linguist were released at the beginning of December, but the Governor's hostility to the English was not abated. The Police Magistrate was privately ordered to seize several natives in the service of the supracargoes, and although this order was not executed, the loading of the "Hewitt" formed the subject of further protracted discussion. The Committee, however, were firm; and the presence of the ships of war gave weight to their representations. The "Hewitt," therefore, was eventually allowed to receive her full cargo, on the understanding that she should be detained until the Ambassador's arrival, in order that the returned presents might be shipped in her, if he should so desire; and the discussion was in this way brought to a close.

The ill-feeling, generated by these disputes, did not pass away for some time. In March 1817, the Company's press at Macao, which had been established for the

printing of a Chinese Dictionary, compiled by the Rev. Dr. Morrison,* was entered by a number of armed Chinese in the service of the police, without permission from the Select Committee, and without, apparently, any previous intimation. The proceeding justified a protest, but the Committee were unnecessarily indignant, and submitted an intemperate remonstrance, threatening that the invasion of houses under their control would in future be repelled by force.

The pretensions of the Chinese to universal sovereignty excited, apparently, more amusement than indignation in Great Britain, and the Emperor's vagaries were accepted with equanimity. The Embassy had been despatched at the expense of the East India Company, and its rejection was evidently regarded more as a commercial rebuff than as a national affront. The treatment which the Ambassador had received, however, effectually precluded any further attempts to negotiate with the Chinese Government; and was in this way an indirect cause of the war that followed the withdrawal of the Company's monopoly of the China trade.

The Court of Directors had, at the time of Lord Amherst's departure from England been disposed to take a high tone; and in a letter to him regarding the causes, which had led to the despatch of the Mission, and the objects, which were to be sought by negotiation, they discussed the reasons which the Chinese might have, for avoiding any continuance of harsh and oppressive measures. "The Chinese," they wrote, "would probably not carry their estimate of British magnanimity so far as to expect that if they were by violence to shut us out from their trade or by a series of oppressive and vexatious proceedings to force us to abandon it, we should remain perfectly passive under the great losses and privations that must thus ensue; and they cannot but be aware that nothing would be more easy for us than to take possession of their valuable islands to the eastward, particularly Formosa and Luckieu, which would enable us to intercept the whole of their Asiatic maritime trade, and to carry terror to the neighbourhood of Peking itself. Justice forbids, and we trust ever will forbid, that such speculation should be really entertained in this nation. Their withdrawing from us the liberty of trading in their country could never be a legitimate cause of hostility against them; but the Chinese Government, if they were in an unfriendly inhospitable spirit, by inequitable conduct to force to a close a pacific intercourse, which has subsisted so long, and in which this country has embarked so great a capital, could hardly fail, reasoning on their principles, to advert to the means we should possess of resenting such harsh and injurious proceedings."

Letter from the Court of Directors to Lord Amherst, dated 17th Jan. 1816, in Vol. 196 of manuscript China Records at the India Office.

The result of the Mission, however, convinced them that nothing was to be gained from Peking by negotiation or remonstrance; and as the British Government had no intention of making the treatment of the Embassy and the state of the trade relations a *casus belli*, they were obliged to adopt a policy of conciliation and submission. The China trade produced the profits which enabled them to pay their dividends, and afforded also the means by which Indian remittances were made to England, and they were determined to maintain it at all hazards.

On receiving, therefore, the news of the dismissal of the Ambassador, and of the discussions, in which they had been involved with the Chinese, regarding the "General Hewitt," with an account of the measures taken by the "Alceste" to force a passage into the Canton River, the Directors wrote at once to inform the Select Committee that without expressing any opinion on the merits of the Canton disputes, they were decidedly of opinion that, whatever measures the Chinese authorities might adopt, either in regard to the trade or the Company's servants, or in regard to the ships and officers of His Majesty's navy, it was their duty to "adopt a system of moderation and conciliation in all their intercourse," so as to preserve, if possible, "to the Nation in general, and to the East India Company in particular, the continuance of the highly beneficial commerce between the English and the Chinese."

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Select Committee at Canton, dated 12th March 1817, in Vol. 196 of manuscript China Records at the India Office.

They had, they said, spared neither trouble nor expense in an attempt to rectify the evils of which the Committee had complained; and as any opposition, which the Committee could offer to measures taken by the authorities, was not likely to be more successful than the attempted intervention of the British Government with the Court at Peking, they must in future confine themselves to remonstrance against any unjust or arbitrary proceedings, and avoid any opposition, which might have the effect of endangering the trade, until the Directors should have had an opportunity of carefully considering and passing orders on the subject.

The Committee also were expressly instructed not to concern themselves with questions regarding the honour of the nation. "If," as they wrote, "this is the just and expedient course for you to pursue, when the interests of the Company are at

* Dr. Morrison was the first Protestant missionary to China. He arrived at Canton in 1807.

“ issue, it must be much more so in all cases in which the interests or honour of His Majesty’s flag are concerned, because in cases of that kind, the judgment and decision must depend, in the first instance, on His Majesty’s officers in China, and ultimately on His Majesty’s Ministers in London.

“ Upon the whole, therefore, we have thought it right to take this opportunity to enjoin the most scrupulous attention to a line of proceeding with the Chinese authorities, which shall evince a moderate and conciliatory temper; that whatever course events may take, our servants at least shall stand acquitted to us and to the country of being the cause of any measures, which in the end may put to hazard the very beneficial and important trade which has been carried on with China for so many years.”

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Canton Committee dated 7th April 1818, in Vol. 196 of manuscript China Records at the India Office.

Similar instructions were given in a subsequent letter, written when the Directors were in full possession of the facts which had led to the failure of the Embassy and to the discussions with the Canton Authorities. The tone of the address submitted to the Governor, in regard to the entry of the printing house at Macao, was condemned; and the Committee were ordered to abstain in future from harsh and violent language, and to study, by the moderation and discretion of their conduct, to avoid under all circumstances such disputes or disagreements with the Authorities as tended to produce that hostility of feeling, which had led on several occasions to an interruption of commercial intercourse. “ The measure of stopping the trade,” wrote the Directors, “ cannot be resorted to by our representatives without the most serious inconvenience; and although that measure hitherto may have produced all the benefits expected from it, its repetition may possibly not merely weaken, but destroy its force altogether. It is indeed a measure so pregnant with difficulty and danger to our service, that nothing but the most imperious and urgent necessity can justify a recourse to it.”

They added, however, that they were not inclined to abandon the immunities and privileges hitherto enjoyed, and that they did not believe the interests of commerce would be preserved by “ servile and abject submission ” any more than by “ the use of strong and threatening language.”

Edict by Commissioner Lin to the Hong merchants, dated 18th March 1839; pages 352-355 of the Correspondence relating to China presented to Parliament in 1840.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 8th Dec. 1817, in App. 11 to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons dated 11th Oct. 1831; and letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors dated July 25th 1819, written in a reply to a letter from the Court dated 8th May 1818, in Vol. 272 of manuscript China Records at the India Office.

The opium trade appears at this time to have attracted the serious notice of the Chinese Government, and in 1816 an Imperial edict was issued holding the Hong merchants personally responsible for enforcing the prohibition against it, and for expelling from the port of Canton, any vessel which was found to have brought opium as part of the cargo. In 1817 an American ship, laden with opium and dollars, was attacked by robbers in the Macao Roads, and several seamen were killed and the cargo was plundered. The Chinese Government, on the representation of the United States Consul and the Select Committee of the East India Company, took strong measures against the robbers. A number of them were arrested and a considerable part of the booty was recovered, and three of the robbers were tried and executed at Canton. The money recovered was restored, but the opium was confiscated as contraband; and the captain of the ship was reprimanded by the City Governor for trading in a contraband article. The senior Hong merchant, also, who was known to be largely interested in the American trade, was made personally responsible, and was fined 150,000 dollars, though he had not given security for the ship.

The Hong merchants, to protect themselves and satisfy the authorities, proposed that the captain of each ship trading to China should be required to execute a bond containing an engagement not to trade in opium; and the captains applied to the Select Committee of the East India Company for advice. The Committee considered that this would be an objectionable interference with commerce, and issued orders “ forbidding the signature of any such instrument ”; and the project, after some correspondence between the merchants and the Committee, was abandoned for the time. In writing to the Court of Directors, the Committee defended their action in forbidding the execution of bonds on the ground that the opium trade was established by custom, and as custom was invariably relied on by the Chinese as the guiding principle of commercial relations, it was right that they should themselves be bound by it. “ Nations in general,” they wrote, “ must be admitted to possess the right of regulating their commerce according to their separate views of policy; but China forms an exception to civilized countries where trade is regulated by treaties, (and) foreigners have equally with natives the protection of the laws. When custom is invariably referred to by one party as the rule of action, it is but equitable that the advantages of that test should be reciprocal.”

The seizure, however, soon after, of a quantity of sycee or native silver, again brought the question to the front; and threats of the intention of the Government to search all ships in the river caused the commanders of the Indian ships to appeal once more to the Select Committee. The Committee resolved to support the Indian traders, and

oppose the search, if attempted; and the Captain of H.M.S. "Orlando" was invited to anchor at Chuenpee, and to proceed, if events should so require, up the Canton river to Whampoa. The advisability of the annual visit to China of a ship or ships of war was also suggested about the same time to the Admiral on the Indian station. No search, however, was made, owing, as the Committee supposed, to the publicity of the resolution, which they had formed, to resist it.

The action of the Committee on this occasion, whatever may have been their intention, had the effect of implicating the Company in the opium trade, and in the smuggling of sycee silver, to which it gave rise; and the application made for assistance to the Captain of the "Orlando" gave particular umbrage to the Court of Directors. The monopoly of the China trade was more valuable to the Company than the Indian opium revenue, and the Directors had no intention of allowing the trade in opium, carried on by private merchants, to interfere with their commercial dealings at Canton, or involve them in discussions with the Government. The Committee, as they pointed out, had no very definite information as to the intentions of the Chinese in regard to the search of vessels in the port; and the demand made by the Hong merchants for the execution of bonds was, they considered, not unreasonable, as the merchants were held responsible for smuggling from any ship for which they had given security. The Committee therefore were formally censured, and were ordered to permit the execution of bonds rather than engage in any discussion with the authorities upon the question; and were directed also to abstain in future from making the captains of the King's ships parties to any dispute in which they might become involved, and to interfere no further in differences between the commanders of Indian ships and the Chinese than to offer either remonstrance or recommendation.

The Committee, in July 1819, made an attempt to justify their proceedings, and show that they had acted in the interest of commerce generally, and had no desire to support the illegal traffic in opium or sycee silver; but the facts were unquestionably against them. Some remarks, which they made on the subject of the opium trade, and the probable result of the concession of the right of search of foreign vessels, are, however, worthy of reproduction. "We must consider, at the same time," they wrote, "that the officers of Government are never sincere in their declared intentions of suppressing illicit traffic, more particularly the trade in opium, as it has ever been one of the most fruitful sources of their emolument, and considered one of the principal advantages of their situations. While it remains notorious that the Imperial edicts for the prevention of this trade are annually issued by them with one hand while large bribes are received by the other, it can never be imagined that any new regulations are framed with a view to the injury and suppression of such a trade, or that they, for a moment, consider the moral habits and welfare of the people when weighed in the scale with their own interest and advantage. Restraints imposed upon foreign trade are seldom with a view to the promotion of good order, but almost invariably from a desire to swell the profits and exactions of the officers of Government; and they are well aware that the more severe and vexatious such impositions are, the more likely they are to be evaded, thus affording them additional opportunity of levying fines upon the merchants or others, who may be considered responsible for the transgression. We cannot, therefore, but consider that under a Government constituted as this is, for ever professing the most unbounded principles of benevolence and justice, which only serve to form a contrast to the glaring corruption of its administration, were any undue control to be afforded it over British property, the most dangerous results must be expected, and that, if the right of search were once conceded, such concession could not fail to be attended with permanent and irretrievable injury to the general commerce carried on with this country."

The letter shows also that up to this time the Chinese authorities had made no attempt to enforce against foreigners the penal provisions of their regulations prohibiting the import of opium. "By the Chinese law," wrote the Committee, "a native vessel is at all times liable to be searched; and, if convicted of being engaged in a smuggling transaction, is condemned to be burnt. Were foreign ships then to come under the operation of the same law, it would be impossible to say with any degree of certainty that they might not be subjected to the same penalty." The Chinese, for some reason, were unwilling to legislate for foreigners, or to exercise jurisdiction over them in any matter, except* in cases of homicide; but the immunity, which the foreigners

* An Imperial edict issued in 1808, in regard to the trial of the seaman Edward Sheen laid this down very clearly. "In all cases of offences," it was said, "by contrivance, design, or in affrays happening between foreigners and natives, whereby such foreigners are liable, according to law, to suffer death by being strangled

enjoyed from the operation of the law against opium, may have been partly due to a conviction, on the part of the Government, of the serious difficulties which any attempt to enforce the law against them would be likely to create.

Auber's China.

In June 1820, two of the Company's supra-cargoes were assaulted by some Chinese at Macao, and one of them was severely wounded. The Macao magistrate, however, granted immediate redress. The offenders were arrested and beaten, and compelled to wear the cangue or wooden collar for a month; and the Committee accepted the measures taken as sufficient.

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 7th and 29th Dec. 1820, in Appendix II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

On 27th November of the same year, however, a case of homicide occurred, which at one time threatened serious embarrassment to the Company's trade.

A watering party from the Company's ship "London," was assailed by the Chinese at Whampoa, apparently without provocation, with stones, and abusive language. Mr. Pigott, the fifth officer, who was in command of the party, fired from the boat a musket loaded at first with peas, and afterwards with ball. Three boys were slightly wounded by the first shot, and a man was killed by the second. The shots were apparently fired at random, and though Mr. Pigott's conduct was reprehensible, it does not appear that he intended to do more than frighten their assailants. The Chinese lodged a complaint with the authorities; and the Select Committee, recognising the difficulties of the position, attempted to effect an amicable adjustment of the case. "The delay," they wrote to the Court of Directors, "that thus occurred before we were made acquainted with the circumstance, and the advanced progress the affair had arrived at in the knowledge of the officers of Government, rendered it difficult, if not impossible, to silence its further progress by pecuniary bribes, but we lost no time in trying their efficacy, and succeeded so far with the family of the deceased Chinese in quieting the expression of their feelings and neutralising their evidence, as to make it appear this unfortunate occurrence was wholly accidental."

The authorities, however, acted with energy. An inquest was held on the 1st December, and on the 2nd December an edict was issued by the Governor directing that measures should instantly be taken for the investigation of the case, and for the apprehension of the offender by the English chief. Another edict followed almost immediately, referring to the wounding of the boys, and informing the "English chief" that the "London" would not be allowed to unload her cargo, until the offending persons were delivered over for trial and judgment. Mr. Pigott absconded, and while the Committee were anxiously considering what reply should be given, an incident occurred which brought the proceedings to an unexpected conclusion. The story had better be told in the Committee's own words:—"An express reached Canton late on the night of the 3rd instant, informing the President that on that day, shortly after an officer and party were on board the 'Duke of York' charged with our orders to search after and detain Mr. Pigott, the butcher of that ship had suddenly cut his throat with a razor, and instantly expired. The first idea that suggested itself to the officers at Whampoa was to carry the corpse of the unfortunate man to the "London" and affirm that it was the remains of the fifth officer of that ship. It was finally, however, arranged that no measure should be taken without our previous knowledge."

"We determined upon ordering that the body should not be removed from the 'Duke of York;' for great as the temptation was to avail ourselves of this most singular and remarkable coincidence to delude the Chinese Government with the idea that the person, who had thus committed suicide, was actually one of the persons in the 'London's' boat on the 27th ultimo, and that he had been induced to commit violence upon himself from the dread of his impending fate and a sense of deep remorse at the unfortunate events of that day, we did not conceive it would be consistent either with our own feelings, or the character necessary to be maintained by the representatives of the British Nation in this country, to affirm in writing a statement not founded in truth."

"As, however, the Chinese Government might choose to avail themselves of such a subterfuge (and we were informed the Viceroy would gladly embrace it), we con-

"or beheaded, the magistrate of the district shall receive proofs . . . and report the result to the Viceroy and Sub-Viceroy, who are thereupon strictly to repeat and revise the investigation. If the determination of the inferior courts, upon the alleged facts, and upon the application of the laws, is found to have been just and accurate, the magistrate of the district shall lastly receive orders to proceed, in conjunction with the chief of the nation, to take the offender to execution, according to his sentence."

"In all other instances of offences committed under what the laws declare to be palliating circumstances, and which are, therefore, not capitally punishable, the offender shall be sent away to be punished by his countrymen in his own country."—Staunton's Notices relating to China.

“sidered it our duty, under the embarrassments we might otherwise be placed in, to facilitate rather than impede an inference to be drawn from the above circumstances, which might enable them to satisfy the forms of justice.

“We, accordingly, on the 4th instant, addressed a short note to the merchants, the substance of which, at their request, on the following date we embodied in an address to the Viceroy, copy of which we have the honour to enclose, and which we trust will meet with the approbation of your honourable Committee. The result of the letter we thus addressed to his Excellency, was an order from him to the Quang-chow-foo (City Governor) and two mandarins of rank to proceed with the merchants to Whampoa to investigate the causes which led to the suicide of the butcher, and to investigate the boat’s crew of the ‘London.’ On the 6th instant the above-named officers of Government proceeded on board the ‘Duke of York’ on duty, and having examined the corpse of the butcher, and satisfied themselves that he had put a period to his existence, they summoned the six seamen who were in the ‘London’s’ boat on the 27th ultimo before them, for the purpose of obtaining their evidence as to the facts of the occurrences of that day. This evidence, with a statement of all that took place on board the ‘Duke of York,’ before the mandarins, is fully detailed in our records which will be forwarded.

“Referring your honourable Committee to these records, we shall refrain in the present dispatch from entering more fully into the evidence, further than to state that, as expected, it was entirely fabricated for the occasion, and having been corroborated by the six seamen, and the friends of the deceased Chinese having satisfied the forms of justice, the mandarins left the ship.

“Thus has the honourable Company’s trade been relieved from serious embarrassments. Although we cannot, strictly speaking, justify the means adopted to bring about this favourable issue, we trust with the knowledge we possessed of the Chinese officers of Government being willing to lend themselves to the deception, that we shall not incur the disapprobation of your honourable Committee for countenancing an expedient, which has thus speedily brought about a termination of the difficulties which threatened the honourable Company’s interests in this port.”

The conduct of the Select Committee cannot be defended, and the report of their proceedings was received by the Directors with qualified satisfaction. The result of the settlement arrived at was admitted to be advantageous, but the complicity of the Select Committee in the subterfuge was condemned; and the “advantages which must invariably be derived from a strict and invariable adherence to the truth, as the foundation of all moral obligations, were declared to be paramount.” It is clear, however, that the Chinese authorities were glad of the excuse to pretend that the law had been complied with, and to thereby evade the necessity for measures which would have caused them much trouble and loss. A military graduate and others who attempted, after the conclusion of the proceedings, to induce the father of the deceased to declare himself dissatisfied with the result, were ordered to be prosecuted with rigour as excitors to litigation.

Anber’s China.

The case also of Francis Terranova, a Sicilian sailor, which occurred in the following year, shows what would have been Mr. Pigott’s fate if he had been surrendered to the Chinese. Terranova, who was employed on an American ship at Canton, caused the death of a native woman. His surrender was demanded, and was at first refused by the American Consul. The American trade was stopped; and the Chinese security merchant was arrested and confined. Negotiations followed; and the Americans agreed to an inquiry on the ship by a Chinese officer. At the inquiry Terranova was found guilty, and eventually the Americans yielded and surrendered him, the Chinese giving an assurance that his life was in no danger.

Remarks on a recent dispute between the Americans and the Chinese, by Sir G. Staunton. (Notices relating to China.) China, by Sir J. Davis. The Middle Kingdom, by Williams.

He was, however, tried, found guilty, and strangled the next day; his offence, according to the judgment of the Chinese Provincial Judge, being that he had, in the course of an altercation with a woman selling fruit, thrown an earthen jar at her, which struck her on the head and caused her to fall out of the boat into the water, where she was drowned. No foreigner was allowed to be present at the trial, but Terranova appears to have denied that he threw the jar at the woman; and it seems certain from the facts, as stated by the Chinese judge, that he had not the least intention of causing the woman’s death. The Chinese law, however, required a life for a life; and submission to such a law, apart from the extreme danger which existed of injustice in its execution, was naturally felt to be intolerable.

An edict, issued by the Governor on 28th October 1821, after the execution of Terranova, declared that as the American chief had on the whole behaved respectfully

and submissively, it was "proper to permit the trade to be again opened, and cargo to be taken up and down, in order to manifest our compassion."

The American Government took no notice of this affair, and made no protest against its injustice.

The measures taken by the Select Committee in Mr. Pigott's case show clearly how desirous they were to conform to the pacific policy enjoined upon them by the Court of Directors in 1817-18, and to avoid as far as possible any cause of offence, that might lead to the interruption of the trade.

Letters regarding the stoppage of the Company's trade, in consequence of some Chinese being killed by seamen of H.M.S. "Topaze," 1822-7 in Appendix II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 11th Oct. 1831; and edited by the Governor of Canton to the Hong merchants dated 10th March 1822, in manuscript China Records at the India Office.

Shortly after the execution of Terranova, however, they were involved in a serious dispute with the Chinese in regard to an affray, which occurred at Lintin in December 1821, between some sailors belonging to His Majesty's ship "Topaze" and a party of Chinese. The Chinese on this occasion appear to have assaulted a watering party, without any provocation other than that afforded by the destruction, by order of the officer in command, of liquor which had been buried in the sand for the seamen's consumption. The attack was made in force; and the first lieutenant of the "Topaze" was obliged to open fire from the ship, and land an armed party to assist the men on shore. A collision took place and two Chinese were killed and several wounded; and 14 seamen also were badly hurt. According to the Chinese account of the occurrence, "the foreigners went clandestinely to Lintin Hill, where they took water and plucked and ate the foreign potatoes, and wrangled and fought with the natives."

Captain Richardson, who was in command of the "Topaze," submitted a report of the occurrence to the Governor of Canton, and called upon him to punish the offenders. The Governor, however, declined to communicate with him except through the medium of the Hong merchants and the Select Committee; and Captain Richardson refused to accede to a suggestion made by the Hong merchants to the effect that the wounded men should be sent on shore for examination. The Chinese at Lintin also lodged complaints; and the Governor, hearing that two Chinese had been killed, immediately suspended the Company's trade, and required the surrender of the guilty persons. The Committee represented that it was impossible for them to control the King's ships, which were entirely independent of their authority; but the Governor insisted on holding them responsible, and declined to recognise, or correspond with, Captain Richardson. Threats even were issued that the members of the Select Committee would be held personally responsible, if the guilty persons were not surrendered.

The Committee were compelled by these threats to take measures for their own safety; and on the 11th January 1822, they embarked with the other servants of the Company, the treasure and all the property of the factory, in the Company's ships and proceeded down the river to Whampoa. This measure had the effect of convincing the Governor that the Committee were powerless to coerce Captain Richardson; the threat of holding them personally responsible was withdrawn, and the Hong merchants were sent to Whampoa to induce them to return to Canton. A continued suspension of trade was, however, threatened, unless the men were surrendered. An assurance, given by the Captain, at the Committee's request, to the effect that he would, on arrival in England, report the circumstances of the case to his Sovereign for investigation according to law, was then communicated by the Committee to the Governor through the Hong merchants, but the Governor reiterated his demands for surrender of the murderers; and the Committee, despairing of any settlement of the difficulty, proceeded down the river, with the Company's ships, to Chuenpee beyond the Bocca Tigris.

The Hong merchants then suggested that a story should be invented that two men had absconded from the "Topaze," in order that the authorities might have an opportunity of adjusting the dispute by pretending that the murderers had fled; but this suggestion was at once negatived as impossible. Eventually a letter from Captain Richardson, setting forth the facts of the case, was carried by the Hong merchants to the Governor, and he yielded so far as to depute a mandarin, with the Hong merchants, to make an inquiry on board the frigate. The inquiry was made, and the "Topaze" shortly afterwards left China.

On the departure of the frigate, the Committee made further overtures, and the Hong merchants were sent again to Chuenpee; and eventually on the 22nd February 1822, the Governor, on receiving a letter from the Committee, in which they promised that the matter should be brought to the notice of the Directors, and quoted Captain Richardson's assurance that he would represent the affair to His Majesty's Government for investigation in accordance with the law of England, reopened the trade and invited the Committee to return to Canton. This invitation they at once accepted, and trade was resumed.

In a subsequent edict, however, the Governor again attempted to fasten on the Select Committee the responsibility for compliance with the demand made for the surrender of the so-called murderers.

"Now, since the said chief and the others," he wrote, "are persons for the management of the affairs of the said nation, and since it is authenticated that they represented to Government that they would state the affair to their Company's Court, and through it lay before the said nation's King to examine into it and have the murderous foreigners delivered up and prosecuted, it is incumbent on me still to order the chief and others to make haste, and direct the delivering up." The Committee were accordingly ordered to tell their nation's King to find out the foreign murderers, and send them in custody to Canton for trial. As regards the "Topaze," the landing of the watering party was declared to be a violation of the regulations, as the victualling and watering of such ships should be done by compradores; and the Committee were directed further to inform the King that as there were no pirates now in the China seas, there was no necessity to send ships of war to convoy the merchant ships, but that if such ships were sent, the officers must obey in all respects the laws of China, and the Factory Chief must be made responsible for their control and management.

This edict was considered by the Committee so objectionable, both in tone and substance, that they declined to receive it.

An edict by the Emperor on the case was communicated on the 5th May 1822. "It is," it was said, "the fixed law of the Celestial Empire, that in fighting with each other, whoever kills a man shall be sentenced to forfeit his life, without at all regarding whether he moved his hand first or last. Since the foreign soldiers committed a crime in the country, it is right that they should be prosecuted according to the law of the country. The Governor was accordingly directed to order the chief to tell the King of that country to investigate the affair, and find out the foreign murderers, and put them on board a merchantman, and send them under a guard to Canton, and by name deliver them up, and await their prosecution." Orders also were issued, in the sense of those already given by the Governor, as to the victualling and watering of ships of war, and their subordination, while in China, to the "control, restraint, and management of the Chief of the Factory."

China Consultations dated 6th May 1822, in manuscript. China Records at the India Office.

On the receipt of this edict the Select Committee addressed the Deputy Governor (in the absence of the Governor) on the 9th June, protesting against the equity of the Chinese law on the subject of homicide. The Deputy Governor, in reply, merely referred them to the Emperor's orders, and insisted on the necessity for implicit obedience. Some months were then allowed to pass; but in March 1823 a petition from Lintin having been sent to Peking, the Governor reopened the question, and informed the Select Committee that he was looking out for the return of the persons responsible for causing the death of the two Chinese.

Later in the year a suspension of trade was again ordered, owing to the failure of the Committee to surrender the persons demanded; and though the embargo was withdrawn on the arrival of the Company's fleet in the season of 1822-23, the demand for surrender of the offenders was maintained. Explanations to the effect that the "Topaze" had not arrived in England, and that investigation had consequently been delayed, were met with threats of punishment to the Hong merchants, and the Committee were once more compelled to retaliate, and to suspend in their turn all commercial intercourse. The Company's ships were detained at Lintin; and a resolution was arrived at to prevent all British ships from entering the river. The opposition was successful. The Chinese gave way, and in November 1823 an edict was published by the Superintendent of Customs, disavowing any intention to interfere with the ships, and inviting the Committee to resume trade. The ships were accordingly brought to Whampoa, and the business of the season was commenced.

The first lieutenant of the "Topaze" was tried by court-martial in England and was honourably acquitted; and a letter announcing the result of the proceedings, expressing the regret of His Majesty the King for the occurrence, and explaining the inability of the Select Committee to interfere, was written by the President of the Board of Control to the Governor of Canton, on 6th April 1824, and was forwarded to the Committee at Canton for delivery, if they should think proper.

The Lords of the Admiralty also, on the representation of the Court of Directors, issued orders to the Naval Commander-in-Chief in India "that in future, during peace, none of His Majesty's vessels of war should visit any port of China unless on a requisition from the Governor-General of India, or from the Select Committee of supra-cargoes at Canton"; and the Court of Directors at the same time instructed the Committee "that nothing but an occurrence of vital importance and of the most urgent necessity" should in future induce them "to forward any requisitions to the

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Canton Committee dated 13th January 1822 in Papers (Colonial) presented to Parliament in the Session of 1821-22; and Auber's China

“ Governor of Bengal or to the Naval Commander-in-Chief in India, for the despatch
“ of any of His Majesty’s ships to China during a period of peace.”

The Select Committee, believing that the discussion had been finally closed, and being unwilling to revive it, did not deliver the letter from the President of the Board of Control; but two years later, on the arrival of a new Governor, the question was re-opened by the Chinese, and the Committee then communicated the purport of the letter to the Hong merchants. The merchants privately communicated the facts of the case to the Governor, and as the relations in 1826–27 between the authorities and the supra cargoes were more than usually amicable, the matter was allowed to drop. In the words of the Select Committee the case was “ a strong instance of the
“ Government having been induced to relinquish those proud
“ pretensions to unconditional submission which it had previously so imperiously
“ assumed.”

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 21st Nov. 1821, in App. II to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 11th Oct. 1831; and evidence of Capt. John Shepherd before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East Indian Company in 1832.

In 1821 the Chinese made a more determined attempt, than they had hitherto done, to check the importation of opium. The senior Hong merchant was deprived of his button for real or supposed complicity in the trade, and the merchants were threatened with the severest punishment in the event of their failure to assist in its suppression. The Select Committee were appealed to by the merchants to induce the traders to remove the opium ships from the port; and measures were taken against native smugglers at Whampoa and Macao, which had the effect of driving the trade to the island of Lintin, where it was safe from any attack by the Chinese preventive officers, and also, it may be added, from the exactions of the Portuguese. Lintin therefore from this time took the place of Macao as the emporium of the traffic. Orders also were issued by the Governor directing that one half of the goods, lawfully imported in all ships concerned in the traffic, should be confiscated, and that no cargo for the return voyage should be allowed; and the captain and security merchant of every ship, entering the port, were required to execute a bond, declaring that there was no opium on board.

“ From all these circumstances,” wrote the Committee to the Court of Directors, in November 1821, “ your honourable Committee will be able to judge of the determination of the Local Government to effectually suppress this illicit commerce; and
“ if they firmly pursue their present system, it cannot continue to be carried on as
“ hitherto.”

China Cons. dated 19th April 1822 in manuscript China Records at the India Office.

The activity displayed may have been due in some measure to the presence of an able and energetic Governor; but an edict* by the Emperor, which was received at Canton some time before the 19th April 1822, shows clearly that the action taken against opium at this time was closely connected with a desire to preserve the circulating medium. The amount of opium reaching China from the independent Native States in Central India was on the increase, and the drain of sycee silver and foreign money, given in payment for the drug, was beginning to be felt.

In this edict,* which is published in full below, the Emperor directed the Governor and the Deputy Governor to strenuously prohibit the exportation of sycee, and to

* “ The Censor, Whawochomoo, has presented a memorial requesting His Majesty to prohibit vigorously the Hong merchants smuggling silver. The following is the Imperial reply :—

“ ‘ What is recommended is extremely right. It is fixed by law that the Hong merchants at Canton, in their commercial intercourse with foreigners, should only receive goods and give goods in return, and not be allowed to employ silver. The law on this subject is very full and explicit. Of late in consequence of the people in this country liking the use of foreign coins, the Hong merchants employ silver to purchase them. This occasions an extremely high price to the tea merchants in their dealings at Chekiang and Fuhkien Provinces, and also their purchasing things with foreign coins which they have bought, a proceeding exceedingly contrary to law, and which it must not be omitted to examine into strictly and prevent. It is hereby ordered that the Governor of Canton, the Deputy Governor, and the Superintendent of the Port (Hoppon) do depute civil and military officers to cruise about and make a true and faithful search of foreign ships leaving the port and not allow them to smuggle any silver. Also every now and then examine whether the deputed officers connive and let silver go, and in case of any being discovered acting so, immediately report their names to me, and punish them.

“ ‘ As to the Hong merchants hooking themselves on to the foreigners, and buying opium of them, it is indeed injurious to the public manners, and it all arises from the Hoppon putting a heavy tax on it and conniving at the illegality, so that it flows into the country in every direction to a great extent. Let the said Governor and Deputy Governor make secret inquiries whether the Hoppon does or does not receive on the “ black tobacco ” (opium) a heavy duty, and report to me as the fact may be; and further let a general order be given to all the passes in every province to make a strict and close search for and seizure of this commodity, and from the place where it is discovered let it be immediately ascertained by what road it has travelled, and then let all the civil and military officers at the several passes, who have connived at the opium proceeding onward, have their names reported and be punished. And should the said Governor and the others not make a vigorous scrutiny, or stare about and connive, and not report to me as soon as any case is brought to light, let punishment be immediately inflicted on them. This growing base vice must be put aside to purify the military and Custom House and to benefit the manners of the people.”

punish all officers convicted of connivance either in the exportation of silver or the importation of opium, and to report whether the Superintendent of Customs was, or was not, in the habit of receiving a heavy duty upon the drug. "This growing base vice," he said, "must be put aside to purify the Military and Custom House, and "to benefit the manners of the people." The purchase of articles with foreign coins, procured in exchange for sycee, was said also to be a "proceeding exceedingly contrary "to law."

Several Chinese officials were involved in the inquiries instituted by the Deputy Governor and the Commissioner of Justice in accordance with the Emperor's orders; and the measures taken were, in the words of the Select Committee, persisted in by the Governor "with such a degree of pertinacity as to occasion the most serious interruption" to the trade. A bond, declaring that there was no opium on board, was required from the commander of one of the Company's ships, arriving at Whampoa in the spring of 1822; and, on his declining to furnish it, the ship and also another of the Company's ships, then in port, were not permitted to discharge their cargoes. Two cases of opium smuggling by men employed on Company's ships had recently been brought to the notice of the Committee, and notwithstanding the orders issued by the Court of Directors in 1818, they shrank from giving the required guarantee; the bond, in the event of opium being discovered, binding the executant to "assent cheerfully to submit to the laws, or, in "other words, consent to confiscation of property and expulsion from the port." They accordingly addressed the Governor and the Superintendent of Customs, and requested that the ships of the Company might be exempted from the operation of the rule, as the Company took no part in the smuggling trade. The request was at first refused; but a second address pointing out the "unreasonableness of persisting in this requisition from the ships of the honourable Company, who during their long intercourse "with China, had never evaded the regular duties of the port, and with respect to opium had not only invariably promulgated the Imperial edicts prohibiting its importation, but also had imposed the strictest penalties on such persons under their "immediate control who might be detected attempting its introduction," was more successful. The Company's ships were exempted from the operation of the rule, and the embargo placed on the unloading of the two ships in port was withdrawn.

In April 1823 a ship from India at Whampoa was debarred from trading by order of the Governor, until a British vessel engaged in the opium trade had departed from the coast; and in the season of 1823-24 the Select Committee were informed by the Superintendent of Customs that "the commerce of the honourable Company would be "considered implicated in any accidents, that might arise, in the prosecution of the "traffic in opium on board ships bearing the English flag."

The Committee both in 1823 and 1824 were prepared to require the departure from the coast of British vessels engaged in the opium trade, if the presence of these vessels had led to any interference with the Company's legitimate trade, but it does not appear that they were actually obliged to take this step; and a change of Governors at Canton appears to have led to a relaxation of the efforts made to put the traffic down.

The publication of the Imperial edict of May 1822 regarding the Chinese law on the subject of homicide led to several attempts by Chinese to extort money from foreigners. American and Indian ships and boats were attacked, and compensation was then demanded for wounds received in the affrays thus created. Some of these attempts appear to have been successful, but it is fair to the authorities to say that they made some effort to do justice in the one case that was brought to their notice by the Select Committee.

In January 1823, a man in the last stage of disease was brought in a boat by two other men to the Company's ship "Balcarras." The men continued alongside in spite of repeated orders to depart; and a small piece of wood was eventually thrown at the boat by a midshipman. The wood struck the cover of the boat; and this, it was pretended, caused the man's death. The man was placed in a boat astern of the ship in a dying state, and a sum of 3,000 dollars, as compensation, was demanded. The fraud was successfully resisted, and a complaint made to the Chinese authorities, who enquired into the circumstances; and eventually, after two years' delay, caused, as was said, by the absence of any provision in the Chinese law to meet the case, slightly punished one of the offenders. As the fraud had been unsuccessful, the crime was not regarded as serious.

The relations between the Company's servants and the Chinese appear to have been fairly satisfactory for some time after the adjustment of the Lintin dispute. A cautious policy was in favour. The Committee were submissive, and the authorities

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 11th and 19th March 1822, in App. II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 27th July 1823 and 6th Feb. 1824, in App. II. as above.

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 12th and 31st Jan. 1823, and 19th March 1825, in App. II. as above.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 17th Nov. 1825, in App. II. as above; and Auber's China.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors dated 8th Dec. 1826 in App. II. as above.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors dated 10th Oct. 1827, in App. II. as above.

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors dated 30th Nov. and 3rd and 12th Dec. 1827, in App. II. as above.

China Cons., dated 3rd Sept. 1828, and letter from the Court of Directors to the Canton Committee, dated 15th Jan. 1832 in papers (Colonies) presented to Parliament in the Session of 1831-32.

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors dated 18th Nov. 1828 and 28th Dec. 1830, in App. II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 18th Nov. 1828, in App. II. as above.

Extract China Cons., dated 3rd and 4th Sept. 14th, 17th, and 22nd Oct., and 21st Nov. 1828, 20th Feb. 11th March, and 7th April 1829, in papers (Colonies) presented to Parliament in 1831-32.

were correspondingly gracious, and as no ships of war visited Canton, there was less opportunity for collision between the Chinese and British seamen.

In 1825 edicts were published by the Governor of Canton, and the Superintendent of Customs, regarding an attempt made by the Americans to submit a petition in the Chinese language, in which encomiums were passed by the Superintendent on the character and conduct of the East India Company's representatives as compared with other foreigners, and the privilege, which they obtained in 1814, of addressing the officers of the Canton Government in Chinese, was referred to and affirmed; but the representatives of all other nations were required to write addresses in their own languages, and to apply to the Hong merchants to submit them with translations. In the same year also the Governor took some steps to reduce the extortionate charges made for Chinese passage boats between Canton and Macao; and the use of fast boats on the river was permitted.

In December 1826, redress was granted in the case of an Englishman, who was severely assaulted by two Chinese in Canton, and the guilty persons were punished. Some spirit shops also in the immediate vicinity of the factory, which were complained of by the Select Committee, were shut up by order of the authorities.

In 1827 a new Superintendent of Customs gave umbrage to the Select Committee by insinuations that they were concerned in smuggling, and a suggestion that their privilege of addressing Government in Chinese should be rescinded; but the difficulty was adjusted by the intervention of the senior Hong merchant.

In November of the same year, a Chinese carpenter was accidentally killed by the parting of a hawser on the Company's ship "Golconda." An inquest was held in the ship by a Chinese Magistrate, which established the fact that the death was the result of an accident; and the incident terminated without further trouble. It appears, however, to have been necessary to apply "pecuniary persuasion" to the relatives of the deceased to prevent them from attempting to make capital out of the affair.

In the spring of 1828 the Committee were involved in a discussion with the authorities, which led afterwards to serious consequences. A heap of rubbish, thrown into the river after a fire at Canton in 1822, had caused the stream to set towards the opposite bank, and large-sized boats were no longer able to unload at the Company's landing place. In February 1828 the Committee proceeded to improve the landing place, and to enclose and make into a garden the open ground in front of the factory, which was in a dirty and offensive state. No application was made to the authorities for permission to undertake the work, as the Hong merchants stated that no sanction was required. The work, however, when commenced, was at once stopped by the City Magistrate.

In the month of July the Select Committee had occasion to complain of the extortions practised at the Macao Custom House; and in the trading season of 1828-29 the disposition of the Chinese authorities became decidedly less friendly.

On the arrival of the supra-cargoes at Canton, a packet of letters to the Committee's address was seized by a Chinese Magistrate on the person of a ship's comprador; and the Governor, when appealed to, supported the Magistrate, and directed that in future, all letters from the Company's ships should be subject to examination. These orders were pasted up on the walls of the factory, and were not delivered in the usual manner through the Hong merchants; and this was regarded by the Committee as an intentional affront. An edict was also issued about the same time, restricting excursions on the river, a particularly objectionable curtailment of liberties, as foreigners, when at Canton, were nominally at any rate, only permitted to take air and exercise in the alleys adjoining the factories, or upon three days in each month in some gardens on the river, about three miles from the city.

An address was accordingly submitted to the Governor through the Hong merchants on 13th October 1828, protesting against the orders issued on the subject of the Company's correspondence and the excursions of boats on the river, complaining of the Magistrate's interference with the measures taken to clear the ground in front of the factory from nuisances, and to make it into a "wholesome promenade," and suggesting that the publication of offensive proclamations* was ill calculated to conciliate the

* Proclamations were annually issued by the Chinese with the ostensible object of civilising the foreigners, and the language used was often, if not always, of a very offensive character. "They" (the people of Canton), wrote Mr. Lindsay in 1833, "read on the placards stuck up about the streets, by authority of Government, that 'we are the most depraved and abandoned of beings, addicted to vices which even they look upon with disgust; can we be surprised that they believe such to be the fact?' (Report of proceedings on a Voyage to the northern ports of China in the "Lord Amherst," by Mr. Lindsay, in 1833).

feelings of foreigners. The Governor refused to receive this address from the merchants; and it was then carried by a deputation to the city gates and presented there. This produced a reply which, in the opinion of the Committee, conceded the principal points of their representation; and the City Magistrate was deputed to the factory to give directions for the re-commencement of work on the landing place.

The Hong merchants, at the same time, appear to have assured the Committee that the Governor had given orders for the resumption of operations in the square in front of the factory; but an edict, subsequently communicated on the 21st November, merely permitted the Committee "to take the newly accumulated land in front of the factory within the boundary and build a landing place with wood and stones; but it was not permitted to usurp, encroach, and build in other places, which would involve examination and inquiry."

On the 20th February 1829, the Committee applied again to the Governor for permission to enclose the ground in front of the factory, so as to increase the security of the premises and prevent hostile Chinese from insulting the members of the factory. The matter was considered, but the Superintendent of Customs reported that the construction of a wall would obstruct the view from the Custom House, and the application was accordingly rejected by the Governor on the 1st April 1829. An objectionable hole in the ground had been boarded over with planks, and the Governor's order declared that "the planks laid down must be kept as heretofore and the place not filled up with sand or stones, that encroachment may be completely prevented." The Chinese at the same time were prohibited from landing and making a disturbance at the Company's landing place.

This closed the matter for the season; and up to this point the Select Committee appear to have behaved with moderation under circumstances which were unquestionably aggravating.

The financial condition of the Hong monopolists was at this time very unsatisfactory. One of the merchants failed, in 1828, for more than 1,000,000 dollars, and was banished as a punishment to Tartary; and another, whose outstandings were very large, absconded in 1829, to avoid payment. The number of the merchants also was reduced to seven, and four of the seven were supposed to be in embarrassed circumstances. The Cohong, or close monopoly, therefore, which the Chinese had unsuccessfully tried to introduce in 1813 and the succeeding years, seemed likely to be established by the failure of the indebted merchants; and the Directors and the Select Committee were agreed that such a state of things could not fail to be injurious to their commercial interests. The Directors accordingly instructed the Committee, on 3rd April 1829, to try by every proper and consistent method to obtain an increase to the Hong. The usual arrangement, also, was made for liquidation of the debts of the bankrupt merchant, in annual instalments, by the remaining merchants from the Consol Fund.

The condition of the Hong was a genuine grievance; the proceedings of the Chinese authorities in the preceding season had roused a spirit of opposition among the Company's servants, and a policy of conciliation and submission appears to have been in general disfavour among the British subjects then at Canton. Some of the members of the Select Committee were moreover hardly fitted in tact and temper for the difficult position which they occupied.

While at Macao, therefore, the Committee decided that the time had arrived for vigorous measures to secure an increase in the number of Hong merchants, and the removal of some of the more vexatious restrictions on the foreign trade. The Company's ships were accordingly detained on their arrival from England, below the Bocca Tigris, in the hope that the measure would attract the attention of the Local Government to the condition of foreign commerce.

The Governor took no notice of the detention of the ships, and the Committee then submitted an address complaining of the reduction which had taken place in the number of Hong merchants, of the fraudulent flight of one of their number, and of the unfairness of the enter-port charge.

Correspondence followed, in which an assurance was given that the merchant, who had absconded, would be sent for, and that the number of Hong merchants would be increased if men of substance could be found who were willing to engage in the foreign trade, and on the 5th October 1829, the Committee addressed the Governor at length urging that the regulations in force had become "antiquated and decayed," and were unsuitable to the state of the commercial world then existing, and submitting a number of proposals for placing the trade upon a more satisfactory footing. They added that if the old regulations were not immediately altered, foreign ships would be compelled "to seek some other place where for slight cause" they would "not experience extortion and detention."

Letter from Mr. Plowden, President of the Canton Committee, to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, dated 28th Jan. 1830 in App. I. to the Third Report of the Select Committee, dated 11th Oct. 1831, and letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 8th Oct. 1829, in App. IX. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the China Trade dated 8th July 1830.

Extract China Cons., dated 5th Oct. 1829 in App. IX. to the above Report on the China Trade, dated 8th July 1830.

Letter from Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 8th Oct. 1829, in App. IX. to the Report on China Trade, as above. Edict of Governor not received by Canton Committee on 14th Oct. 1829 in App. IX. to the Report on China Trade, as above. Letter from Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 23rd Nov. 1829 in App. IX. to the Report on China Trade, as above.

Edict of the Governor dated 10th Nov. 1829, and address to Governor of Canton Committee, dated 16th Nov. 1829 in App. IX. to the Report on China Trade, as above.

Letter from the Select Committee to the officers of the Company's ships, dated 16th Nov. 1829 in App. IX. to the Report on China Trade, as above.

Letter from Mr. Plowden to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, dated 28th Jan. 1830, in App. I. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Edict of Governor dated 27th Nov. 1829 in App. IX. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the China Trade, dated 8th July 1830.

Letter from Mr. Plowden to the Chairman of the Court of Directors dated 28th Jan. 1830 in App. I. to the Third Report and Address of Canton Committee to Governor dated 30th Nov. 1829 in App. IX. to the Report on the China Trade, as above.

Some of the proposals submitted, such as the termination of the collective responsibility of the Hong merchants, a relaxation of the orders which prohibited their voluntary retirement, the abolition of the security system and the employment of unlicensed warehouses, involved radical changes in the existing regulations; and, however desirable in themselves, were not likely to be accepted by the Chinese without considerable pressure. The Committee, however, who were really fighting the battle of the whole mercantile community, were cordially supported by the British merchants at Canton, and received also some assurances of support from other European merchants.

The Governor admitted, in his reply, that the state of the Hong had become "sickened and debased," and directed the merchants to try and induce other men of substance to engage in the trade, promising a remission of all Custom House fees on new appointments; and consulted the Judge and Treasurer as to the possibility of adopting any of the suggestions put forward for improvement of the commercial system. The merchants also visited the Committee, and endeavoured to induce them to send the ships to Whampoa and begin the business of the season, but without success.

At the beginning of November, the Judge and the Treasurer submitted their report. The proposals for radical alterations in the existing system were, as might have been expected, rejected, but the necessity for liquidation of the debts of the Hong merchants and for keeping them solvent in the future was recognised; and it was admitted to be anomalous that the enter-port fee should be the same on all vessels, whether large or small, though the sanction of 100 years of usage attached to the practice. The advisability of applying to the Revenue Board at Peking and the Emperor for sanction to an alteration in the rate of duty was accordingly recommended.

Orders, issued by the Governor in accordance with these recommendations, evoked an indignant protest from the Select Committee. An address of an intemperate character was presented on 16th November, in which the arguments employed by the Judge and the Treasurer were characterised as "futile in the extreme," and intended apparently "for beings of an inferior order"; and the Governor was urged to put them aside and act upon his own judgment. The Company, it was said, was obliged to bear the whole burden of the exactions upon the foreign trade, as other merchants evaded them by smuggling; and the impossibility of carrying on the trade satisfactorily, when only three of the Hong merchants were solvent, was strongly insisted on. "Foreigners," it was urged, "have a right to be treated on a footing of equality with the natives of this country, and not as dogs or barbarians for whom no consideration is due"; and a scarcely veiled threat, as to the possibility of redress being demanded by the King of England for the ill-treatment of his subjects, was added in conclusion. "We are," wrote the Committee, "the subjects of a King as powerful as the Emperor of China, of a King who has vast fleets and armies at his disposal, of a King who loves peace and wishes to be, as heretofore, in amity with the august Emperor of China, but who, nevertheless, would not see his subjects wronged without seeking to gain redress."

The commanders and officers of the East India Company's ships were at the same time authorised to dispose of their investments through any channel, or in any manner, they might think proper, without resorting to Canton. This measure, in effect, sanctioned smuggling, and one, at least, of the Company's captains protested and declared that he could not disobey the positive orders of the Court of Directors by embarking in an illicit trade.

The President of the Select Committee, Mr. Plowden, who had been induced to agree to the suspension of the trade somewhat against his own judgment, objected to the tone of this address, and to the permission granted to the officers of the Company's ships to dispose of their investments in an unauthorised manner; but the decision of the majority of the Committee was binding, and he was obliged to yield to his colleagues.

The Governor's reply was firm, but moderate in tone. The necessity for a settlement of accounts and for payment of the Hong merchants' debts was admitted, but no hope was held out of any change in the commercial system. "As to commerce," he said, "let the said nation do as it pleases. As to regulations, those that the Celestial Empire fixes must be obeyed; there is no use in vain multiplication of discussion and dispute."

On receipt of these orders, Mr. Plowden was anxious to end the discussion, but the other members of the Select Committee were unwilling to acknowledge themselves beaten; and another address was presented on the 30th November. The Governor was thanked for his intention to enforce payment of debts, and for his efforts to increase the number of Hong merchants; but his attention was drawn to the fact that, notwithstanding the orders issued, no new men were willing to come forward; and he was requested either to immediately make several new merchants or give permission to the Committee to trade with anyone they pleased.

To this address the Governor returned a more peremptory reply. The immediate payment of all outstanding debts was declared to be impossible; the request for free trade was negatived; the number of Hong merchants admitted to be solvent (viz., three,) was declared to be sufficient; and the Committee were informed that if they presented any more dunning petitions he would "throw them back" unopened.

Notwithstanding the statement in this edict as to the sufficiency of three solvent merchants, the Governor appears to have done his best to increase the number of the Hong, and more than one order was issued by him inviting new men to come forward and enter the business. A rule, which prevented the retirement of solvent merchants, was also somewhat relaxed; and inability to act was, on paper at any rate, admitted to be a sufficient reason for retirement.

The majority of the Committee, finding that the Governor was firm, decided to appeal to the Superintendent of Customs, who had recently arrived and taken over charge of his office. An address was presented, appealing to him to attend to their representations and concede their demands; warning him that he would be held personally responsible for the failure of the trade unless means were devised to restore its prosperity; and threatening that if their complaints were treated with indifference, they would lay before the Emperor at Peking a detail of the causes which had brought destruction to the trade, and ruin to the revenue, first and foremost among which would be placed the extortions and exactions of the officers of the Canton Province.

To this address Mr. Plowden formally dissented. "It was," he argued, "natural to suppose not only that the Government of China, but of any country in the world, would contend against the imposition of a commercial code by foreigners," and as the Governor had declared his inability to grant the reforms applied for, it was impolitic to continue the discussion. The majority of the Committee, headed by Mr. Baynes, the officer next in seniority to the President, were, however, masters of the situation; and Mr. Plowden's dissent was strongly resented and criticised by his more determined colleagues.

The Superintendent of Customs rejected promptly the appeal made to him; and Mr. Plowden then proposed to re-open the trade, and send the ships to Canton on his own responsibility. He was, however, overruled by the majority of the Committee, who determined to persevere in their opposition; to appeal to the Emperor of China; to order the Company's ships to remove to Manilla; to interdict the private trade between India and China; and to request the Government of India to send some of His Majesty's ships to Canton.

After some further acrimonious controversy, in which the majority of the Select Committee were supported by a number of the junior members of the factory, Mr. Plowden, finding his position intolerable, decided on the 18th January to leave China.

A notice was drawn up by the Committee on the 11th January 1830, for issue to the captains of all merchant vessels, under the British flag, arriving in the Canton river, informing them of the suspension of British trade; and the Governor-General of India was addressed on the same date, and invited to transmit a remonstrance direct to the Emperor of China from India, and to request the Admiral commanding in the Indian seas to send four men-of-war to Canton to repress "the encroaching spirit" of the Chinese authorities, and to give weight to the representations which had been made to them by the Select Committee. Preparations also were made by the Committee to send a statement of their grievances to Peking by sea; and a petition to the Emperor was presented by a deputation at the gates of Canton on the 18th January, copies of it being enclosed in addresses both to the Governor and to the Superintendent of Customs. The Company's ships, however, were not moved from the coast; and the Indian trade does not appear to have been actually stopped. Both copies of the petition to the Emperor were returned, as the mode of submission was declared to be contrary to Chinese law, which required that foreign nations, which had proposals to make, should send a special envoy, and should not "report abruptly by a side path their affairs in the Imperial presence." The Chinese, however, were evidently anxious to bring the controversy to a close, if this could be effected without any loss of dignity; and the Governor, when returning the petition, on the 20th January, took the opportunity to inform the Select Committee that the Emperor's sanction had been received to an alteration in the enter-port fee, that attempts were still being made to arrest the Hong merchant, who had absconded, and that persons had offered themselves for appointment as Hong merchants. The assurance already given regarding the settlement of the merchants' debts was repeated; and the Committee were advised to reconsider their position, and begin to trade while the season still permitted.

Edict of the Governor dated 6th Dec. 1829 in App. IX. to the Report on the China Trade, as above.

Edicts of Governor to the Hong merchants dated 22nd Oct., 16th Nov., and 1st Dec. 1829 in App. IX. to the Report on China Trade, as above.

Address to the Hoppo, dated 25th Dec. 1829 in App. I. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Letter from Mr. Plowden to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, dated 28th Jan. 1830 in App. I. to the Third Report as above.

Reply of the Superintendent of Customs, dated 4th Jan. 1830 in App. I. to the above Report.

Letter from Mr. Plowden to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, dated 28th Jan. 1830 and Extract China Cons. dated 11th Jan. 1830. in App. I. to the Third Report of the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831, and letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 28th and 31st Jan. 1830, in App. II. to the above Report.

Edicts of the Governor dated 20th and of the Superintendent dated 21st Jan. 1830, in App. I. to the above Report.

Governor's memorial, dated 28th Nov. 1829, and Emperor's edict, embodied in an edict of the Governor and Deputy Governor, dated 26th Jan. 1830, in App. I. to the above Report.

A copy of the Governor's report to Peking, on the subject of the demand put forward for revision of the trade regulations, dated 28th November 1829, was obtained on the 4th January 1830 by the Select Committee; and the Imperial edict issued in reply was communicated to them by the Governor and Deputy Governor on the 27th January. The Governor, in his report, drew a unfavourable comparison between the English and other foreign merchants visiting the port of Canton. The latter were said to be only "a little perverse," while the English were described as "exceedingly fierce and unruly." The Imperial edict shows that this view was shared by the Central Government at Peking; the English were said to be "the most domineering and proud" of all the foreigners; and some steps which the Governor had taken to warn the military to quietly prepare for contingencies were highly commended. "If these people," ran the edict, "do indeed become sensible of their error, repent, and lead the ships into the port, then mutual tranquillity may be still preserved; but if, because what they desire is not granted, they perversely make difficulties, it is hereby ordered to disallow forthwith their commencing trade, and to expel them with severity. If for one or two years we receive less the duties on this nation's goods, it will be but a trifling injury to the National treasury; and since the foreign smoke (opium) will not come in, nor Government money go out, there will really be a great saving."

A change in the enter-port fee was, however, sanctioned in accordance with the Governor's recommendations, and the Governor was ordered to deliberate and report on the subject.

The Company's ships had been detained outside the port for five months; valuable time and money had been wasted; and practically nothing had been gained. The majority of the Committee, therefore, were glad to avail themselves of the opportunity for compromise held out by the Governor's edict of the 20th January. They replied to it accordingly in a more temperate tone; stated that they sincerely wished for the restoration of commerce and expressed their satisfaction at the announcement of the Emperor's orders regarding the enter-port fee, and at the measures taken by the Governor to recall the absconded merchant, and to increase the number of the Hong; but hinted that their means of making a representation to Peking were by no means exhausted.

Mr. Plowden, though considering that this reply would probably lead to the resumption of commerce, adhered to his determination of leaving China, and sailed for England on 29th January, Mr. Baynes succeeding him as President of the Select Committee.

Edict of the Governor dated 2nd Feb. 1830 in App. IX. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the China Trade, dated 8th July 1830.

The Governor met the overtures of the Committee half-way, and issued further orders of a conciliatory nature on the 2nd February 1830. The law in regard to the Hong merchants, who were punished by banishment and confiscation of property for insolvency, was contrasted with the law regulating the dealings of native merchants *inter se*, which provided no penalty for indebtedness; the decision of the Emperor to reduce the enter-port fee in the case of small vessels was again announced; the desirability of increasing the Hong by the addition even of seven or eight new merchants was admitted; one new merchant was said to be ready to act; and the Committee were directly invited to come to terms in the following words:—
"I, the Governor, come to business with impartial feelings, and always measure things by the great medium. If there really be anything on behalf of foreign merchants that I can look up and beg His sacred Majesty's favour, I must assuredly deliberate on the subject, and manage accordingly. Why does not the said Chief and others carefully consider this and seek for concord."

The season which admitted of the despatch of sailing vessels from Canton to the Straits was nearly over; and the Emperor's order showed that nothing was to be gained by prolonging the suspension of trade. On receiving this edict, therefore, the Select Committee proceeded to Canton from Macao, and ordered the Company's ships to enter the port and discharge their cargoes; consoling themselves with the reflection that, if their expectations of fair treatment were not realised, the arrival of His Majesty's ships, in compliance with the request made to the Governor-General of India on the 11th January, would afford an opportunity for the transmission of a memorial to Peking at a more favourable season, and in a more impressive manner.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors dated 23rd Feb. 1830 in App. IX. to the above Report.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 18th Sept. 1830, in App. II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the

The measures taken to increase the number of the Hong merchants were continued, and altogether four new merchants were appointed during the remainder of the trading season, and two more in the autumn of 1830. The rule regarding the liability of the Hong merchants, as a body, for debts contracted by any of their number, was also relaxed; and one at least of the new merchants was permitted to trade on his own

responsibility; an innovation, which appears to have been made entirely to meet the wishes of the Committee.

The Court of Directors, on receiving an account of the proceedings of their servants at Canton up to the 29th December 1829, directed the immediate removal from the Committee of Mr. Baynes and the other two gentlemen, who had persisted in measures of opposition, after the failure of the appeal to the Superintendent of Customs, in disregard of the views of the President. The Committee, moreover, were informed that they had identified themselves most unnecessarily with the objects of addresses presented by private traders; that the suspension of the trade was uncalled for; and that the proceedings of the majority of the Committee had been "entirely at variance with the line of conduct which the Directors had on many occasions prescribed." To prevent, as far as possible, the occurrence of similar proceedings in future, the President of the Select Committee was invested with power to overrule the rest of his colleagues and to act on his own responsibility in all future discussions with the Chinese Government, if such a measure should be necessary to ensure the continuance of a pacific policy. The orders of the Court of Directors did not, however, reach Canton until the end of November 1830; and in the meantime Mr. Baynes continued to act as President.

The regulations of the Chinese Government prohibited the residence of foreign women at Canton, and the Court of Directors, as recently as 3rd April 1829, had enjoined on their servants the necessity for compliance with the regulations on this subject. The Hong merchants, anxious apparently to conciliate the President, had, while the Select Committee were at Macao, suggested that Mrs. Baynes should accompany her husband to Canton in February 1830; and Mr. Baynes promptly availed himself of the opportunity to effect, what the Committee described, as a "material improvement in the situation of the factory" at Canton. No objection was raised by the authorities in this season; but it is of course possible that they may not have been aware of the lady's arrival.

Another attempt was made, on the arrival of the Committee at Canton, to obtain sanction to the project for levelling and inclosing the ground in front of the Company's factory; but the request was promptly negatived by the Governor, and the "perverse obstinacy" of the foreigners was condemned. The Committee on 27th February 1830, then recorded the following resolution in their proceedings:—"As every attempt to gain this point has failed by application, we must adopt other means to effect it. The spot in question presents a serious impediment to the landing of cargo, and is becoming in itself a disgusting nuisance, as the only piece of ground which we possess for taking exercise. The absence of any inclosure on the east and south sides renders the premises public and exposed to the incursions of smugglers during the night. We, therefore, determine to remove the inconvenience, by ordering a detachment of boats and seamen from our ships, by whom the cavity remaining will be filled from a heap of rubbish in the neighbourhood, and a fence erected to prevent intrusion." The ground was accordingly levelled and fenced by a party of seamen from the Company's ships in spite of the protests of the Hong merchants, who represented that the proceeding would reflect discredit on the Chinese Government. The Kwang Choofoo, or City Governor, visited the spot, immediately after the completion of the work, and directed that the ground which had been levelled should be dug up and reduced to its original state. "This proposition," as the Committee recorded in their consultations, was too "ridiculous to be discussed;" and some of the Hong merchants were said to have admitted privately that the order was a mere matter of form.

The Governor also issued an edict, pointing out that the arrival of the seamen at Canton was a breach of the regulations, and communicating the following orders:—"Hereafter when foreign ships enter the port, the sailors must all dwell on board ship at Whampoa. It must not be that a number of sailors are ordered up to Canton at the same time. If the said foreigners presume still to disobey then it will be a wilful opposition to the orders of Government; in which case I will assuredly order the forts and the military to fire upon them. Positively I will show no indulgence. . . ."

On the departure of the Committee, in April, to Macao, the Hong merchants, in compliance with the orders which had been issued by the City Governor, dug up the earth which had been thrown in to fill up the objectionable hole in the ground in front of the factory, and replaced the boards as before; and there the matter rested until the next trading season.

House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831. Letter from the Court of Directors to the Canton Committee, dated 26th May 1830 in App. IX. to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the China Trade, dated 8th July 1830.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 2nd March 1830, in App. IX. to the above Report. Extracts China Cons., dated 27th Feb. 1830 in papers (Colonies) presented to Parliament in the Session of 1831-32.

Extracts China Cons., dated 4th and 5th March 1830 in papers (Colonies), as above.

Edict of the Governor, dated 6th March 1830 in papers (Colonies), as above.

Extract China Cons., dated 23rd April 1830 in papers (Colonies), as above.

Minute of Lord W. Bentinck, dated 3rd April 1830 in papers (Colonies), as above.

In the same month the Governor-General in India, Lord W. Bentinck, declined to transmit a memorial to the Government at Peking, and to send ships of war to China, as in his opinion no sufficient grounds had been shown for departure from the cautious and pacific policy, which had been pursued with success up to that time. He was, however, prepared to send Sir C. Metcalfe, one of the members of his Council, to Canton with a letter to the Governor, as a mediator between the Select Committee and the Local Government; but, as the trade was resumed, this project also was abandoned.

Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company, and into the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed on the 5th July 1830.

First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company, and into the trade between Great Britain, the East Indies, and China, dated 8th July 1830.

The exclusive privilege of the China trade possessed by the East India Company, formed the subject of inquiry by Select Committees of the House of Lords and Commons, in 1830. The Committee of the House of Lords inquired into the circumstances of the trade and the possibilities of its continuance and development in the event of the privilege of the East India Company being withdrawn; but they expressed no opinion on the questions involved, and contented themselves with reporting the evidence taken without comment.

The Committee of the House of Commons also submitted a Report upon the China trade, in which (to use their own words) they endeavoured "to give a fair and impartial summary of the evidence," which had been brought before them, and abstained from any expression of their own opinion. "Their observations," they wrote, "your Committee have felt ought not by any inference of their own to convey opinions which may have been taken up; but in the execution of the important duty committed to their charge, while from necessity some valuable information may be left unnoticed, they have studiously endeavoured by classification and arrangement to bring the most material parts of the evidence into view, and thus to facilitate to the House the means of acquiring for itself an accurate knowledge of its real tendency and result."

Some passages in this Report, summarising the evidence regarding the disposition of the Chinese towards the foreign trade, the position of the Company's servants and private traders at Canton, the manner in which the trade was conducted, the profit to the Company, the opium traffic, and the probable consequences of the withdrawal of the Company's monopoly, are printed below. The references to the opium trade in particular are important.

Disposition of the People of China towards the Trade.

"The people of China are represented to be intelligent, industrious, and persevering, and although said, in some measure, to be independent of foreign trade, owing to their success in agriculture, and to their extensive inland commerce, yet highly sensible of its value and anxiously disposed to cultivate it. . . . One witness has certainly said that the Chinese are anti-commercial; but this term has been explained to apply, not so much to the disposition of the people, as to that of the Government, whose policy, as it is stated, is adverse to foreign trade and to all foreigners, even though they are aware of the advantages derived from that intercourse. Towards the English, it is by some apprehended that there exists peculiar jealousy and distrust, arising from a knowledge of their territorial acquisitions and military achievements in India, especially those in Nepal and Ava.

"The Government of China derives from the foreign trade a revenue estimated at the most at 650,000*l.* per annum, besides the advantage resulting from the patronage of Canton, said to be the most valuable in the Empire, and to be sold by the Government to the highest bidder."

Position of Foreigners at Canton.

"Foreigners are interdicted by Chinese regulations from going within the walls of Canton. The place of their abode is a small suburb, and their residence there is authorised only for the period of the shipping season, but that limitation is not enforced, the Company's servants going when they please to Canton, and some private merchants residing there throughout the year. . . ."

Mode in which Chinese transactions with Foreigners are conducted.

"The Hong merchants form the body through which the Government of China permits the foreign trade to be carried on, allowing, however, other merchants (designated in the evidence as "outside merchants" and "shopmen") to trade with foreigners; but not in certain articles, such as tea, raw silk, clothes, and woollens, all of which are by the Chinese edicts reserved exclusively to the Hong merchants, they being responsible for the duties of the outside merchants. The Hong merchants are by law mutually responsible for each other to a limited amount, but that regulation does not appear to be always enforced. No one is responsible for the debts of the outside merchants, and traders are warned of this in official notifications. . . ."

"The East India Company deal exclusively with the Hong merchants, and are represented to be the only traders who abstain entirely from all illicit dealing. . . ."

Smuggling of Opium and other Articles.

"Smuggling in various articles is carried on in China to an immense extent, and to the injury of the Hong merchants, who are never concerned in it. It takes place chiefly in the contraband article of opium, which is imported into China in country (*i.e.*, Indian) and American ships, and much of which is purchased at the Company's sales in India. The Chinese Government prohibits the use of opium upon a moral principle; but this prohibition, although frequently reiterated in Imperial proclamations, is not only disregarded by the people,

but also by the Government officers, who appear systematically to connive at the smuggling of opium, and to derive a large profit from the bribes of the smugglers. The Company's servants in India and China, are cognizant of the fact that the opium sold at their sales is conveyed to China; but they are expressly prohibited from having any dealings whatever in that article."

Influence of the Company's Servants at Canton and possibility of replacing them by an Officer directly appointed by Government.

"The influence of the Company's servants at Canton is stated to be considerable, and to have increased of late years. They are admitted to personal conferences with the Chinese authorities, who occasionally pay visits of compliment to the factory and to the Company's ships. The Company's superior influence is ascribed to the magnitude and regularity of their dealings, and to their being able to temporise, without either incurring national dishonour or bringing ruin upon themselves."

"Difference of opinion exists among the witnesses as to whether the same degree of influence as is now possessed by the Company in China could be maintained by a British Consul unconnected with trade. Some assert that the Chinese are not prepared to recognise foreign dignities (in proof of which their refusal to recognise a British Admiral in 1808 has been adduced), and that they respect the Company solely on account of their large commerce; and, on the other hand, it has been asserted as strongly that equal if not superior respect would be paid to a political functionary delegated by the Crown."

Trade of the East India Company.

"The main object of the Company's trade with China is the provision of tea for the consumption of the United Kingdom, under the regulations of the Act of the 24th Geo. III. c. 38, usually called the Commutation Act."

"Tea, purchased by the East India Company in conformity with this enactment, used formerly to be paid for principally by bullion exported from England. The Company now provide their funds at Canton by sales of the manufactures* of Great Britain exported by them from hence; and by sales of the produce of India taken from thence to China either by the Company and their officers, or by private traders, who readily exchange a portion of the sale proceeds for the Company's bills on India. A very small proportion of funds is raised by bills upon England, which, when drawn, are at the current exchange."

Trade in Opium.

"The trade in opium, which is altogether contraband, has been largely extended of late years, and is conducted by private merchants, British and American. The opium is readily disposed of in China; and the returns of merchandise from China to India not being proportioned to the value of the opium, many of the ships go back in ballast, taking their sale proceeds either in bills on India, or in specie, the exportation of which requires a licence from the Chinese authorities. This permission is granted occasionally for dollars, but never for native silver, usually called sycee.

"Both are, however, constantly exported by private traders to India, in spite of the prohibition; and the whole export of silver by different parties has, in some years, considerably overbalanced the importation of dollars."

American Trade.

"The aggregate of the American trade with China has increased since 1814; but latterly there has been a falling-off. Their exports consist principally of dollars, which, even since they began to take British manufactures to Canton, have formed two-thirds of the total exported. The Americans are said to be well treated in China. Their trade is said to be popular there, in consequence of the large importation of dollars."

Result of the Company's Monopoly of the Supply of Tea.

"Several statements have been submitted in evidence with a view of showing that the Company's exclusive right to supply tea involves a very heavy tax upon the public. It has at the same time been admitted that the Company's profit from the trade is very considerable. It is said that these profits have afforded to the Company the means, not only to pay the dividends upon the East India stock, and the interest of the bond debt, . . . but also of materially aiding the finances of the Indian territory."

Abolition of the Company's Monopoly.

"The opening of the trade between Great Britain and China would not, it is thought, cause any alteration in the policy of the Chinese Government towards foreigners, unless the revenue should fall off from an increase of smuggling by free traders, or unless there should be from private disputes more frequent collisions between Europeans and Chinese. In either of these contingencies apprehensions are entertained that the trade might be entirely interdicted. But, on the other hand, it is said that such a fatal result might be averted, either by the sense which the Chinese Government entertains of the value of the trade, or by the influence of the population of Canton and of the tea districts, which are deeply interested in its continuance."

"In order to derive advantage from free trade between Great Britain and China it would be necessary, as some think, that the monopoly of the Hong merchants should cease, and that a commercial treaty, upon mutually liberal principles, should be formed between the two countries. It is, however, apprehended that the Chinese would not be induced to enter into such a treaty by any other than coercive means, and these, it is fancied, might be easily and successfully used.

"Many of the witnesses are strongly impressed with the belief that a very large increase in the consumption of British manufactures would be the consequence of opening the trade. Private merchants, they say, can push a trade much better than a Company; and new wants and desires would be created by the never-ceasing efforts of individual enterprise and speculation. These witnesses refer not only to the fact of the Americans having of late made exports of British manufactures, but they also refer to the result of opening the trade with India, followed as that measure unquestionably was by an immense increase in the exports from this country. In

* The British manufactures exported were said to consist chiefly of cloths and woollens, and the Indian produce to be principally cotton and opium.

opposition to these views, it is said that the small proportion of the American exports of British manufactures, relatively with bullion, coupled with the fact that the officers of the Company's ships, having no freight to pay, have not increased their exports, ought to be considered as proof that the consumption has not as yet been found susceptible to any material augmentation.

"It is further stated that a formidable obstacle to the growth of a profitable export trade from Great Britain to China arises from the obligation under which India is placed of annually effecting a large remittance to England, and which remittance is now advantageously made by the Company through the medium of Chinese produce. It is likewise observed that the extended use of British manufactures in India has been promoted by fiscal regulations, which the British Government had the power there to make, but which it could not effect in China."

Memorial of the Company's supra-cargoes to the Governor, dated 19th Oct. 1830 in Extract China Cons., of that date, in papers (Colonies), as above

The trading season of 1830-31 was a stormy one. A proclamation, apparently of a more than ordinarily offensive character, was issued by the Chinese in September, in which the English were accused, among other things, of being addicted to unnatural offences; and the Hong merchants were directed to "continually teach the foreigners, repress their pride and profligacy, and insist on their turning with all their hearts towards civilisation." Two or three only of the Hong merchants were able to read and write, and the proclamation, in the existing temper of the English community, appears to have caused considerable indignation.

Papers relating to the death of Mr. Mackenzie at Canton dated 4th to 23rd Oct. 1830, in App. II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

On the 30th of the same month, a few days before the arrival of the Select Committee at Canton, the captain of a Dutch ship, Mackenzie by name, was beaten to death by some Parsees. A jury of inquest, convened by the Dutch Consul, found that his death was caused by wounds inflicted "in an affray"; and the Parsees, who had been arrested, were released by Mr. Lindsay, one of the Company's servants, acting on behalf of the Committee. The Governor, however, issued an edict directing that the men should be kept in confinement pending his decision, and on the 4th October 1830, the men were accordingly again arrested. At this juncture Mr. Baynes and the other members of the Committee arrived, and the Parsees were at once made over to the commanding officer of one of the Company's ships. The finding of the jury of inquest appeared to acquit the Parsees of any intention of committing murder; and the Committee were of opinion that further examination of the witnesses was undesirable, and that, whether the case was one of manslaughter or murder, there could be no difference of opinion as to the extreme impolicy of allowing the Chinese Government to interfere where their own countrymen were not concerned. The Parsees were accordingly sent off to Bombay, with a letter addressed to the Governor of Bombay, dated 11th October, setting forth the circumstances, and stating that the Committee were satisfied as to the impossibility of surrendering them for trial in accordance with the "sanguinary law" of the Chinese Empire. On the 13th October an order from the City Magistrate was received by the Select Committee, requiring them to surrender the Parsees; and the Dutch Consul was also ordered to make over Mackenzie's body, (which had been buried some days before,) for examination. To this demand the Committee replied, on the 16th October, that the Parsees had been sent to Bombay for trial.

The Chinese persisted for some days in their demand for the extradition of the offenders, citing the case of the Frenchman surrendered and strangled in 1780, for killing an Italian in self-defence, and another similar case said to have occurred in 1760, as precedents justifying their claim to exercise jurisdiction. The Select Committee were ordered to send a ship to bring the Parsees back to Canton; and the Governor, on 20th October, to induce them to consent, went so far as to express verbally through the Hong merchants his readiness to agree to a trial in the English factory, in accordance with English forms, in the presence of Chinese officials. No reply was given to this communication; and in the absence of the Parsees, the Chinese, though evidently incensed at the refusal of the Committee to admit their right of jurisdiction and comply with the demand, considered it advisable to allow the matter to rest.

"China," by Sir John Davis.

The Committee about this time repaired the damage done to the square in front of the factory by the Hong merchants under the orders of the City Governor, but the proceeding was at the time either unnoticed, or ignored, by the authorities.

Edicts of the Governor dated 11th Oct. 1830 in papers (Colonies) presented to Parliament in 1831-32.

Other causes of offence, however, were soon discovered. Mrs. Baynes again accompanied her husband to Canton; and on the 11th October orders were issued by the Governor, directing the Hong merchants to find out who the woman was, who had come from Macao to Canton in defiance of the regulations, and where she was located, and to "command the said Nation's Chief to take immediately the foreign woman and hasten instantly to drive her away back again to Macao."

A still more aggressive and offensive order was issued by the Governor at the same time regarding the use of sedan chairs. "It appears," he said, "that the

“ foreigners of the various nations coming to China to trade have hitherto not been permitted on the territory of the capital of the province of the Celestial Empire to go seated in sedan chairs. Now it is substantiated that the attendants of the principal office of police have stated verbally to me on the 21st of the present moon that they had seen a Company’s foreign writer who has come to Canton from Macao publicly entering his factory seated in a chair. This really is opposing the dignity of the regulations.” The City Governor was directed to inquire into the matter, and to command “the Hong merchants and linguists to enjoin the order on the said Nation’s Chief, that hereafter the said foreigners going from their factories to their boats and from their boats to their factories, must all, as of old, walk on foot; they must not overstep their proper station or rank, and go about in chairs.”

On the 19th October, a memorial was presented at the city gates by a deputation of captains and officers of the Company’s ships and gentlemen of the factory, protesting against the orders issued on the subject of sedan chairs and the residence of foreign women at Canton, and against the language of the proclamation issued on the 20th September; and similar petitions were presented at the same time by a party composed of British merchants and officers of ships engaged in the Indian trade. The memorial from the Company’s servants was on the whole temperately worded, and was written, as the Committee recorded, “with a most anxious desire to conciliate the Chinese authorities; and at the same time under a full sense of the indignities which have lately been offered to us”; but the Governor was informed that, if the officers of the Chinese Government wished to insult and tyrannise over the foreigners, they really did not know where the business would end.

Extract China Cons., dated 19th October 1830, in papers (Colonies), as above.

On the 20th October, Howqua, the senior Hong merchant, communicated verbally the Governor’s orders in regard to Mrs. Baynes. “As to women coming to Canton the old law forbids it. It never can be permitted. The Chief is desired to send away the lady forthwith. If she cannot move immediately, the merchants are to ascertain in how many days she will go. If the Chief says he will not remove the foreign lady in two or three days, if she still be here, soldiers will be sent to the factory to seize and drive her out. The Chief is to tell the merchants what day she goes.”

Extract China Cons., dated 20th October 1830, in papers (Colonies), as above.

The Committee considered that concession on such a point would be “highly injurious to the interests and honour of the British Nation,” of which they were the representatives,” and decided “to resist the menace of violating the precincts of the factory, hitherto held sacred, to the utmost extremity.” Mrs. Baynes accordingly remained at Canton, and a party of seamen with muskets and guns was ordered up from the Company’s ships for the defence of the factory.

Extract China Cons., dated 21st Oct. 1830, in papers (Colonies), as above.

On the 21st October the Governor replied to the memorial of the Company’s servants, and the petitions presented by the private merchants at the city gates on the 19th. The regulations of the Celestial Empire on the question of the residence of foreign women in Canton were said to be of long standing, dating at least from the 16th year of Kienlung, 1751 A.D.; and the permission accorded to ladies to reside at Macao was described, as “an extraordinary manifestation of the graciousness of our sage and benevolent dynasty.”

“As to sitting in sedan chairs,” wrote the Governor, “originally it is a small business; but foreigners being in the provincial city have not hitherto been allowed to ascend chairs. In going out and in from their factories to their boats, or from their boats to their factories, if it rained, or they were sick and found it impossible to walk, still it was only proper for them to lean on some support and proceed.”

The proclamation complained of was explained to have been issued in accordance with established practice; as since the reign of Kienlung it had been usual to issue annually such proclamations on the arrival of the trading ships, “with the intention of looking down and compassionating the foreigners, to prevent their being entangled in the net of the law.” Foreigners speaking unintelligible languages were, it was said, incapable of understanding the “proprieties, laws, and prohibitions and orders of the Celestial Empire,” and consequently found it difficult to avoid “pride and profligacy.”

In conclusion the Committee were once more ordered to send Mrs. Baynes back to Macao, and to render in all matters implicit obedience to the laws and regulations of the Celestial Empire.

The Superintendent of Customs issued a similar reply. The objection raised to the proclamations, which, as he said, had been annually issued since the 57th year of Kienlung (1792 A.D.), was ascribed to the machinations of some Chinese traitor. The

prohibition of the use of sedan chairs was justified, on the ground that the position of all foreigners in China was merely that of trading merchants, and that they must expect treatment accordingly, and that natives of the country ought not to be menially employed by outside foreigners. "The flowery natives and the barbarian foreigners," he wrote, "must be distinctly divided; between those inside and those outside there must be erected a great boundary;" and the Chief and his colleagues were warned not to vainly spend "their angry breath in restive conduct, which might lead to self-cutting off the road of commerce."

Extract China Cons., dated 28th Oct. 1830, in papers (Colonies) as above.

On the 28th October the Committee submitted addresses to the Governor and to the Superintendent of Customs, controverting the facts as stated in these edicts. As regards the residence of foreign women at Canton their case was a weak one; but they urged that foreign women had originally been permitted to reside there, though the custom had for many years fallen into disuse, and that they had been allowed to reside at Canton in the previous season without hindrance or objection. Upon the question of sedan chairs, they were able to maintain that they had themselves ridden in such chairs for 20 years, and that their predecessors had done so from time immemorial. The impossibility of complying with the orders issued was strongly pressed, and a threat was added that the foreigners, if driven to extremities by "unnecessary insults" and ridiculous prohibitions, would rebel.

Extract China Cons., dated 25th Oct., 1830, in papers (Colonies) as above.

On the 25th October also, the Committee addressed the Governor on the subject of the threatened expulsion by force of Mrs. Baynes, and asked for an assurance that the persons of all British subjects in the factories were secure, and the buildings "inviolate from the intrusion of an armed force."

Edict of the Governor, dated 27th Oct. 1830, in Extract China Cons., dated 28th Oct. 1830, in papers (Colonies) as above.

The reply was conciliatory. The threat of the use of armed force was, the Governor explained, intended to "awaken" the Committee to a sense of their position; and a case, in which he had befriended some shipwrecked seamen, was cited as an instance of his benevolence to foreigners generally. "The Celestial Empire," he wrote, "benevolently cherishes, righteously rectifies, and gloriously magnifies a vast forbearance. How is it possible that for dribblets of men in a petty barbarian factory troops should be moved to exterminate them." He again, however, informed the Committee that they must obey the regulations and send Mrs. Baynes back to Macao and the guns and seamen back to the ships; and threatened to stop the trade in the event of their remaining obstinate and refusing compliance with the orders. Verbal assurances were given to the Committee by the Hong merchants, when delivering this edict, that persons residing in the Company's factories would not be molested. The seamen and guns were accordingly sent back to the ships; Mrs. Baynes returned to Macao; and the Governor was informed that the Committee trusted his future conduct would prove the sincerity of his assurances, and would obviate the necessity of their taking measures for their own protection.

Extract China Cons., dated 29th Oct. 1830, in papers (Colonies) as above.

Extract, China Cons., dated 1st Nov. 1830, in papers (Colonies) as above.

On receiving this communication, the Governor observed that as they were now penitent and had been awakened to solicit protection, he certainly would not "admit the principle of moving the military to surround and expel them."

Extract China Cons., dated 29th Oct. 1830, in papers (Colonies) as above.

A reply by the Superintendent of Customs to the Committee's address of the 28th October informed them that the circumstances had been reported to the Emperor for orders. "Although," wrote the Superintendent, "he (the Emperor) cherishes tender thoughts intensely, how can he extend indulgence to violations of the law? The state of things must provoke his holy anger to inflict severe chastisement, and possibly to interdict the commerce, not allowing it to come from the South." The position also, as it then presented itself to the Chinese, was stated with much bluntness. "The said Nation's native spirit depends solely on trade for the necessities requisite to support life. Woollens, camlets, clocks and watches are things which China does not find necessary; but tea and silk are articles which the said Nation cannot possibly do without. It is by no means the case that the former foreign merchants forced themselves to bear patiently, but the fact is, they clung to the means of getting a livelihood."

Extract China Cons., dated 16th and 18th Nov. 1830, in App. II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

The tension, that existed at this time, led to one more act of open defiance on the part of the Select Committee. The port clearances of two of the Company's ships were delayed for some days, because the security merchants had not made up their accounts. The Committee, as they recorded, considered it absolutely necessary, at the first despatch of the season, to convince the merchants that their ships would sail as soon as they were ready; as otherwise similar delays would certainly occur on other occasions. They accordingly issued orders to the captains of the ships in question directing them to proceed down the river with the other ships belonging to the

Company, for which port clearances had been issued, and to return any fire that might be opened by the forts. "In case," they said, "you should be fired at by the forts at the Bocca Tigris, you are in the first instance to return with blank cartridge; but should your ships be struck and the lives of the crew be endangered, you are permitted to fire ball."

The ships sailed, and as they were passing the Bocca Tigris, a gun loaded with blank cartridge was fired from the forts at one of them, and the captain returned the fire in kind.

Affairs were in this position when Mr. Marjoribanks, Mr. Davis, and other gentlemen arrived at Canton, in November 1830, to relieve Mr. Baynes and the members of the Select Committee, under the orders issued by the Court of Directors in May 1830. The supersession then ordered would, it was thought, lead to renewed attempts at annoyance on the part of the Chinese, and the new Committee decided to meet any such disposition at the outset with such a degree of temper and firmness as would effectually check it.

Their expectations were soon realised. Two other ladies had accompanied their husbands to Canton, and were then in the factories, and the Hong merchants, under the Governor's orders, required the new Committee to order them to return to Macao. A Hong merchant also, who had, three months before, secured a ship consigned to the husband of one of the ladies, was thrown into prison on account of the lady's presence in Canton. The ladies' husbands do not appear to have been connected with the East India Company, and the Committee declined to use their influence to obtain the ladies' removal. On the 14th December, the Hong merchants made another attempt to induce them to move in the matter, but without success.

The Chinese appear to have been strangely in earnest about this apparently trivial question; and the language and epithets used at this time in regard to English ladies are said by Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Davis to have been of a shocking description.

The Governor, on the 11th December, issued an edict declaring that Baynes had "falsely filled the office of Chief," that he was responsible for the acts of "mad rebellion" of which the Committee had been guilty, and that death was not sufficient "to cover his crime," and requiring the new President, under pain of being involved in heavy guilt, to detain him until the Emperor's pleasure should be ascertained. "If, hereafter," he wrote, "we shall receive His Majesty's commands to take Baynes and punish his crimes, it will then be right that he be delivered over to be punished."

Mr. Marjoribanks and his colleagues submitted a firm but temperate reply. The right of the Governor to interfere with the servants of the Company in China was firmly but respectfully denied; the suspension of commercial intercourse ordered by the late Committee was said to have been caused by the condition of the Hong, which, as the Governor himself admitted, had become "sickened and debased;" Mr. Baynes' succession as President, the visit of his wife to Canton, and the measures taken for the defence of the factory, were explained and justified; and as regards the future, a belief was expressed that in a country "where the relations existing between husband and wife and parent and child were held in such high and deserved estimation," it could not be the Governor's wish "to deny to foreign residents the possession of these advantages on which, according to the maxims venerated in China, the moral condition and happiness of mankind so much depend."

The Governor in reply showed a disposition to come to terms. Mr. Baynes' case was disposed of with the remark—"now that Baynes is gone, his offences may all be left to himself; originally they do not concern the present Chief and his colleagues;" but the rules of the Celestial Empire, on the subject of the admission of foreign women to Canton, were said to be irrevocable, and the Select Committee were called upon to order the return to Macao of the lady or ladies then in the city. "The Celestial Empire," said the Governor, in conclusion, "decidedly will not treat harshly persons from remote parts. If they implicitly adhere to old usages and do not wilfully originate novel notions, no doubt there will be mutual tranquillity. In order to effect this, I do not fear the toil of reiterating admonitions and cautions on the said Chief and his colleagues."

In the meantime the Emperor's orders on the report made by the local officers in November 1830, as to the conduct and attitude of the English, were received at Canton, and a copy of the edict was obtained privately by the Select Committee. "According to internal regulations," said the Emperor, "foreign women are not allowed to go into the provincial city to dwell, and foreign merchants are not allowed to sit in chairs and enter their factories. Their bringing musketry and cannon is only for defence against pirates at sea; it is by no means allowed to convey them clandestinely

Extract China Cons., dated 8th and 11th Dec. 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Canton Committee, dated 13th Jan. 1832, in papers (Colonies) as above; and "China" by Sir J. Davis.

Edict of the Governor, communicated by the Superintendent of Customs on 11th Dec. 1830, in papers (Colonies) as above.

Extract China Cons., dated 14th Dec. 1830, in papers (Colonies) as above.

Edict of the Governor, dated 23rd Dec. 1830, in papers (Colonies) as above.

Extract China Cons., dated 30th Nov. and 29th Dec. 1830, in papers (Colonies) as above.

“ into the city. Now that the said foreigners have presumed to disobey old regulations, King (the Tartar General) and the others must issue strict and explicit orders, and cause them to obey and keep the old regulations. Hereafter they must not in the least degree oppose nor wilfully offend against the prohibitions. If still they dare to persist in opposition, then forthwith adopt measures to expel them and exhibit primitive correction; there must not be the least approximation or giving in. It is necessary for the four persons named above (*i.e.*, the Tartar General, the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and the Superintendent of Customs), to consult and manage safely. Whilst cherishing tenderness towards outside foreigners still there must be no loss of the dignity of the arrangements of the Celestial Empire. To do this will be good management.”

Memorial to the Emperor from the Tartar General, the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and the Superintendent of Customs, dated 1st Jan. 1831, in Extract China Cons., dated 4th Jan. 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

To this edict the local officers replied that, although the foreigners of the said nation were all “ stupidly obstinate, Baynes was perverse and obstinate to an extreme,” and that many of the difficulties, which had arisen, were caused by him; but that he and his colleagues had now been superseded by orders from England on account of their behaviour in the previous season. “ We find on examination,” they continued, “ that the foreigners are covetous of profit and very crafty and artful. It is not Baynes alone who is thus: so that although Baynes is now dismissed, it is difficult to ensure that in future those foreigners who are put in his stead will not again madly form crafty plans. We can only immediately thereon examine and issue strict orders for them to understand, that hereafter it is absolutely necessary that the English Chief, and all the foreigners of the various nations pay implicit obedience to the prohibitions of the Celestial Empire, and tranquilly continue the ordinary course of trade. If any should presume again to oppose, it will be our duty, in obedience to your Majesty’s will, to form some plan for driving them out and inflicting severe punishment and correction, without in the slightest degree approximating to or making accommodation with them, in order thereby to make the dignity of the Empire revered, and to keep in awe the stupid obstinacy of the barbarians.”

Edict of the Governor, dated 12th Jan. 1831, in Extract China Cons., dated 13th Jan. 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Canton Committee, dated 13th Jan. 1832, in papers (Colonies) as above.

An order also was issued by the Governor on 12th January 1831, recapitulating the substance of the Imperial edict above referred to, and directing the Hong merchants to command the Select Committee to send back to Macao the two ladies still in Canton, and threatening that if they dared to procrastinate and resist, the Emperor’s orders would be obeyed and a “ rigorous infliction of expulsion and chastisement (would) be manifested.” The Committee, however, took no steps to require the withdrawal of the ladies. The trading season was nearly over, and the time for the return of all Europeans to Macao was consequently at hand; and the Committee appear to have doubted the sincerity of the Chinese and to have considered the matter to be one upon which it was unwise to make a complete submission.

Edict from the Governor of Canton to the Hong merchants, dated 16th Jan. 1831, in App. I. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

Rumours of the withdrawal of the Company’s monopoly of the China trade were by this time in the air, and in January 1831 the Hong merchants presented a memorial to the Governor upon the subject. “ At present,” they wrote, “ the last division of the said Company’s ships is about to leave the port and return home. We prostrate beg that you will condescend to confer an edict, enjoining the said Nation’s Chief, Marjoribanks, early to send a letter home, to communicate it to the said Nation’s King, that if hereafter the said Nation’s Company be dissolved, will there, as heretofore, be appointed a Chief to come to Canton, to have the general management of the affairs of the said Nation’s foreign merchants and ships, which come to Canton. If no such Chief come to Canton, there will be no concentrated responsibility; and since, if the said Nation’s country (*i.e.*, Indian) ships and foreign merchants come to Canton to trade, the ships being many and the men not few, in the event of any silly foolish ignorant opposition to, and violation of, the commands of Government, after all who will be responsible? The Celestial Empire’s laws and regulations are awfully strict, and will not admit of the least infraction. The said Nation must be ordered to make previous and safe arrangements; then hereafter public affairs will have a head to revert to, and responsibility will not fall upon bystanders. Thus, it may be hoped, the commerce of the foreign merchants may go on tranquilly, and when the time comes to act, excuses be prevented.”

The Governor replied as follows: “ This coming before me the Governor, according to the proof it affords, I have examined and thus decide. The English nation has heretofore appointed a Chief to come to Canton for the general management of commercial dealings. If, indeed, after the 13th year the time of the Company be fulfilled and it be dispersed, the said Nation no doubt ought, as before, to

"appoint a Chief to come to Canton to manage. But what is said in the present statement about separation or dissolution of the Company is merely report heard by the said merchants. Whether it be really true or not still remains uncertain. However that, which is stated, arises from public motives regarding the future, and it is incumbent to make previous arrangements. As the above-named statement has been presented, I unite the circumstances and hereby issue an order to the said Hong merchants, that they may forthwith enjoin my commands on the said Nation's Chief early to send a letter home, that if indeed after the 13th year of Taowkwang the Company be dissolved, it will, as heretofore, be incumbent to deliberate and appoint a Chief who understands the business, to come to Canton, for the general management of the commercial dealings, by which means affairs may be prevented from going to confusion and benefits remain to commerce."

The Hong merchants also addressed a letter to the Chairman of the East India Company, expressing a hope that the Company's monopoly of the China trade would be continued, and affairs conducted in conformity with the arrangements then existing.

Letter dated 24th Jan. in App. I. to the Third Report as above.

"If after three years," they wrote, "the term of the honourable Company be completed and it be dispersed, then individuals of your honourable nation will every one produce capital and hire ships to come to Canton to trade. We imagine there will be scores of them. At that time the captains who come will be hired by individuals; not like the honourable Company's captains, all old and experienced gentlemen selected to fill the situation. Besides traders and sailors, not fewer than several thousands, will not be men selected and employed by the Company, but good and bad will be mixed. Moreover, the men of your nation are, many of them, by habit and nature unyielding and vehement. If there be no Company's chiefs nor Company's captains to exercise control over them, there will assuredly be constant disturbances, and it is possible some grand affray may be produced, and at that time there will be no honourable Company to grasp it with a master's hand. Not only will the public affairs be pushed aside and difficult to manage, but it is apprehended that the trade of your honourable nation will be in danger."

The letter is interesting and shows that the Hong merchants had a shrewd perception of the evils that were likely to attend the withdrawal of the Company from the China trade, but their prophecies were as those of Cassandra.

The remainder of the trading season passed without further friction. An address, which was presented to the Governor by the Committee, recommending the creation of more Hong merchants, as a measure mutually advantageous to both nations, was favourably received, the Governor admitting the advisability of increasing the number as much as possible; and, on the conclusion of the season, the Committee returned as usual to Macae, informing the Court of Directors that they saw before them "only a prospect of uninterrupted tranquillity." A settlement* also was made with the creditors of the absconded merchant, which provided for the payment of all debts outstanding within four years, and a dividend of 23 per cent. was paid in the month of March.

Letters from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 28th Jan. and 11th Feb. 1831, in App. II. to the Third Report, as above.

Letter from the Select Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 28th Jan. 1831, in App. I. to the Third Report, as above.

The tranquillity, however, was delusive, and, after the departure of the Committee from Canton, the Chinese commenced a series of measures to punish them for the independence, which they and their predecessors had exhibited. The Hong merchants were sentenced to chastisement with the bamboo, subject to the customary privilege of ransom, for their failure to prevent the residence of foreign women at Canton, but escaped punishment in consequence of an issue of a general pardon to all offenders sentenced to this form of punishment throughout the empire. The manager of one of the leading Hong firms, who was on friendly terms with the English, and had had extensive business dealings with the Company, was thrown into prison, for his traitorous connexion with the foreigners, and there died, in consequence, as alleged by the Select Committee, of the privations and treatment to which he was subjected; and a compradore, who had been in the Company's service for 17 years, was dismissed by an order of the Chinese Provincial Judge, and was prohibited from remaining any longer in the factory.

Extracts China Cons., dated 20th May 1831, in papers (Colonies) presented to Parliament in 1831-32.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 31st May 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

On the 12th May the Deputy Governor, accompanied by the Superintendent of Customs and a number of armed attendants, visited the Company's factory; put the senior linguist into chains; ordered Howqua, the senior Hong merchant, to prison;

* The debts of the two merchants, who failed in 1828-29, were completely liquidated before the expiration of the East India Company's monopoly. ("The Chinese Security Merchants and their Debts," pages 276 to 291 of Correspondence relating to China, presented to Parliament in 1840.)

Extracts from
China Cons.,
dated 14th May
1831, in papers
(Colonies) as
above.

treated the picture of His Majesty the King with marked indignity, and directed the immediate demolition of the landing-place and of the inclosure and garden, which had been constructed between the factory and the river. The linguist and Howqua were eventually pardoned at the intercession of the Superintendent, after Howqua had been kept for an hour upon his knees, but the demolition of the quay and devastation of the premises in front of the factory were carried out by Chinese workmen in accordance with the Deputy Governor's orders. The landing-place, it will be remembered, was constructed with the sanction of the Governor; but the former Select Committee, in constructing the inclosure and garden in direct defiance of the Governor's orders, and in repairing subsequently the damage done to them under the orders of the City Governor, had undoubtedly provoked some measures of retaliation.

News of these proceedings reached the Select Committee at Macao, and two of the members, Messrs. Daniell and Smith, were sent to Canton to try and protect the Company's property. These gentlemen, on their arrival, found the work of destruction and devastation in active progress, but were unable to prevent or delay the execution of the orders. They contented themselves, therefore, with preparing a remonstrance in writing, addressed to the Deputy Governor, and returned to Macao on the 17th May, making over the remonstrance to the Hong merchants for delivery.

Extract China
Cons., dated
20th May 1831,
in papers
(Colonies) as
above.

On the 20th May 1831, a memorial of the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Superintendent of Customs, to the Emperor, proposing the republication of the trade regulations of the Emperor Kienlung, with additions and alterations considered suitable to the requirements of the time, was communicated by order of the Governor, through the Hong merchants, to the Committee for information and compliance.

The amended regulations were designed, as stated in the memorial, to "strengthen the guards" against the barbarians; and some of them were of a highly restrictive and offensive character, more especially as Kienlung's regulations had, admittedly, "gradually been neglected and the execution of them relaxed."

1. The rule prohibiting the permanent residence of foreigners at Canton was republished, though the necessity for a more extended trading season than was contemplated in the days of Kienlung was recognised and admitted.

2. The Hong merchants were once more prohibited from borrowing money from foreigners; and to enforce observance of the rule, foreign merchants were required to submit in future to the Hoppo, on the conclusion of their business for the season, a statement in writing, declaring whether there were any balances due to them from Hong merchants, and claims thus reported were, in the event of the failure of any Hong merchant, to be repaid in instalments. Claims not reported were to be ignored. Hong merchants were required to pay within three months any balance ascertained to be due, but any debt, for which a claim for recovery was not immediately lodged on the expiration of the three months, was to be treated by the Government as irrecoverable.

3. The concession made in 1814, permitting the employment of Chinese as cooks and tea boilers, was ignored, but the original regulation which prohibited the employment of Chinese by foreigners in any capacity but that of linguist or compradore (purveyor), was modified so far as to permit Chinese to work in factories as watchmen, door-keepers, and carriers of goods and water, but not as servants.

4. Ships, arriving at Whampoa, were declared liable to search and examination, and an obsolete rule, which required that they should be placed under the supervision of a military guard, was revived. The regulation also, which confined all foreign trade to the recognised Hong merchants and placed the foreigners under their government and control, was re-enacted, and it was added:—"Hereafter the foreign merchants, dwelling in the Hong merchants' factories, must not be allowed to presume of their own accord to go out and in, lest they should trade and carry on clandestine transactions with traitorous natives. The boats in Canton River, in which they go, must not be allowed to set sail and go fast, lest they rush against native boats on the river, and wrangle and quarrel. They must not be allowed to wander about the villages and market places near Canton, in order that bloody affrays may be prevented."

5. Foreign women were once more prohibited from residing in the factories in Canton, and foreigners from riding in sedan chairs; and Chinese were prohibited from supplying sedan chairs to foreigners or from acting as chairmen for them.

6. The interdict against the introduction by foreigners of muskets and guns into Canton was repeated.

7. The captains of the Company's ships were allowed to go backwards and forwards on the river in sanpan boats with flags set, but the privilege was confined to them only. Foreigners were prohibited from travelling, without permits, from Macao to

Whampoa and Canton, and from Canton to Whampoa and Macao; and the necessity for adherence to the orders, requiring cargo vessels to apply for port clearances at the Custom House, was enjoined both upon foreigners and upon the Custom House officials.

8. Rules were promulgated to regulate the submission of petitions. In affairs of importance, on which it was absolutely necessary that the Governor should be addressed, petitions were to be delivered to the senior Hong merchant, or to the security merchant, for presentation. If the senior merchant, or security merchant, should not present the petition, foreigners were permitted to proceed to the city gate, and there present it to the military officer on guard. "If, however," it was said, "the business be of a commonplace nature, and the Hong merchants have not refused to present it for them, or the topic be one which it was improper to present, then the foreigner who shall perversely offend and take a number of people to the city gate to present a petition, that foreign merchant's trade shall forthwith be stopped one month, and he be disallowed to buy or sell any goods thereby to chastise his disrespect."

Regulations 3, 4, and 5, if brought into active operation, would have made the position of foreigners at Canton almost intolerable, and Regulation 8 did not permit of the presentation at the city gates of any petition, which had been refused, or rejected, by the Governor or other authorities. The Committee determined therefore to display their resentment at the proceedings of the Deputy Governor, and to oppose to the utmost the introduction of the regulations, and in accordance with this resolution sent Mr. Lindsay to Canton to deliver up the keys of the Company's factory; prepared addresses to the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Superintendent of Customs, complaining of the Deputy Governor's proceedings and stating that, as they had no means of protecting their property, they were compelled to abandon it; published "as representatives of the British nation in China" a notice to the British merchants in Canton that they would be compelled to suspend all commercial intercourse between the two countries, on the 1st August, if their grievances were not redressed, and security against the recurrence of similar acts of violence obtained; and applied to the Government of India for the Governor-General's intervention and support.

Mr. Lindsay, on arrival at Canton, found that the remonstrance to the Deputy Governor, delivered to the Hong merchants by Messrs Daniell and Smith, had not been submitted; and Howqua, the senior merchant, informed him that their lives would be in danger, if they were to present any letter on the subject of the Deputy Governor's proceedings. After ineffectually attempting to induce them to deliver the remonstrance and addresses, which the Select Committee had subsequently prepared, Mr. Lindsay, on the 27th May, personally presented the addresses and handed the keys of the factory to the Quang Heep, or Commandant of Police, while he was engaged in an examination of the ground at the Company's factory. The Commandant, informed him that the Emperor's orders must be obeyed, and that he declined to receive any petitions; and handed the addresses and keys to Howqua, who returned them. A second effort was made to induce him to take the addresses and keys, but he again returned them to Howqua, and Mr. Lindsay was obliged to return to Macao without accomplishing his object.

Foiled in their attempt to communicate with the authorities, the Committee took steps to inform the Chinese people of the nature of their grievances and of the position of affairs, and delivered a manifesto in Chinese to the Hong merchants, and affixed copies of it in conspicuous places in Canton, notifying their intention of suspending trade, if their grievances were not redressed. The English, as they said, had only feelings of goodwill to the Chinese people, but they could never submit to oppression.

In the letter addressed to the Government of India, the seizure and imprisonment of the Hong merchant, the destruction of the landing place and devastation of the grounds in front of the Company's factory, the obnoxious character of the new regulations, the persistent refusal of the Chinese authorities to receive or consider any remonstrance, and the notice given by the Committee to British subjects of their intention to suspend the trade were fully reported, and the Government of India was requested to assist the Committee in the emergency by sending a letter of remonstrance to the Governor of Canton, and to support the letter by sending the Admiral, or one or more of the ships under his command, to China at the commencement of the ensuing season, in view of "possible contingencies, which the continued hostility of the Chinese Government might create." The propriety also of addressing a letter to the Emperor of China, to be used or not as might be necessary, was suggested for consideration.

The tone of the letter was decidedly bellicose, and the feasibility of coercing the Chinese in the event of hostilities, and of establishing an intercourse infinitely more

Extracts from China Cons., dated 23rd, 24th, 26th and 28th May 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

Extract from China Cons., dated 30th May 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

Letter addressed to Sir Charles Metcalfe, Vice-President in Council, in the absence of the Governor-General in Upper India, dated 26th May 1831, in Extract China Cons., dated 27th May 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

favourable than foreigners had up to that time enjoyed, was discussed at some length. The "whole history of our trade with China," they wrote, "exhibits numerous instances of acts of undue violence meeting respectful treatment in return from the Government, while persons living in obedience to its laws were suffering from severe and unmerited oppression."

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Canton Committee, dated 18th Jan. 1832, in papers (Colonies) as above.

The facts, (subsequently described by the Court of Directors as essential), that the President and members of the previous Select Committee had inclosed the ground in front of the factory in defiance of the orders issued, and had subsequently, when threatened, ordered up seamen and guns to defend the factory from attack, were not however, brought to notice.

Extract China Cons., dated 26th and 27th May 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

The Government of Bombay, at the same time, was asked to place one of the Company's cruisers, under the orders of the Committee at Canton, for purposes of communication with the Government of India or for general service in China; and a copy of the letter to the Government of India was communicated to Sir Edward Owen, the Naval Commander-in-Chief in India.

Extract China Cons., dated 1st June 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

The determination of the Committee to oppose the introduction of the new trade regulations, and to resent the high-handed proceedings of the Deputy Governor, was warmly approved by the private British merchants in Canton, and Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, Innes, and 20 other gentlemen, on May the 30th, adopted resolutions in which they expressed their unequivocal approval of the measures adopted by the Committee; declared that the proceedings of the authorities manifested a deliberate plan to oppress and degrade British subjects; and appealed to their countrymen in Great Britain not to yield to Chinese caprice, and to take decisive steps for the protection of the trade, "it being," as they said, "apparent from the whole history of foreign intercourse with the Empire, since Captain Weddell, with a single (*sic*) merchant vessel, in the middle of the 17th century, took possession of the Bocca Tigris fort, until Sir Murray Maxwell in recent times silenced the same fort by one broadside from the 'Alceste,' that firmness, resistance, and even acts of violence, have always succeeded in producing a spirit of conciliation, while tame submission has only had the effect of inducing still further oppression."

Edict of the Governor, dated 22nd May, and received on the 8th June 1831, in Extract China Cons., dated 10th June 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

On the 8th June 1831, however, the Governor communicated to the Select Committee an Imperial edict, sanctioning the new trade regulations, and directing the Governor and other officers to enforce strictly "the internal customs, and so eradicate the disturbances of foreign barbarians;" and added orders of his own, warning the foreign merchants that punishment would inevitably follow any further attempts to offer opposition or create disturbance.

Extract China Cons., dated 10th June 1831, and letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 18th June 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

These orders produced a change of attitude on the part of the Committee. The new regulations had received the Emperor's sanction, and any attempt to induce or compel the Local Government to rescind them, was accordingly out of the question; and the tenor of the Imperial edict showed clearly that a repressive policy was in favour at Peking. They decided, therefore, to postpone any measures for obtaining redress, until they should see the result of their reference to the Government of India; and in pursuance of this decision, they issued a public notice, informing British merchants that the trade would not be suspended on the 1st August, but recommending them, "to exert every means in their power to recover such property belonging to them" as was then "in the possession of natives of the country"; and apprised the Government of India of their intention not to suspend the trade, as a discussion with the Canton Government, unsupported by a demonstration of naval power, would, in their opinion, be unproductive of result. They added, however, an expression of their conviction, that a demand for reparation should be made on the termination of the season, when the property of the Company and of individuals, had been placed beyond the reach of attack.

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Government of India, dated 19th June 1831, in Extract China Cons., of that date in papers (Colonies) as above.

Extract China Cons., dated 18th June 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

Mr. Smith, it may be noticed, recorded an opinion to the effect that the proceedings of the Deputy Governor at the factory, and the promulgation of the objectionable trade regulations, were mainly attributable to the action taken by the Court of Directors in removing from their appointments the members of the previous Select Committee. "An impression," as he said, "was thereby made on the mind of the Local Government that it could with impunity carry its oppressive acts to almost any extent, whilst, for the sake of the preservation of the trade their successors would tacitly submit to every insult and indignity."

Extract China Cons., dated 30th June and 2nd July 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

On the 30th June, the Hong merchants returned to the Committee, unopened, the remonstrance to the Deputy Governor, dated 17th May, and the subsequent addresses to the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Superintendent of Customs, with the sealed packet containing the keys of the factories, and informed them that they had tried

ineffectually to present the documents addressed to the Deputy-Governor and Superintendent of Customs, and that the Governor, on the 20th June, had verbally issued orders to the effect that the Deputy Governor had "reverently received the great Emperor's orders to take their landing-place which had been built, and destroy it by excavation," and that the Chief and others must yield obedience to the Imperial will.

The Committee sent back the Hong merchants' letter, and informed them that they declined to receive any communication from them upon the subject, as the officers of Government had taken no notice of addresses which they had found it necessary to present.

Petitions by the private British merchants to the Deputy Governor and the Superintendent of Customs, protesting strongly against the new trade regulations, and against the attack (so-called) on the property and factories of the East India Company, at Canton, were summarily rejected. The Deputy Governor, in his reply dated 12th July 1831, justified his proceedings at the Company's factory; threatened to take troops and open fire on any barbarians who might in future "audaciously presume to act irregularly," and required the petitioners to implicitly obey the regulations.

Address of the British merchants to the Deputy Governor and Superintendent of Customs, dated 8th July, and replies of the Deputy Governor and Acting Governor, and of the Superintendent of Customs, dated 12th and 13th July 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above.

The Superintendent of Customs was equally firm, though less violent. The petitioners were told that they were merely private merchants, and were "not at all comparable" with the Company, and if they disliked the restrictions imposed upon them by the orders of the Government, they might withdraw their business and not take the trouble to visit China; and the Hong merchants were directed to order the said nation's Chief to "keep Jardine, Innes, and the others under restraint, not allowing them to create disturbance and again dun with petitions."

The orders, issued with so much determination, merely offered another illustration of the great difference between Chinese precept and practice. The Select Committee reported in September and October 1831, that no attempt had been made to put the more obnoxious provisions of the new regulations in force, and Sir John Davis in his book on China tells us that they were not acted on. The Chinese also appear to have permitted, and even assisted at, the reconstruction of the landing-place in front of the factory.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Canton Committee, dated 18th April 1832, in papers (Colonies) as above; and "China," by Sir John Davis.

The Governor-General of India, upon a consideration of the facts as stated in the letter dated 26th May 1831, decided to support the Committee. Admiral Sir Edward Owen was instructed to visit China, and a letter of remonstrance from the Governor-General to the Governor of Canton was despatched in H.M.S. "Challenger." Another letter appears to have been addressed by the Governor-General to the Emperor for delivery if the result of the remonstrance to the Governor should prove unsatisfactory, but this letter was not delivered.

The "Challenger" arrived at Canton in November 1831, and after some negotiation the Governor-General's letter was delivered by Captain Freemantle to a deputation of mandarins. The Governor in his reply disavowed any intention of outrage or insult, but the reply, was so unsatisfactory, and was conveyed in so objectionable a manner, that the Committee declined to accept it. Finding that the Governor-General was prepared to support them, the Committee were at first disposed to re-open the whole question, and the President, Mr. Marjoribanks, appears to have had some intention of taking the Governor-General's letter to Peking himself. The Admiral, however, did not visit China, and the result of the remonstrance to the Governor was not encouraging. The matter, therefore, rested until instructions, received from the Court of Directors, repressed effectually the combative spirit of their servants.

The Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, on hearing of the measures taken up to the 31st May, to suspend the trade and appeal to the Government of India for armed resistance, wrote at once on 9th December 1831, warning the Committee against the adoption of any course of policy likely to involve the Company "in hostilities against the Chinese, without the most distinct and positive orders" from England; and detailed instructions were subsequently communicated on 13th January 1832, in which the Court reviewed at length the causes of the discussions between the Select Committee and the Government at Canton.

Letter of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the Canton Committee, dated 9th Dec. 1831, in papers (Colonies) as above; and Letter from the Court of Directors to the Canton Committee, dated 13th Jan. 1832, in papers (Colonies) as above.

The Directors admitted that the conduct of the Deputy Governor was a sufficient cause for irritation, but pointed out that the previous Committee had given provocation by constructing the inclosure in front of the factory contrary to express orders, and by permitting and encouraging residence of European women in Canton. They disapproved also the support given by Mr. Marjoribanks and his colleagues, to a continued disobedience of the law on the subject of European women; observed

that the trade regulations, though some of them were undoubtedly very objectionable, did not differ materially from others, which had been enacted at former periods; and while declaring themselves fully sensible of the difficulties which the Committee had encountered owing to the supersession of their predecessors, expressed an opinion to the effect that the decision to abandon the factory and suspend trade had been arrived at with undue precipitation. They condemned the requisition made to the Government of India for the aid of ships of war, as being contrary, both to good policy and to the instructions which they had issued on the subject in 1824; and as the Committee had apparently not abandoned the idea of obtaining reparation, they laid down for their guidance explicit instructions in regard to the future conduct of their relations with the Chinese Government.

"The commerce between Great Britain and China," they wrote, "is too important to be put to hazard without the most urgent and imperious necessity, and on no account upon considerations of a personal nature. It is of essential moment to the Indian as well as to the home revenues, both as regards the State and the East India Company, as well as in the regular supply of the British public of an article of general consumption.

"We sought that trade originally, the advantages which it has yielded has induced us to exert every endeavour to secure its continuance. Those exertions have been attended with success, and although late events have led to the expression of opinions in favour of a more decided and less pacific course of policy, we are by no means prepared to adopt or to act upon such opinions.

"To attempt to maintain a purely commercial intercourse, such as that with China, by force of arms, would in a pecuniary point of view be anything rather than a matter of profit, even if justice and humanity could allow us for a moment seriously to contemplate such a step. We cannot in fairness deny to China the right which our own nation exercises as she sees fit, either by prohibiting, restraining, or subjecting to certain laws and regulations its commercial dealings with other countries. China must be considered free in the exercise of her affairs without being accountable to any other nation, and it must be remembered that she has rejected every effort made by us, as well as by almost every other European State, to form a commercial intercourse with her upon those principles, which govern commercial relations with other countries."

They directed the Committee, therefore, to avoid for the future all discussions with the Chinese authorities, except in cases of absolute necessity, and to carry on any discussions in which they might find themselves involved, with temper and moderation, and to bring them to a close as soon as possible. "It is a notion too commonly entertained and acted on by you," they wrote, "and encouraged by foreign merchants residing at Canton, that nothing is to be gained from the Chinese by obedience to their laws and edicts, but that much may be gained by intimidation; you may have succeeded for the moment in setting the Government at defiance, but that Government has not only taken the first opportunity to assert its dominion, but also with the view of making you feel the consequences of disobedience, it has almost invariably deprived you of some advantages, which it had either tacitly or avowedly yielded to friendly remonstrances. The proceedings as to Macao in 1809, and those now under review, fully bear out this observation."

The assumption by the Committee of the character of representatives of the British nation was also strongly objected to.

"It is essential," they said, "that you should clearly understand that you are not the representatives of the British Nation, but of the East India Company, in whom the exclusive trade with China has been vested by Parliament. The assumption of the character of British representatives has increased the difficulties experienced in the various discussions which have arisen with the local authorities, more particularly those in which his Majesty's ships have been concerned. When, on such occasions, you have disavowed to the Chinese authorities all right of interference with the captains of ships of war, those authorities have urged the impossibility of your not having power, as the representatives of the British Nation, over all ships belonging to your country."

* As representatives of the Company, which represented in China the British nation, the supra-cargoes were in a sense the national representatives, and, as has been shown, the Chinese Government had for half a century utterly refused to recognise any authority at Canton but that of the Select Committee. From the Company's point of view, however, the instructions issued were unquestionably politic and wise.

In conclusion, the orders of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, forbidding the adoption of any policy likely to involve the Company in hostilities with the Chinese without distinct and positive instructions were once more repeated, and the Committee were informed that "the preservation of the national honour" was "in the hands of his Majesty's Government, and it must be for the King's Ministers alone to take the responsibility of deciding upon the adoption of extreme measures for vindicating that honour, if insulted."

Similar instructions were issued by the Directors in April 1832, when news reached England of the disposition of the Committee to re-open the quarrel in consequence of the assurance of support, which they had received from the Government of India; and the Committee were informed that whatever might be the position held by Great Britain in the scale of nations, the English had no pretensions, greater than those of other nations, to dictate to the Chinese the principles upon which they should carry on foreign trade.

Letter from the Court of Directors to the Canton Committee, dated 18th April 1832, in papers (Colonies) as above.

In 1832-33 various attempts were made to trade at ports and places on the Chinese coast north of Canton. One vessel, the "Lord Amherst," was despatched in February 1832 by the Select Committee, and visited Amoy, Foochowfoo, Ningpo, Shanghai, and other places on the coast. Mr. Lindsay, a member of the factory was chief of the expedition, and was accompanied by the Rev. C. Gutzlaff. The voyagers were received with civility at nearly all the places visited, but the Emperor's orders, confining foreigners to the port of Canton, were found to be an effectual bar to the establishment of a legitimate trade, and although the people of the country were apparently anxious for a more extended intercourse, the expedition, from a commercial standpoint, was a failure. The Court of Directors condemned the enterprise, and requested the Committee to "abstain from the prosecution of any further attempts to extend" their intercourse with the Chinese without their "previous express sanction," and to adhere strictly, in their relations with the authorities at Canton, to the instructions conveyed in their letter of 13th January 1832.

Books on China by Sir John Davis and Mr. Auber, and a Report of proceedings on the voyage of the "Lord Amherst," by Mr. Lindsay.

Other ventures by private traders, particularly that of the "Jamesina," under the orders of Mr. Innes, appear to have been more successful; but opium* was the principal article disposed of, and at Foochowfoo, where Mr. Innes openly applied for permission to trade in woollens, calicoes, and rice, his application was rejected on the ground that the port was closed to foreign trade by the Emperor's orders.

Edicts were issued by the Chinese Government regarding the unauthorised visits of the "Lord Amherst" and other vessels to the north-east coast, and the Provincial Governors were held responsible for preventing any repetition of such enterprises. The Select Committee in reply to an urgent communication from the Governor of Canton, which was supposed to refer to the "Sylph," a private vessel, stated that it was impossible for them to prevent or be answerable for vessels "illegally visiting the northern parts of the Empire," but promised to inform the British Government that foreign vessels were prohibited from trading at any port of China except Canton.

In April 1832 an incident occurred, which illustrated in a remarkable manner the spirit of audacity and contempt for the Chinese, which was growing among the English residents in China at this time. The arrogance of the officials and insolence of the populace provoked indignation; and the weakness and venality of the Government gave some grounds for the belief that more was to be gained from it by violence than by submission and temperate remonstrance.

Mr. James Innes, having occasion to complain to the Superintendent of Customs regarding a private grievance, entered the Superintendent's house and walked into his apartment accompanied by two friends and a Chinese purveyor, with the intention of making a representation. The Superintendent was asleep, and Mr. Innes and his friends were retiring, when a man came forward and struck Mr. Innes three times with a wood chopper, and wounded him on the arm. Mr. Innes withdrew, and went immediately, accompanied by five of his friends, to the house of Howqua, the head Hong merchant, and demanded the arrest and trial of his assailant by Chinese law. Howqua, as was said, trifled; and Mr. Innes took an oath that if the man was not in confinement for trial before sundown (it being then 2 p.m.), he would set fire to the Superintendent's house. The threat was disregarded, and at 8 o'clock, Mr. Innes set fire to the house by means of some rockets and blue lights. At 8.30

* "My mind is made up," wrote Mr. Innes, in regard to this voyage, "that until some important change in the relation of the two countries takes place the only chance of pushing English manufactures on this coast is by having them a small item in an opium cargo." At the same time it must be stated that the population of the country are most anxious to trade if they could escape mandarin vengeance." (Auber's China.)

Howqua appeared, and conceded every point that he had at 2 p.m. evaded; and on the following day the man was (according to Mr. Innes) "exposed all over Canton, wearing " the wooden collar with his offence described upon it."

The merchants appealed to the Select Committee, and they, after hearing Mr. Innes' account of the case, expressed an opinion that he had acted most unjustifiably, but he does not appear to have been called to account in any way for the outrage.*

Letter from the Canton Committee to the Court of Directors, dated 26th Jan. 1831, in App. I. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th Oct. 1831.

The power and influence of the Company were by this time on the wane, and the growth of the opium trade and of smuggling generally was responsible for an increase of lawlessness on the part of private traders, and of the seamen engaged in the illicit traffic. The Select Committee, in a letter written to the Court of Directors, in January 1831, reporting on the state of trade and of affairs generally at Canton, gave the following graphic description of the phase upon which the opium trade had then entered. "We have," they wrote, "already acquainted your " honourable court with the greatly increased extent of the opium trade in China, " carried on in defiance of official proclamations, under the connivance and frequently " by the officers of the Government appointed to put it down. The ships engaged in " it now remain anchored at the Island of Lintin and in its neighbourhood, through- " out the year, unmolested by the Chinese war vessels. The traffic is not confined to " opium, but extends to articles of every description. Reports are regularly made by " the native pilots to the Governor of Canton of the number of vessels engaged in it. " It never can be a recognised trade, but, it is now, to all intent and purposes, an " established one, and affords one of the most remarkable instances in this, or perhaps " in any other country, of the weakness and corruption of the Government."

The demand for opium in China had for some years been increasing, and in 1820-21 Bengal opium realised the enormous price of 4,283 Rs. per chest in Calcutta. The attempts made by the Indian Government in 1821-29, to restrict the production of opium in the States of Central India had failed; the measures had been very unpopular, and had also been ineffectual; and in 1829-30 their failure was acknowledged, and the export from Bombay of opium produced in the Native States was permitted on payment of a pass duty to the British Government. This measure led also to an increase in the quantity of Bengal opium offered for sale. With a free supply of Malwa opium in the market, limited only by the extent of the demand in China, it was impossible to continue the old policy of selling a small quantity of Bengal opium at a high price; and to protect its Bengal revenue Government was obliged to increase the quantity of opium sold.

Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 12th Aug. 1832.

The traffic was known to be contraband, but the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1830, in their summary of the evidence taken on the subject of the China trade, had stated that the prohibition of opium, though frequently reiterated in Imperial proclamations, was disregarded by the Chinese people, and by the officers of Government, who appeared to connive systematically at its introduction, and to derive a large profit from the bribes of the smugglers. In 1832, also, the Committee in their final report gave an indirect sanction to the contraband traffic by their recommendation in favour of the maintenance of the revenue derived from the export of opium by the Indian Government. "In the present state," they wrote, "of the revenue of India, it " does not appear advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue; a duty upon " opium being a tax which falls principally upon the foreign consumer, and which " appears upon the whole less liable to objection than any other which could be " substituted."

Dealings in the drug, however, up to 1830, were peaceably conducted; but from that time the smugglers became bolder and more aggressive, and disputes and fights with the natives on the coast began to occur. The traffic also was gradually extended from Canton to other places and ports, at which foreign trade was not permitted, and this naturally roused the indignation of the Chinese Government. In March 1831 a serious affray occurred at Lintin in which a Chinese was killed and others were

* In judging the actions of our countrymen at Canton, at this time, it is necessary to make due allowance for the humiliating and exasperating conditions under which they lived and traded. Their trade was confined to the one port; their personal liberty was restricted, and they were constantly exposed to insult and contumely. "Insult," wrote the Rev. W. H. Medhurst, in his book on China in 1838, "is another evil which foreigners " are obliged to endure whilst resident in Canton. In addition to the word 'barbarian,' which is liberally " bestowed on all without the pale of Chinese civilisation, a more offensive epithet is not unfrequently employed. " On passing through the suburbs of Canton, or up and down the river, the cry of 'foreign devil' salutes the " ear on every side; even mothers may be seen teaching their infants to point and shout the offensive epithet " as the stranger passes by. Some will even go out of their way, or desist from their work, to gratify their " railing propensities." ("China: Its State and Prospects, with especial reference to the Spread of the " Gospel," by the Rev. W. H. Medhurst; published in 1838.)

wounded by English and American smugglers. The Chinese on this occasion appear to have been the aggressors in the first instance, but the conduct of the smugglers was criminal and lawless in the extreme. A boat containing clothes belonging to the crews of the smuggling ships, which had been left in charge of some Chinese and lascar sailors, was seized by a mandarin boat with (as was said) the view of extorting money. The cries of the lascars were heard on the ships, and four boats put off to the rescue. The captain of an American ship appears to have been the leader of the party, but three of the boats were from English ships, one of which was sailing under Portuguese colours. Fire was opened on the mandarin boat, and after some time the boat containing the lascars and clothes was relinquished. The fire, however, was continued even after the rescue had been effected, and in the course of the affair one man in the mandarin boat was killed, and five or six others were wounded. The mother of the deceased Chinese applied to the Local Government for redress, asserting that her son had been killed by men belonging to an English ship. The Select Committee were called upon to assist in the discovery of the offender, but no attempt was made to fasten the case upon the English in particular, the Superintendent and City Governor stating in edicts, issued on the subject, that the offence had been committed by some person or persons from the "foreign ships." The Select Committee in reply said that the Company had no ship at Lintin, and that they could not be answerable for foreign ships, and this excuse appears to have been accepted, and the case was not pressed. The Committee did not compel the English ships concerned to leave the coast, as they were afraid that such action would be regarded by the authorities as an admission that the English alone were responsible for the man's death, and that the Company's trade would be placed in danger; and the Chinese officials were either unable or unwilling to proceed themselves against the smugglers, who remained in consequence entirely unmolested at Lintin.

In 1832, however, the increase of smuggling, and the evils arising from it, attracted the attention of the Local Government, and the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton submitted a memorial* to the Emperor suggesting the advisability of legalising the opium trade and of abandoning the policy of prohibition. "We, your Ministers," they wrote, "after humble consideration, are of opinion that, opium having become prevalent in the country, vagabonds who smoke it to the injury of their lives and of their constitutions, do so entirely from their own stupidity and refusal to be aroused, and are therefore unworthy of regard. But the loss of wealth and the waste of treasure are exceedingly great, and the evil suffered is not, indeed, light. If at this time it were suffered to be brought in and publicly used, with legal permission, as a medicine, this would prevent the foreigners from raising the price to an enormous height. Thus also might a silent impediment be placed in the way of their avaricious plans and large profits." . . . "In Canton Province of late years," they continued, "the plunderers of trading boats on the coasts and rivers, and the plunderers of travelling merchants on land, who have, under the pretence of searching for opium, wantonly troubled others, and involved them in the prevalent illegality, are more than can be told. And the quantities of opium dirt, which civil and military officers have at various times been sent to burn and destroy, are incalculable. Yet, after all, we do not know in what respect the illegality has been suppressed."

The Emperor, however, was not prepared to sanction such a radical change of policy, and the memorialists were formally censured for their proposal.

In or about 1832 the opium ships began to anchor in what the Chinese called the "inner seas," and at Cumsingmoon in 1833 the smugglers came into serious collision with the natives of that part of the coast. On the 12th October a Chinese was arrested by a boat's crew of a Portuguese ship on a charge, apparently well founded, of removing brass and iron from the wreck of an English vessel, which was stranded near the anchorage. Several articles had been previously taken, or (as was said) stolen from the wreck; and the Chinese was accordingly made over to the mate of the "Hercules," and was by him detained until the commander, Captain Grant, who was then at Macao, should return. The Chinese on shore, in the meantime, on the 13th October seized in retaliation a lascar of the "Hercules," who was watching the

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd Feb. 1837, pages 153-156 of correspondence relating to China, presented to Parliament in 1840.

Papers regarding hostilities between the Chinese and British subjects engaged in the opium trade from 1830 to 1833 (55 pages), presented to Parliament on the 24th March 1840, pages 5-21.

* Le, who had been Governor of Canton throughout the disputes and discussions of 1829-31, was removed from his appointment in 1832, for his failure to suppress a local insurrection, and was succeeded by Loo, who appears at the commencement of his term of office to have been well-disposed towards foreigners, and to have been anxious to maintain friendly relations with them. The memorial referred to was submitted either by Le, or Loo, probably the latter. Captain Elliot, writing in the time of Governor Tang in 1837, says that the memorial was submitted by the late Governor, *i.e.*, Loo.

wreck, and the mate of the vessel landed on the same day with a party of about 40 men; proceeded to the village where the man was detained, and effected a forcible rescue. The Chinese, however, attacked them when they were on their way back to the boats, and in the course of the fight that ensued another lascar was captured, and was either killed on the spot or was subsequently put to death. One of the Chinese also was badly wounded by a charge of small shot, and other persons were hurt on both sides.

The circumstances were reported to Captain Grant at Macao; and in accordance with his instructions an attempt was made on the morning of the 15th to overawe the Chinese, and rescue the lascar, who was then supposed to be alive. An expedition, consisting of 18 boats, manned by about 250 men, all armed, from the ships of five Nations then at the anchorage, 50 of the men being Europeans, started for the village, where the first fight had occurred, to insist on the man's release, and to use, if necessary, force to obtain it. The instructions, however, which they had received from Captain Grant, who, as the senior captain of the ships consigned to Jardine, Matheson and Co., appears to have been regarded as the Commodore of the smuggling fleet, directed them to take some prisoners and seize two or three boats, if the Chinese would not give the man up, but to be careful not to fire so as to endanger life. The Chinese were prepared, and as soon as the boats approached the shore they opened fire, disregarding a flag of truce. The fire was ill-directed, and no one was hit; but some of the party became exasperated, and fired some shots in return, and another Chinese was wounded. The captain of the expedition seeing that the object in view could not be attained by a demonstration, and that the Chinese were determined to resist, decided to withdraw; and the boats returned to the ships.

Chinese troops were sent to the village, and Captain Grant, who rejoined the "Hercules," after the failure of the expedition, commenced negotiations (in which he was assisted by the Rev. C. Gutzlaff) with the mandarins in command, to try and obtain the release of the lascar, promising that, as soon as he was released, he would deliver up "the thief for punishment." The lascar appears to have been killed before this; and the mandarins professed themselves unable to afford any information.

Pages 10 and 11
of the above
Papers.

On the 24th October the Governor took up the case; deputed a magistrate to the village to inquire whether the villagers or the foreigners were to blame in the first instance, and directed the Hong merchants to require the President of the Select Committee to order the captain of the ship concerned to release the Chinese, who was detained, and to deliver up the foreigner, who had fired the gun and wounded the Chinese on shore, and also to send the ship away. The edict issued was unusually moderate in tone. "On inquiry," said the Governor, "I find that the object, which, from the first, brought foreigners to China, was the pursuit of commerce and gain. How should they all at once presume to approach the interior parts of the country and take to firing upon and wounding the Natives, and carrying off villagers as prisoners, and, more than all, how should they have the audacity to give utterance to words of disrespect and contempt? Viewing the tenor of the report, I cannot but suspect that there have been mistakes made, owing to their not understanding each other's language; and I think that there must be other causes than those reported which led to the disturbance. These must be carefully inquired into and sifted, that I may act accordingly and repress disorder. I have observed foreigners to be generally respectful and complaisant in their language, and not given to break the rules of propriety."

Pages 21 and 22
of the above
Papers.

Mr. Plowden, who had returned to China as President of the Committee, and his colleagues disapproved highly of Captain Grant's proceedings, and directed him to at once release the Chinese detained as a prisoner, and to remove the "Hercules" from Cumsingmoon, threatening him with forfeiture of the ship's license, in the event of his resisting their authority. All other British ships at Cumsingmoon also were required to quit that anchorage.

Letter dated 16th
November 1833;
pages 7-10 of the
above Papers.

"It has hitherto been our policy," wrote the Select Committee to the Court of Directors in an account of the occurrence, "as well as our interest, to profess non-interference, as to what passes without the Bogue, with the quarrels and disturbances which arise between the crews of the opium ships and the Natives; but we fear the time has been gradually approaching, and has now arrived, when the system of non-interference has reared up a power, and encouraged a lawless and piratical mode of procedure, which it is absolutely incumbent upon us to put down."

Pages 22 and 23
of the above
Papers.

In their reply to the Governor, however, the Committee evaded the demand made upon them for the surrender of the man who had fired the gun and wounded the Chinese, and disclaimed responsibility for the proceedings of the smugglers

outside the river. "Your Excellency," they wrote, "is doubtless aware that we are " in no way connected with the operations of the opium ships, carrying on their trade " in Lintin and its vicinity, without molestation or interference on the part of the " officers of the Canton Government, who alone are the proper authorities to put in " force the laws of the Chinese Empire."

The Chinese prisoner was released, and the opium ships withdrew for the time from Cumsingmoon; and although the Select Committee were involved in a protracted correspondence in regard to the case, the trade was not interrupted, and the friendly relations which existed between them and the Government were apparently not embittered. Mr. Plowden left China while the discussion was proceeding, and was succeeded as President of the Select Committee by Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Davis.

The Governor at the end of October modified his demand for the surrender of the man who had wounded the Chinese, so far as to merely require his detention at the factory, pending further orders; and the Chinese, who appeared upon inquiry to have been concerned in the death of the lascar, were arrested and imprisoned. The wounded Chinese expired, and on November the 5th the demand for the surrender of the offending foreigner was in consequence renewed. It was, however, temperately made; and as a life had been lost on each side, and the Committee had complied promptly with the orders issued for the release of the prisoner and the removal of the ships, the Governor was evidently not inclined to take a serious view of the case. "In this case," he said, "the Chinese and foreigners reciprocally fought, " and each has lost a life. The Chinese murderers are already caught; the foreign " murderer must be by the said ship's captain on an early day delivered up, and then " will be seen reverential submission."

Pages 25-27 of the
above Papers.

Pages 32 and 33
of the above
Papers.

On the 12th November the Governor again reduced his demand so far as to offer to the Committee a trial of the guilty persons by foreign law at Macao in the presence of a Chinese officer deputed for the purpose. "Of the origin of the present disturb-
" ance on both sides," he said, "I, the Governor, have directed the Anchasze
" (Commissioner of Justice) to depute an officer, who in conjunction with the local
" officers has made investigation, and after repeated examinations he has decided that
" the natives and foreigners were mutual offenders, and has framed a case accordingly.
" It remains only for the Chief to deliver up the offenders to be tried respecting the
" real circumstances. The natives will be punished according to the native laws, and
" the foreigners shall be acted with according to the foreign laws, before an officer
" sent to Macao for the purpose of witnessing it."

Pages 34 and 35
of the above
Papers.

Howqua, also, in accordance, as he said, with a desire expressed to him by the Governor for an amicable settlement of the affair, proposed to the Committee that some person, guilty or innocent, should be sent to Macao to undergo a form of trial. This suggestion they rejected, though they declared themselves ready to assist the merchants in giving the Governor "an opportunity of getting out of the business," if they could do so consistently with their principles. In their reply to the Governor, they once more disavowed their responsibility for offences committed by persons engaged in the opium trade, and pointed out that it was not their business to enforce the laws of the Chinese Empire against smugglers of all Nations. "Although," they wrote, "we deeply regret the death of the foreign sailor and the
" Chinese, we feel that the representatives of the East India Company conducting a
" legal trade at Canton can be in no way accountable for such irregularities as the
" affray at the Cumsingmoon, in which your Excellency observes the natives and
" foreigners were mutual offenders."

Page 36 of the
above Papers.

Finding that the President and members of the Committee were firm, the authorities who (in their own language) were anxious only "to make a luminous display of the
" National Government," began to put pressure on the Hong merchants, and on the 3rd December 1833 the City Governor required them to order the President to deliver up the "murderous foreigner" in five days on pain of forfeiture of their buttons of rank.

Pages 40 and 41
of the above
Papers.

The Committee, sent no reply to these orders, and other edicts by the Governor and City Governor, which followed, were similarly treated. The Hong merchants were constrained by this attitude to settle the case in their own way, and the requirements of Chinese justice were eventually satisfied by a subterfuge even more disgraceful than that adopted on the occasion of the homicide in 1820. "A rumour," wrote the Committee in their consultations of the 24th January 1834, "has
" for sometime past been afloat of so extraordinary a nature that we were unwilling
" to believe, and still more indisposed to act upon it, unless corroborated by some

Pages 48 and 49
of the above
Papers.

“credible testimony. It seems that the mandarin brother of Howqua, the Hong merchant, was sent down to Macao, with the view of devising some mode of obtaining possession, if possible, of the individual who killed the Chinese in the affray with the smuggling ships. He returned to Canton once without success, upon which he was told that, unless he could contrive to succeed in some manner in his mission, his peacock’s feather would be taken from him. The result, we understand, of his second visit to Macao was to procure, by the aid of a considerable sum of money, the person of a Malay, or other man of colour, either from the town of Macao, or from a junk or ship in the harbour, who was persuaded to assume the character of brother to the lascar reported as having been killed in the same affray. Rushing forward (it was pretended) to save his brother, a musket, which he had, went off by accident, and caused the death of the Chinese. He was tutored to state that his contrition had induced him voluntarily to deliver himself up, imploring pardon, representing that an aged mother in his own country stood in need of his services, a very common plea in China for granting pardon to criminals.

“As the above rumour gained strength, the President sent for Howqua, and succeeded with some difficulty in making him confess that a man was actually in Canton; but when former acts of perfidy and cruelty on the part of the Local Government in nearly similar cases were urged as grounds for entertaining apprehensions that the worst might happen on this occasion, Howqua asseverated, in the strongest terms, that no such intention existed, but that the man would certainly be released after the forms of a trial had been gone through, and the case had been reported to Peking.

Address to the Governor, dated 24th Jan. 1834, page 49 of the above Papers

The Committee protested strongly against this scandalous proceeding. “Under all the circumstances of the case,” they wrote, in an address to the Governor, “which are as well known to your Excellency as they are to ourselves, we feel convinced that your Excellency’s far-famed justice and benevolence are the best security for the ultimate safety of this innocent person. As, however, the affair in which this poor man has been induced to involve himself is by report connected with English as well as many other foreign ships on the coast, while the individual himself is altogether alien to any participation in the alleged affray, we feel it only due to ourselves to protest, and do hereby protest in the most solemn manner against any violence or injury being offered to him; though we beg again to avow our conviction that your Excellency’s high sense of justice will never permit the commission of an act of such atrocious cruelty.”

Edict by the Governor, dated 28th Jan. 1834, page 50 of the above Papers.

The Governor at first was virtuously indignant. “The said foreigner,” he replied, “has in obedience to the laws, voluntarily given himself up, and therein shown a trembling regard to the Royal statutes. Let there be no turning and saying that he has been seduced by some one, that he may be injured and so irregularly create suspicions. Moreover the said Chief and others have stated that the affair at Cumsingmoon was not one which it concerned them to arrange. Why do they now abruptly present this petition?”

Address to the Governor, dated 29th Jan. 1834, page 51 of the above Papers.

The Committee, however, were determined to show that they were no parties to the arrangement, and submitted a second protest. “We cannot consider,” they wrote, “the reply to our address as any assurance of this innocent man’s safety, and as it is in the name of the English that he is detained, we are called upon by our office again to protest against any injury being offered to him. Should he be allowed to become an unhappy victim to his own folly we hereby declare that after this public declaration we cannot be held responsible for any consequences.”

Edict by the Governor, dated 8th Feb. 1834, page 52 of the above Papers.

The Governor in reply professed himself unable to understand their allegations, but gave the required assurance as to the man’s safety. “How,” he said, “could an innocent man be persuaded by others to confess himself guilty? Further there is this expression. ‘Because of his own folly,—and unhappily lose his life.’ The affair emanated from no intention of the heart, and assuredly will not lead to the forfeiture of life.”

An edict, it may be here observed, was issued by the Chinese Government, in 1833, in which a severe punishment was prescribed for the purchase and smoking of opium. “Let,” it was said, “the buyers and smokers of opium be punished with one hundred blows, and condemned to wear the wooden collar for two months. Then let them declare the seller’s name, that he may be seized and punished; and in default of his discovering the vendor, let the smoker be again punished with one hundred blows, and three years’ banishment as being an accomplice. Let mandarins and their dependants, who buy and smoke opium, be punished one degree more severely than the others; and let Governors of Provinces be required to give security that there are no opium-smokers under their jurisdiction; and let a joint memorial be sent in, representing the conduct of those officers who have connived at the practice.” (“China: Its State and Prospects, with especial reference to the Spread of the Gospel,” by the Rev. W. H. Medhurst.)

The Committee then asked that the man might be liberated, but this request was ignored, though the man was supposed to have been subsequently released. The fate of the Chinese arrested for complicity in the death of the lascar is not recorded.

Page 53 of the above Papers, and "China," by Sir John Davis.

The period for which the exclusive privilege of trading with China, and of trading in tea had been granted to the East India Company, was to expire on the 22nd April 1834; and on the 13th June 1833, the House of Commons considered the question of the renewal of the Charter. An attempt made by Sir George Staunton on the 4th June, to discuss the measures, which should be adopted in regard to the China trade, and to move certain resolutions, had been met by a count out; and Sir George, with the object of bringing the resolutions on the Journals of the House, moved them as an amendment to the motion for going into Committee. The resolutions, nine in number, were perhaps unnecessarily long, but contained (as might have been expected from Sir G. Staunton's knowledge of the subject) much solid matter for consideration. Among other things they affirmed that the influence of the East India Company had been the sole existing check on the arbitrary administration of the local Chinese authorities; and that, in the event of the termination of that influence, it was indispensably necessary that the trade should in future be conducted under the sanction of a national Treaty between the two countries, as "any attempt to appoint national functionaries at Canton for the protection of trade would, in the existing state of the relations with China, be liable to compromise the honour and dignity of the Crown;" and further, that if all attempts to obtain national protection for the trade should prove ineffectual, it should, in the last resort, be withdrawn altogether from the control of the Chinese authorities, and be established upon some island on the Chinese coast, where it would be beyond the reach of oppression and molestation.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3 series, vol. xviii., from 30 May to 1st July 1833.

The amendment was negatived without a division; and Mr. Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control, then moved three resolutions, setting forth the principles and conditions upon which the Government proposed to renew the Charter, and to entrust to the Company the future government of the British possessions in India, while withdrawing from it its commercial privileges.

The first resolution dealt with the question of the China trade; and declared it to be "expedient that all His Majesty's subjects *should* be at liberty to repair to the ports of the Empire of China, and to trade in tea and in all other productions of the said Empire, subject to such regulations as Government *should* enact for the protection of the commercial and political interests of this country."

Resolutions 2 and 3 dealt with the conditions upon which the Company's territory in India was to be transferred to the Crown and the Government of India in future carried on, and need not be further referred to in this narrative.

The subject of the China trade was one, as Mr. Grant said, on which the nation had made up its mind; but in the course of his speech he adduced a number of arguments to show that the view taken by the nation was correct.

A continuation of the Company's monopoly, in view of the progress of commercial enterprise, and of the changes which had been introduced in the commercial system of the country during the preceding 20 years, was, he said, impossible; and the gradual diminution in the profits of the Company, and the growth of the private trade, showed that the privilege granted had arrived at its natural termination. The Indian trade had been abandoned by the Company on account of the diminished profits derived from it; and in China, during a period of 15 years, the profits of the Company in the first quinquennium had been 1,300,000*l.*; in the second, 830,000*l.*; and in the third, 565,000*l.* In 1813-14, the total value of the exports and imports of the Company was 13,500,000*l.*, and of the private British merchants, 9,000,000*l.* In 1829-30, the value of the Company's exports and imports had fallen to 11,600,000*l.*, and the value of the exports and imports of the private traders, including opium, had risen to 31,000,000*l.* The existence of two parties, one in the enjoyment of a monopoly and the other carrying on business on the principles of free trade, was, he thought, certain to produce embarrassment and inconvenience.

The political relations of Great Britain with China constituted, in his opinion, a further reason for the abolition of the monopoly. The Chinese, he said, were intelligent, but they were also arbitrary and despotic; and circumstances might occur that would provoke a collision between the two countries, and it was therefore undesirable that the exclusive privilege of trading with them should be confined to one body of men. The servants of the Company in China were in an ambiguous and occasionally in a very invidious position. "They had nominally no power, but

“ still they were at times obliged to interfere with all the weight of their national character, and at other times to profess their utter inability to control individuals belonging to the community they were thought to represent.” The wars in which the Company had been compelled to engage in Nepal and Burma, were instanced as events well calculated to excite the jealousy of the Chinese; and if, as he said, instead of an intercourse with the Company, which they must regard more in the light of the sovereign of a powerful dominion in their immediate neighbourhood than as a body of merchants, the Chinese had to deal with a public functionary directly representing this country, and having the management of its interests at Canton, there would be less chance of any such jealousy arising.

The address of the Hong merchants to the Governor of Canton in 1831, on the subject of the termination of the Company's monopoly, and the Governor's reply were relied on as showing that the Chinese authorities were fully prepared for a change; and the civility, with which the members of Mr. Lindsay's expedition had been received at different places on the Chinese coast in 1832, was referred to as an illustration of the fact, that the people of China appeared to be anxious, not only for continuance but for an extension of commercial intercourse, although such extension was prohibited by the laws of the Empire. The House, moreover, was invited to recollect that though the laws of China prohibited the introduction of opium, it had been found impossible to exclude it; and the decrees of the Emperor upon the subject were compared to the denunciations of tobacco by James I. The proposal also made by the Governor of Canton in 1832 for the legalisation of the trade, was cited in justification of the belief that a more constant intercourse might tend to remove many of the restrictions then existing to commercial dealings with foreigners; and the abolition even of the Hong monopoly was suggested as a possible consequence of free trade on the part of Great Britain.

A Commission at Canton, representing the British Government, and armed with full powers to control and protect the interests of British subjects might, he thought, be able by prudent measures “ to conciliate the Chinese authorities and perhaps to remove that barrier which at present stood in the way of our general commercial intercourse with that country.” He deprecated direct negotiation with Peking, in regard to the change of system, as being likely to arouse Chinese suspicions; and described the result of the former Embassies to Peking as “ far from encouraging.” The dismissal with disgrace from the Emperor's presence of Lord Amherst's Embassy had not, as he said, been productive of any particular advantage to Great Britain; and he failed to see in what respect the Embassies had produced a respect for the national character among the Chinese. He differed, therefore, from Sir George Staunton in thinking that any attempt should be made to open negotiations with the Chinese Government, and added that the question of sending another Embassy to China had been considered on the occasion of the interruption of trade at Canton about two years before, and His Majesty's Ministers had come to the conclusion that the measure was open “ to considerable objections.”

Mr. Grant's arguments probably represented fairly enough the views that were in favour both with the Ministry and the public; and the Company's exclusive privilege had no defenders. Mr. Wynn, ex-President of the Board of Control, admitted that the time had come for throwing open the China trade to private enterprise; and Mr. Buckingham, who was opposed to the continuance of the Company's government in India, and who strongly denounced the opium trade and the attitude of the Company in regard to opium, said that he believed the abolition of the monopoly would effect more good than any change in the commercial policy of Great Britain that had taken place during the century. Even Mr. Marjoribanks, who had lately arrived in England from Canton, and Sir George Staunton, admitted that a change of system was necessary; and the resolutions were adopted without a division.

Act 3 & 4 Will. 4. c. 93, which was enacted, in accordance with the principles accepted in these resolutions to regulate in the future the trade to India and China, declared it to be expedient that the trade with China, and the trade in tea, should be open to all Her Majesty's subjects, and provided for the supervision of the China trade, and for the control and government of British subjects in that country, by Superintendents appointed for the purpose; and the connexion of the East India Company with China and the China trade was brought to an end on the 22nd April 1834.

The Duke of Wellington had the foresight to doubt the wisdom of so sudden and radical a change of policy; and when the Act was under consideration, he proposed, as an amendment, that the Company should be allowed to continue to trade after the withdrawal of their exclusive privilege, and that the management of affairs at Canton should be retained in the hands of their representatives. The amendment, however,

was not adopted. The political friction, which had existed at Canton in 1829–32, served doubtless to discredit the Company's administration; and the difficulty of making any alteration in the relations of the country with a people so exclusive, and so conservative as the Chinese, was imperfectly appreciated.

12th May 1840.
Hansard's Parliamentary Debates
3 Series.
Vol. LIV.

CHAPTER II.

William John, Lord Napier, a captain in the Royal Navy, Mr. Plowden, President of the Select Committee of the East India Company's supra-cargoes, and Mr., afterwards Sir John, Davis, a member of the Select Committee, were appointed by Royal Commission, on the 10th December 1833, to be the first Superintendents of the trade of British subjects with China; and orders were at the same time issued by the King in Council, defining the powers and authorities of the Superintendents, and creating a Court of justice, with Criminal and Admiralty jurisdiction, for the trial of offences committed by British subjects within the dominions of the Emperor of China, and on the high seas within 100 miles of the coast.

Letter from
Lord Palmerston
to Lord Napier
dated 25th
Jan. 1834;
page 1 of the
correspondence
relating to China,
presented to
Parliament in
1840.

Orders of the
King in Council
dated 9th
Dec. 1833;
in additional
papers (12 pages)
relating to China,
presented to
Parliament in
1840.

By these orders all the powers and authorities over and in respect of the trade of British subjects at Canton, which were possessed by the supra-cargoes of the East India Company on the 21st April 1834, were vested in the Superintendents; all regulations touching the said trade, which existed on that date, save in so far as they were repealed or abrogated by the Act to regulate the trade to China and India, or by any orders issued by the King in pursuance thereof, or were inconsistent with the Act or with any such orders, were continued in force until the issue by His Majesty of further or other orders; and all penalties, forfeitures, or imprisonments, that might have been incurred, or enforced, for the breach of regulations existing on that date, were to be incurred for the breach of the same regulations, so far as they were continued, and were to be enforced by the ways and means that were formerly lawfully possible, or by the decision and sentence of the Court of justice established at Canton.

The Court was to be held at Canton, or on board of any British ship in the harbour of Canton, by the Chief Superintendent for the time being; the practice and proceedings were to be made conformable as far as possible with those of the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery in England; and every trial of any issue or fact, or of mixed fact and law, was to be held by the Chief Superintendent and a jury of 12 men. Provision also was made for the preparation, promulgation, and revision of the rules of practice and proceeding observed, and for the establishment of a system of record.

His Majesty's instructions to the Superintendents required them, in execution of their Commission, to take up their residence and discharge their duties at the port of Canton, or at any other place within the river or port of Canton, or at any place which might be thereafter appointed, but not elsewhere.

Instructions to
the Superin-
tendents of
Trade under the
Royal Sign
Manual; dated
31st Dec. 1833;
pages 2-4 of the
correspondence.

One of the Superintendents was specially charged with the duty of collecting information regarding the trade between British subjects, or the subjects of any foreign Power, and the Chinese, and also regarding the production of tea and other articles of export from China; and was directed to transmit all information thus collected in the form of tables to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

All the Superintendents were required to watch over the interests of British subjects resident in, or resorting to, the Empire of China for the purpose of trade, and to afford them advice, information, and assistance in the conduct of their business; "to protect them in the peaceful prosecution of all lawful enterprises," in which they might be engaged; to adjust, as far as possible, by their influence and authority, disputes between them and the inhabitants of China, or the subjects of any foreign Power, and disputes between British subjects one with another; and to use their influence with the officers of the Chinese Government in order to protect British subjects "from all unlawful exactions or hindrances in the prosecution of their commercial undertakings."

Any complaint or remonstrance to the officers of the Chinese Government, that might be found necessary in the conduct of such mediation, was to be preferred with all possible moderation; and the Superintendents were directed to cautiously abstain from all unnecessary use of menacing language, or from appeals for protection to the military or naval forces, except in cases of the most evident necessity; to avoid in the discharge of their duties "all such conduct, language, and demeanour, as might needlessly excite jealousy or distrust amongst the inhabitants of China or the officers of the Chinese Government, or as might unnecessarily irritate the feelings, or revolt the opinions or prejudices of the Chinese people or Government"; and to "study by all practicable methods to maintain a good and friendly understanding both with

Article 18 of the
Instructions.

“ the officers, civil and military, and with the inhabitants of China,” with whom they might be brought into communication.

Article 19 of the Instructions.

They were required to constantly bear in mind and impress, as occasion might offer, upon British subjects the duty of conforming to the laws and usages of the Chinese Empire, as long as those laws were administered with justice and good faith towards them, and in the same manner in which they were administered towards the subjects of China, or the subjects of other nations resident in, or resorting to, that country.

Neither the Superintendents, nor their Secretary, nor any subordinate officer employed by them, were to engage in trade, or act as agents for any trader, on pain of forfeiture of appointment.

The manner in which appointments to the offices of Second and Third Superintendents were to be provisionally made, in the event of Mr. Plowden or Mr. Davis being unable or unwilling to act, and the manner in which any vacancy occurring in the office of Chief, or of Second, or Third Superintendent, was to be provisionally supplied until such time as His Majesty's pleasure should be ascertained, were also prescribed.

Further important instructions were conveyed in a letter to Lord Napier from Lord Palmerston.

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Lord Napier dated 25th Jan. 1834; pages 4 and 5 of the correspondence.

1. Lord Napier was directed to announce his arrival at Canton by letter to the Viceroy (Governor).

2. He was informed that, in addition to the duty of protecting and fostering the trade of British subjects with the port of Canton, it should be one of his principal objects to ascertain whether that trade could not be extended to other parts of the Chinese dominions, and that for this end he should omit no opportunity of encouraging any disposition, he might discover, in the Chinese authorities, to enter into commercial relations.

3. He was to try and discover the best means of establishing direct communication with the Court at Peking, with a view to the improvement of commercial relations, bearing constantly in mind the necessity for caution and circumspection lest “ he should awaken the fears, or offend the prejudices of the Chinese Government; and “ thus put to hazard even the existing opportunities for intercourse by a precipitate “ attempt to extend them.” He was not, however, to enter into any new relations or negotiations with the Chinese authorities, without instructions from his own Government, except under very urgent and unforeseen circumstances; and if any opportunity for such negotiations should apparently occur, he was cautioned to take no measures, previously to the receipt of instructions, but such as might be calculated “ to convince “ the Chinese authorities of the sincere desire of the King to cultivate the most “ friendly relations with the Emperor of China.” He was informed also that Lord Palmerston did not “ foresee any case in which it could be advisable that *he* should “ leave Canton to visit Peking without having previously obtained the approbation of “ His Majesty's Government.”

4. He was to avail himself of every opportunity for ascertaining the possibility of establishing commercial intercourse with Japan, and any other of the neighbouring countries.

5. He was to ascertain the best means of making a survey of the Chinese coast and the probable cost of such an undertaking; and to inquire whether there were any “ places at which ships might find requisite protection in the event of hostilities in “ the China seas.” He was not, however, to commence any survey of the coast without authority from England.

6. The Superintendents were to be particularly cautious in regard to ships attempting “ to explore the coast of China for purposes of traffic.” “ It is not desirable,” wrote Lord Palmerston, “ that you should encourage such adventures; but you must never “ lose sight of the fact, that you have no authority to interfere with, or prevent them.”

7. The Bocca Tigris was declared to be the limit of the port of Canton, and Lord Napier was directed to apprise the commanders of British ships of war that the Chinese regulations, which did not permit ships of war to pass the Bocca Tigris, should be observed, and that no ship of war should pass that point, “ unless an “ extraordinary occasion should require it to do so.”

8. No proceedings were to be commenced under the Order in Council creating a Court of justice, until the subject had been carefully and thoroughly considered.

Lord Napier was informed at the same time that it was the intention of His Majesty's Government that the office or offices of Second and Third Superintendent should be offered to other gentlemen of the East India Company's factory, in the event

Extract from a letter from Lord Palmerston to Lord Napier dated 25th Jan. 1834; page 6 of the correspondence.

of Mr. Plowden or Mr. Davis being unwilling to serve on the Commission, in order that he might have the assistance of officers, with experience in China; and the office of Secretary also was to be similarly offered to one of the Company's servants.

It would not be difficult to indicate many points upon which the instructions issued to the Superintendents were incomplete, or ill-suited to the requirements of the situation. The order requiring them to take up their residence and discharge their duties at Canton, though framed evidently in supposed accordance with the reply of the Governor to the representation made in 1831 by the Hong merchants regarding the approaching termination of the Company's monopoly, was in particular unfortunate, as the sanction of the Chinese Government to the permanent residence of foreigners at that city had not been given. The spirit of the instructions, however, was eminently conciliatory; and if the difficulties of cultivating a good and friendly understanding with Chinese officers and with the people of China, under the circumstances then existing, were imperfectly appreciated, it is clear that the Ministry were determined to avoid, as far as was in their power, any cause of offence to the Chinese Government.

No communication was made to the Chinese Government regarding the change in the commercial system of the country and the appointment of Government officers as Superintendents of British trade, and this, perhaps, was a mistake. It is clear, however, from Mr. Grant's speech in 1833 in the House of Commons, that no opposition to the change of system on the part of the Chinese was anticipated, and previous negotiation was evidently regarded as undesirable or unnecessary.

In April 1834, the Hong merchants applied to Mr. Davis, who was then President of the Select Committee, for information as to the intentions of the British Government, but Mr. Davis himself was imperfectly informed of the nature of the measures in contemplation, and accordingly evaded a reply; and Lord Napier's arrival in China was, therefore, the first official intimation which the Chinese Government received of the altered conditions of British trade.

Letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston dated 7th August 1834; pages 25 and 26 of the correspondence.

Lord Napier reached Macao in the "Andromache" on the 15th July 1834, and there met the Company's supra-cargoes. Mr. Plowden had left China, but Mr. Davis accepted the office of Second Superintendent, and Sir G. B. Robinson, another Company's servant, was made Third Superintendent, and Mr. Astell was appointed Secretary. An Order in Council had been issued in December 1833, imposing duties on the tonnage and goods of British ships trading to the port of Canton for the support of the establishment of Superintendents; and Captain Elliott, R.N., received an appointment as Master Attendant. The cost of the Commission, when fully constituted with a Secretary, Surgeon, Chinese Secretary, &c., was 18,000*l.* per annum.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 9th August 1834; pages 7-10 of the correspondence.

The Superintendents left Macao in the "Andromache" on the 23rd July, and proceeded to the anchorage at Chuenpee below the Bocca Tigris. There, on the 24th July, they left the "Andromache," and went on to Canton in the East India Company's cutter, arriving at 2 a.m. in the morning of the 25th July.

In the meantime, the Governor of Canton, on receiving a report of the arrival at Macao of a ship of war with a "barbarian Eye," (officer), who stated that he had been sent to assume superintendence of the British merchant vessels, despatched the Hong merchants to ascertain his object in coming to the Canton Province, and to inquire what new regulations should be established in consequence of the withdrawal of the Company's monopoly; and ordered them to authoritatively inform him that in accordance with the established laws of the Empire, no one, with the exception of Taepans (trading chiefs) and other barbarian merchants, could be permitted to visit Canton without the orders of the Emperor, and that he must therefore either reside at Macao, or apply, through the merchants, for permission to proceed to Canton. The Governor, as appears from the orders which he issued to the Hong merchants, thoroughly understood the situation; and his anxiety to obtain orders from Peking before permitting the Superintendents to establish themselves at Canton, was, it must be confessed, not unnatural. "The said Hong merchants," he wrote, "before reported that this year the English Company is dissolved. The barbarian Eye, who has now come, is of course, for the superintendence and examination of the business. But the barbarian Eye is not comparable with the Taepans. If he wish to come to Canton, it will be necessary to make first a clear report, requesting the Imperial will on the subject."

Edict of the Governor to the Hong merchants Enclosure (2) in a letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 14th August 1834; page 17 of the correspondence.

* The Rev. Dr. Morrison was appointed as Chinese Secretary, but he died almost immediately after his appointment. His son, Mr. Morrison, eventually succeeded him.

† Taepan (trading chief) was apparently the word used in the Governor's edict to the Hong merchants dated 16th January 1831, regarding the anticipated dissolution (so called) of the East India Company. *Vide* edict of Governor Loo to the Hong merchants dated 11th September 1834. Pages 37-39 of the correspondence.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston, dated 9th August 1834; pages 7-10 of the correspondence; and letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston dated 7th August 1834; pages 25 and 26 of the correspondence.

The two senior merchants proceeded to Macao, but did not arrive there until the day after the departure of the Superintendents for Chuenpee in the "Andromache." They then hurried back to Canton, and made an attempt, on the 26th July, to communicate the Governor's orders to Lord Napier. His Lordship, however, considered that his instructions required him to communicate direct with the officers of Government, and that it would be impolitic and beneath the dignity of officers holding the King's Commission to make the Hong merchants the medium of correspondence. Mr. Davis, the Second Superintendent, fully concurred as to the advisability of insisting upon direct communication with the officers of Government. The Company's supra-cargoes, as managers of a large trading business, had, as he said, considerable influence over the merchants, but the Superintendents would have no such influence, and would be helpless if they were placed under the merchants' control.

Lord Napier therefore dismissed the merchants, with an intimation that he would "communicate immediately with the Viceroy in the manner befitting His Majesty's Commission," and proceeded to report his arrival at Canton to the Governor by letter, as required by Lord Palmerston's instructions.

Enclosure in the above letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 9th August 1834; pages 10 and 11 of the correspondence.

The letter, which was under preparation when the Hong merchants appeared, was courteously worded, but was couched in terms that implied equality. It announced, that he had arrived at Canton under a Royal Commission, appointing him to be Chief Superintendent for the protection and promotion of the British trade to China, and associating with him as his colleagues, Mr. Davis and Sir G. Robinson, Bart., late of the East India Company's service; stated that the exclusive privilege of trading to China, which was possessed by the East India Company, had been withdrawn, and the trade of the Company had ceased, and that His Majesty the King of England had invested him with "powers, political and judicial, to be exercised according to circumstances;" and requested that the Governor would grant to him and his colleagues the honour of a personal interview at which he would explain more fully the nature of the changes that had taken place.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 9th August 1834; pages 7-10 of the correspondence.

The letter was made over to the Secretary to the Commission, who was instructed to proceed with a deputation to the city gate, and there deliver it to a mandarin, and to avoid any communication through the medium of the Hong merchants.

Mr. Astell attempted to carry out these instructions; took the letter to the city gate, and there presented it to several mandarins, but they all refused to receive, or deliver it. After some time the Chinese linguists and Hong merchants arrived and entreated to be allowed to take the letter to the Governor, but Mr. Astell would not depart from his instructions. Objections were raised by some of the mandarins to the superscription of the communication as a letter; and the Hong merchants were said to be the proper channel for the transmission of correspondence on matters concerning trade. Eventually Mr. Astell, after waiting three hours and making repeated attempts to induce one of the mandarins to take the letter, was compelled to return to the factory without having accomplished his object.

On the 27th July, the Governor issued orders in regard to Lord Napier's arrival at Canton, without permission, and the attempt which he had made to communicate with him direct without the intervention of the merchants.

Edict of the Governor to the Hong merchants dated 27th July 1834; Enclosure 3 in the letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 14th August 1834; pages 18 and 19 of the correspondence.

"On this occasion," he wrote, "the barbarian Eye, Lord Napier, has come to Canton without having at all resided at Macao to wait for orders. Nor has he requested or received a permit from the Superintendent of Customs, but has hastily come up to Canton, a great infringement of the established laws. The Custom house writers and others, who presumed to admit him to enter, are sent with a communication requiring their trial; but in tender consideration for the said barbarian Eye being a new comer and unacquainted with statutes and laws of the Celestial Empire, I will not strictly investigate.

"But it is not expedient that the said barbarian Eye should long remain at Canton provincial city; it must be required that when the commercial business, regarding which he has to inquire and hold jurisdiction, is finished, he immediately return to Macao. And hereafter, without having requested and obtained a permit, he cannot be permitted to come to Canton.

"As to the object of the said barbarian Eye's coming to Canton, it is for commercial business. The Celestial Empire appoints officers—civil ones to rule the people, military ones to intimidate the wicked. The petty affairs of commerce are to be directed by the merchants themselves. The officers have nothing to hear on the subject. In the trade of the said barbarians, if there are any changes to be made in regulations, &c., in all cases the said merchants are to consult together, and make a joint statement to the Superintendent of Customs and to my office. Whether the proposals shall be allowed, or disallowed, must be learned by waiting for a reply publicly.

"If any affair is to be newly commenced, it is requisite to wait till a respectful memorial be made, clearly reporting to the Great Emperor, and his mandate received. Then it may be commenced, and orders may be issued requiring obedience.

"The great Ministers of the Celestial Empire are not permitted to have private intercourse by letter with outside barbarians. If the said barbarian Eye throws in private letters, I, the Governor, will not at all receive or look at them."

"Even England," he said, "has its laws, how much more the Celestial Empire."

The Hong merchants on the same day waited on Lord Napier, and suggested that the superscription of his letter should be altered, and that the word petition should be substituted for letter. To this Lord Napier refused to agree; and on the 28th, Howqua, the senior Hong merchant, again appeared, and informed him that the letter would not be received unless it was superscribed as a petition.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston, dated 9th August 1834; pages 7-10 of the correspondence.

His Lordship, however, was firm in his refusal to alter the superscription, and Howqua was dismissed. Lord Napier supposed that Howqua intentionally insulted him on this occasion, by using a Chinese character for his name, which had an unpleasant signification; but it seems probable that he was mistaken upon this point.

The usual measures were then adopted by the authorities for making things disagreeable. The East India Company's compradores were intimidated and compelled to desert; boatmen employed by Europeans on the river were withdrawn; and the boxes containing Lord Napier's personal effects were broken open at the Custom House, though the keys were available; this latter proceeding being, as Lord Napier said, a circumstance up to that time unprecedented.

On the 30th July, the Governor issued a third edict, directing the Hong merchants again to inquire for what purpose the barbarian Eye had come to Canton, and why he had presumed to do so without a permit, and to command him at once to leave the port and proceed to Macao, and reside there until the Emperor's will should be ascertained. The affair, as he said, concerned the "national dignity." The English traders up to that time had merely been allowed to appoint Taepans (trading chiefs), who visited Canton under permits, and an Eye (or officer) could not be compared with the merchants. The merchants also were threatened with judicial proceedings if they were remiss in the execution of the orders.

Enclosure 4 in the letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 14th August 1834; pages 19 and 20 of the correspondence.

Another edict followed on the 31st July; reproducing a communication from the Superintendent of Customs on the subject of a report, made by the Custom House officials, to the effect that a barbarian ship's boat had arrived at Canton, seven days before, shortly after midnight, with four English devils, who had taken up their residence in the factories, and that there did not appear to be any permit or pass authorising their entry into Canton. The orders issued on the 30th were accordingly reiterated; and the Hong merchants were again informed that they must not allow the barbarian Eye to linger about at Canton, and that they alone would be held responsible, if there was any opposition to the orders.

Enclosure 5 in the above letter; pages 20 and 21 of the correspondence.

The two senior merchants waited on the Superintendents on the 31st July, and attempted to enjoin the Governor's orders, but Lord Napier refused to hold any communication with them. Howqua then inquired what was the nature of his instructions, and his Lordship informed him that the Governor might ascertain this by a perusal of his letter.

On the 3rd August, the Captain of the "Andromache," which was still at Chuenpee below the Bocca Tigris, informed Lord Napier, that the Chinese Admiral had threatened to fire into the ship's cutter, if she attempted to pass up and down the river, and that he had assured him that such an insult would be resented. The "Andromache" was accordingly despatched for a week's cruise, but was ordered to anchor again, on her return, at Chuenpee.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 14th August 1834; pages 11-16 of the correspondence.

On the 8th August, the merchants made another attempt to induce Lord Napier to leave Canton and return to Macao; which, as they urged, was a more agreeable residence during the hot weather, but Lord Napier refused to move.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 9th August 1834; pages 7-10 of the correspondence.

Finding that Lord Napier was resolute, the Hong merchants then attempted to open communication with the British merchants; and on the 10th August, it was brought to Lord Napier's notice, that they had asked the British merchants to meet them on the following day at the Consol House, or place of meeting of the Hong, at 1 p.m. His Lordship therefore convened a meeting of the British merchants at 10.30 a.m. on that day, to discuss the propriety of their compliance with the invitation; and he and Mr. Davis had apparently no difficulty in dissuading their countrymen from attending at the Consol House.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 14th August 1834 and Enclosure 1; pages 11-16 of the correspondence.

The merchants then forwarded the four edicts, which they had received from the Governor, dated 21st, 27th, 30th, and 31st July, in a letter addressed to the two leading

English firms (Jardine & Co. and Dent & Co.), and to the leading Parsee firm (Framjee Munchajee), with a request* that they would receive the edicts and reply to them; as the Governor held them personally responsible for the communication of his orders.

This the gentlemen in question naturally declined to do, but copies of the edicts were privately communicated to the Superintendents.

Postscript dated 17th August to the letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 14th August 1834; pages 15-16; and Enclosure 2 in a letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 21st August 1834; pages 23-25 of the correspondence.

In consequence of Lord Napier's refusal to submit his communications through the merchants, the shipment of cargoes in British vessels was prevented on the 16th August; and on the 18th, another edict was issued, in which the Governor threatened to stop the trade unless he should repent, obey the previous orders, and submit an answer through the Hong merchants. His arrival at Canton, without previous intimation, was once more characterised as a breach of decorum; and his attempt to establish direct communication by letter was said to be contrary to the laws of the Chinese Empire. "To refer to England," said the Governor, "should an official personage from a foreign country proceed to the said nation, for the arrangement of any business, how could he neglect to have the object of his coming announced in a memorial to the said nation's King? Or how could he act contrary to the requirements of the said nation's dignity doing his own will and pleasure? Since the said barbarian Eye states that he is an official personage, he ought the more to be thoroughly acquainted with these principles. Before, when he offered a letter, I, the Governor, saw it inexpedient to receive it, because the established laws of the Celestial Empire do not permit Ministers, and those under authority, to have private communication with outside barbarians, but have hitherto, in commercial affairs, held the merchants responsible; and if by any chance any barbarian merchant should have any petition to make, requesting investigation of any affair, (the laws required) that by the said Taepans a duly prepared petition should be in form presented; and answer by proclamation awaited. There has never been such a thing as outside barbarians sending in a letter." "From the time Canton has admitted outside barbarians to its open markets, all affairs relating to commerce and the control over the barbarian merchants have been placed under the entire cognizance and responsibility of the Hong merchants; never has there been such a thing as official correspondence with a barbarian Eye This request to have official correspondence to and fro, is not only contrary to dignity and decorum, but also would prove very inexpedient for the barbarian merchants of all the nations; the thing is most decidedly impossible."

The Hong merchants, he continued, manifesting "a profound knowledge of the great principles of dignity," had proposed a suspension of British commerce; but as the King of England had up to that time "been in the highest degree reverentially submissive," and could not therefore have desired Lord Napier to assume an attitude of opposition, he was unwilling to cut off the livelihood of the British nation without giving the Superintendent another opportunity to distinguish between right and wrong. The merchants therefore were required to enjoin the edict upon Lord Napier, for his further consideration, and also upon the British residents and upon the foreign merchants of every nation at Canton.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 21st August 1834; page 22 of the correspondence.

In the meantime, on the 17th August, the "Andromache" and H.M.S. "Imogene" returned to Chuenpee; and the Hong merchants called in a body upon the Chief Superintendent, upon the 18th, to inquire what was the reason of their arrival, and when would they depart. Lord Napier informed them that he was prepared to give the required information to the Governor, and that, if the Governor would admit him an interview, and would send a military officer to conduct him to his presence, he would dispense with the ceremony of sending a letter.

On the 19th, however, a reply was given verbally by two of the merchants, that the Governor declined to hold any communication with him, and required him to depart immediately.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Grey dated 21st August 1834; pages 26-28 of the correspondence.

On receiving this intimation, Lord Napier made up his mind that negotiation, to be of any use, must be supported by a show of force, and wrote to Lord Grey requesting that an expedition might be despatched from India to act along the coast, as it was, in his opinion, absolutely necessary to have the means of compulsion available, when negotiating with a Government constituted like that of China.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 27th August 1834; page 29 of the correspondence.

On the 22nd August, the Hong merchants again visited the Chief Superintendent, and asked him if he would receive the Kwang Chow-foo (City Governor) and two other mandarins, whom the Governor proposed to depute to meet him, at 11 o'clock on the following day. Lord Napier agreed, and the meeting took place in the Com-

* Lord Napier says in his letter of the 14th August to Lord Palmerston that these gentlemen were asked to enjoin the edicts upon him. The wording of the Hong merchants letter is as above stated.

pany's factory, on the 23rd August. Considerable discussion took place with the Hong merchants in the morning in regard to the position of the chairs, and other arrangements necessary for the meeting; the merchants, apparently, wishing to give the place of honour to the Chinese officers, and Lord Napier insisting upon sitting at the head of a table with the City Governor on one side of him and the officer next in rank upon the other.

The arrangement of the chairs made under Lord Napier's orders was eventually accepted, but the discussion caused delay, and the Chinese officers did not arrive until 1 o'clock. Lord Napier treated this delay as an insult, and expressed much dissatisfaction, desiring the officers "to remember that whereas on former occasions, they had only to deal with the servants of a private Company of merchants, they must understand, henceforth, that their communications would be held with the officer appointed by His Britannic Majesty, by no means inclined to submit to such indignities."

The officers were then asked to state the object of their visit, and one of them said they had been sent by the Governor to demand the cause of his arrival in Canton, the nature of his business, and the intended date of his departure. Lord Napier, in reply, referred to Governor Le's edict of the 16th January 1831, regarding the appointment of an English chief at Canton, for the management of commercial business, on the dissolution of the East India Company; informed the mandarins of the appointment of himself and his colleagues as Superintendents of the trade, and said that the nature of his duties was described in his letter to the Governor, which they might either deliver or, if they so wished, open and read, on the condition that it should be deposited, as an official document, among the archives of the Government. The date of his return to Macao, he added, would be decided in accordance with his own convenience.

Conversation followed, in the course of which the officers observed that the King of England should have written a letter to the Governor in advance, announcing his objects and wishes, for communication to the Emperor; and Lord Napier informed them, that it was incompatible with the King's dignity to correspond with the Governor, and that he, as an hereditary nobleman of high rank, was on a perfect equality with the Governor, and was a proper person to conduct any such correspondence.

The officers were unwilling either to deliver Lord Napier's letter to the Governor, or to open and peruse it themselves; and an attempt was made to induce him to consent to the letter being opened by the Hong merchants. To this, however, his Lordship firmly refused to agree. The officers then made a further attempt to elicit information regarding the nature of his duties; but he informed them, that it was "quite impossible, as well as irregular, to communicate important official business through the medium of common conversation," and recommended them to consult the Governor again upon the subject.

The proceedings terminated amicably; and the officers departed, hinting that "they might possibly return in a little time." One of them remarked, before leaving, that it would be very unpleasant if the two nations were to come to a rupture; to which Lord Napier replied, that the English were perfectly prepared, but that the King was most anxious to maintain friendly intercourse with the Emperor of China. "The discussion," wrote Lord Napier, "which took place previous to the meeting, relative to the disposition of the chairs, although of itself in any other country a matter of trivial importance, yet among people like the Chinese, whose actions are entirely governed by etiquette, it is considered by the Superintendents, that the mandarins, having yielded up the point, afforded to them the strongest proofs of the propriety and necessity of conducting their business with firmness and determination; being satisfied that a steady perseverance will be attended with success, but the slightest concession, on their parts, is sure to be followed by subsequent embarrassment and defeat."

On the 26th August, Lord Napier, hearing that the Chinese authorities had spread reports, which gave a false colour to the occurrences of the past month, and were, in his opinion, calculated to affect injuriously the dignity of the Commission, published in Canton a manifesto, in Chinese, setting forth the circumstances for the information of the Chinese people. The stoppage of the trade was ascribed to the ignorance and obstinacy of the Governor in refusing to receive a letter from a "man of equal rank with himself;" correspondence through the Hong merchants was said to be "derogatory to the dignity of a representative of the King;" and the statement ended with the following appeal to the people against their rulers. "The consequence is, that thousands of industrious Chinese, who live by the European trade, must suffer ruin and discomfort through the perversity of their Government. The

Statement by Lord Napier of what passed at the interview between him and certain Chinese officers on 23rd August 1834; enclosed in a letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 27th August 1834; pages 30-32 of the correspondence.

Memorandum prepared in the Foreign Office in Feb. 1840; pages 32-39 of the correspondence.

“merchants of Great Britain wish to trade with all China on principles of mutual benefit. They will never relax in their exertions until they gain a point of equal importance to both countries, and the Viceroy will find it as easy to stop the current of the Canton river, as to carry into effect the insane determination of the Hong.”

The publication of this statement appears to have caused considerable excitement in Canton, and the authorities promptly published the following counterblast:—“A lawless foreign slave, Napier, has issued a notice. We know not how such a dog barbarian of an outside nation as you, can have the audacious presumption to call yourself a Superintendent. Being an outside savage Superintendent, and a person in an official position, you should have some little knowledge of propriety and law. You have passed over 10,000 miles in order to seek a livelihood; you have come to our Celestial Empire to trade and control affairs; how can you not obey well the regulations of the Empire? You audaciously presume to break through the barrier passes,—going out and in at your pleasure, a great infringement of the rules and prohibitions. According to the laws of the nation, the Royal Warrant should be respectfully requested to behead you; and openly expose (your head) to the multitude, as a terror to perverse dispositions.”

The distribution of religious tracts by native Protestant converts at Canton, which had been carried on without interruption since 1832, was, at the same time, interdicted by proclamation,* and a persecution of the small native Christian community was commenced.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston dated 28th August 1834; page 32, and Memorandum prepared in the Foreign Office in Feb. 1840; pages 32-39 of the correspondence.

On the 28th August, the two senior Hong merchants again visited the Chief Superintendent, and asked him to receive four mandarins on the 30th. Lord Napier consented; and the merchants then raised some objection to the manner in which the mandarins had been received at the first meeting, and proposed that the position of the chairs, as fixed on that occasion, should be altered, and that the mandarins should bring a linguist to act as interpreter. Lord Napier refused to agree to any alteration in the position of the chairs, or to the substitution of a Chinese linguist for Mr. Morrison, as interpreter on the occasion; but said that he had no objection to the attendance of a linguist, if the mandarins so wished. The merchants then withdrew, promising to return on the following day. This they did, and renewed their arguments, but Lord Napier adhered to his decision; and the merchants went away promising to report what had happened to the mandarins, and to call again on the 30th. This promise they failed to keep; and it does not appear that they had any more communication with Lord Napier.

Minutes of conversation between Howqua and Mowqua Hong merchants, and Mr. Jardine, dated 14th Sept. 1834; pages 71 and 72 of the correspondence.

On the 2nd September, however, the two senior merchants opened (apparently with the approval of the Governor) a negotiation with Mr. Jardine, who appears to have been the leader of what may be described as the aggressive party among the British merchants at Canton, with the object of effecting an adjustment of the difficulties which had arisen; and upon the 3rd September terms were proposed for Lord Napier's acceptance.

The terms, which provided for the withdrawal of the embargo on the trade on the understanding that Lord Napier should leave Canton immediately after, and not openly return until the Emperor's orders had been obtained regarding his appointment, were not unfavourable, and Lord Napier appears to have been prepared to accept them; but in the evening of the same day the merchants reported that the Deputy Governor and other Chinese officials had brought pressure to bear upon the Governor, and had prevented him from assenting to any arrangement.

Memorandum prepared in the Foreign Office in Feb. 1840; pages 32-39 of the correspondence.

The Governor then published, on the 4th September, an edict dated the 2nd, confirming the stoppage of the trade of all British subjects, with effect from the 16th August; directed the forts and guard houses to permit British ships and boats to leave, but not to enter, the port, and ordered all Chinese workmen, boatmen, and others to leave the British factories. The linguists also appear to have been tortured, and one of the Hong merchants imprisoned, for their supposed share in the Chief Superintendent's disregard of the regulations.

Minute by Sir George Robinson in the proceedings of

Lord Napier's residence was surrounded on the 4th September with soldiers; his Chinese servants were driven away, and his supplies of provisions were cut off;

* The proclamation, which was issued upon the subject by the magistrate of one of the divisions of the city of Canton, was to the following effect:—“Whereas the printing of obscene and idle tales by booksellers has long been a matter of legal prohibition, it having now been discovered that there are persons who fraudulently make depraved and obscene books of the outside barbarians, and falsely assuming the pretence of admonishing to virtue, print and distribute them, which is in a high degree contrary to law; orders are therefore hereby given to the police runners to make strict examination for them; to ascertain correctly the shop where the books have been printed; and to burn and destroy the blocks used. If any rashly presume to print and distribute such books, they shall assuredly be seized and punished with the utmost rigour of the law.”—(China: its State and Prospects, with especial reference to the spread of the Gospel, by the Rev. W. H. Medhurst.)

and Sir George Robinson was informed by several Chinese that the authorities had threatened to confine the Chief Superintendent so as "to prevent his escape." Mr. Davis, the Second Superintendent, was at this time at Macao, where he had been sent on duty at the end of August.

His Lordship accordingly on the 5th sent Sir G. Robinson to Chuenpee to request the captain of the "Imogene" to bring the "Imogene" and the "Andromache" up the Canton river to Whampoa, for the more efficient protection of British subjects and their property, and to send up to Canton a guard of marines, to ensure the security of the premises which were occupied by the Superintendents, and which contained also the East India Company's treasure. The Company's agents at Macao were, it may be observed, ignorant of Lord Napier's intention, and reported subsequently to the Court of Directors, that they had not entertained any apprehension in regard to the treasure; but the agents were hardly disinterested spectators of the proceedings, and considerable alarm certainly appears to have existed at the time, among British merchants at Canton, in regard to treasure there stored.

On the 6th September, a guard of a few marines arrived at Canton; and on the 8th September, the British frigates passed the Bocca Tigris and proceeded up the river to Whampoa. The forts opened fire, and the frigates were compelled to silence them in self-defence. Two British seamen were killed. The Chinese loss was not ascertained.

The frigates were not interfered with at Whampoa, but all communication between Whampoa and Canton was closed; and Lord Napier was accordingly cut off from his colleagues. Steps also were taken to block the river, and prevent the passage of boats to Canton; and other precautionary measures of defence and offence were adopted by the Chinese in anticipation of hostilities.

On the 8th September, Lord Napier addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Canton Chamber of Commerce, for communication to the Hong merchants and the Chinese authorities; in which he attempted to refute the Governor's assertion, that the Ministers of the Chinese Empire were not permitted to have intercourse with outside barbarians, quoting a number of instances from the time of Weddell, in 1637, when, as he supposed, such intercourse had been allowed; protested strongly against the stoppage of the trade with effect from 16th August, as business had been transacted by British merchants, under the sanction contained in the Governor's own orders, up to the 2nd September; and warned the Hong merchants that, if any disagreeable consequences should ensue, they and the authorities would be entirely responsible. "I recommend them," he wrote, "to take warning in time. They have opened the preliminaries of war; they destroy trade, and they incur loss of life on the part of the unoffending people, rather than grant to me the same courtesy, which has been granted to others before me. They are all aware that the King, my master, sent me here in consequence of Howqua's advice to Governor Le; and therefore why do they daily contend against their own actions, to the destruction of trade and the misery of thousands. But let the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor know this, that I will lose no time in sending this true statement to H.I.M. the Emperor at Pekin; and that I will also report to his justice and indignation the false and treacherous conduct of Loo, Governor, and of the present Kwang Chow Foo, who have tortured the linguists, and cruelly imprisoned a respectable individual, Sun-ching, a security merchant, for not having acquiesced in a base lie, purporting that I arrived at Canton in a merchant ship; whereas they are both aware that I made my passage, and arrived in one of the ships of war now at anchor in the river. His Imperial Majesty will not permit such folly, wickedness, and cruelty as they have been guilty of since my arrival here to go unpunished; therefore, tremble Governor Loo, intensely tremble."*

This letter produced an edict in reply from the Governor on the 11th September. "In everything relating to the trade of the English barbarians at Canton," he said, "there have long been established rules. There has never been such a thing as a residence here of a barbarian officer or Superintendent. The great Ministers of the Celestial Empire, unless with regard to affairs of going to Court, and carrying tribute, or in consequence of Imperial commands, are not permitted to have interviews with outside barbarians. The affairs of the former Ming dynasty (Captain Weddell's affair) need not be brought into discussion. How have any officers of the great Tsing dynasty had intercourse to and fro with barbarians? As to the intercourse between barbarian officers and those who have formerly held the office of Governor, in the years of Kienlung and Keaking (1736 to 1820), referred to in the paper copied

the Superintendents, dated 27th Sept., 1834; submitted separately to the House of Commons, in accordance with an address, dated 6th April 1840.

Letter from the Company's Agents to the Court of Directors dated 29th Sept. 1834; pages 41-43, and Foreign Office Memorandum on the above letter dated Feb. 1840; page 42 of the correspondence; and letter from Mr. Astell to Mr. Backhouse, dated 28th Sept. 1834; pages 39 and 40 of the correspondence.

Memorandum prepared in the Foreign Office in Feb. 1840; pages 32-39 of the correspondence.

* This was a customary termination of the edicts issued by the Governor in regard to Lord Napier.

“ by the said merchants, perhaps when the said nation has sent tribute there may
 “ have been interviews given to the tribute bearers; otherwise there certainly has not
 “ been this ceremony. This even the said nation's private merchants must all be
 “ aware of.”

Le's edict to the merchants, he continued, contemplated the appointment of a Taepan or trading chief, and not of a Superintendent; and the intention of the Chinese to manage the affairs of trade through the medium of merchants, even if a Superintendent were appointed over the English merchants, was distinctly stated. Lord Napier's conduct since his arrival in Canton was then reviewed, and his defiance of the regulations, in bringing arms into the English factory, and ordering the ships of war to push forward into the inner river, was specially noticed and condemned. “If, however,” he concluded, “the said barbarian Eye will speedily repent of his errors, withdraw the ships of war, and remain obedient to the old rules, I will yet give him some slight indulgence. If he still adhere to stupidity, and do not arouse, maintain his wickedness, and do not change, he will be sinning against the Great Emperor; and I, the Governor, will certainly find it difficult again to display endurance and forbearance, I apprehend that when the Celestial troops once come, even precious stones will burn up before them.”

Minutes of conversation between Howqua and Mowqua, Hong merchants, and Mr. Jardine, dated 14th Sept. 1834; pages 71 and 72 of the correspondence.

On the same day, that the edict was published, the three senior Hong merchants went again to Mr. Jardine, and asked him once more to use his influence to procure an amicable settlement of the dispute, promising that if Lord Napier would send the frigates out of the Canton river, the trade would be re-opened. Lord Napier, on hearing of this proposal, wrote to Mr. Jardine stating the terms that he was prepared to accept. Put briefly, these were:—(1.) That an order should be issued, permitting Chinese servants to return to the factories and the shopkeepers to sell provisions, and that the guard should then be sent back to the ships, and the captains of the frigates requested to return at once to Chuenpee. (2.) That the British merchants should petition the Governor to permit trade; and that the Governor, on receiving the petition, should issue an edict, withdrawing the order of suspension, and admonishing the Chinese to treat the British and other foreigners in future with respect and hospitality. (3.) That as soon as the trade should be opened, one of the frigates should be sent to India to countermand the reinforcements expected from that country. (4.) That he should have the privilege of passing freely between Macao and Canton, whenever necessary.

This letter was read to the Hong merchants in a body at the Consol House; and, according to Mr. Jardine, they said unanimously that they would be able to obtain the assent of the authorities to the terms proposed. On the 13th September, however, the two senior merchants informed Mr. Jardine that the terms were inadmissible, and proposed others. He told them to commit any further proposals they had to make to writing, and the negotiations ended.

Finding that the Governor would not consent to permit trade, as long as he remained at Canton, Lord Napier decided on the 14th September to remove the Commission temporarily to Macao, and published a circular to the British merchants announcing his determination. His Lordship's health had suffered from the change of climate on the voyage to China; and the heat and confinement at Canton, and the insults and annoyances to which he had been exposed, brought on an attack of fever, and he became seriously indisposed.

Letter from Mr. Astell to Mr. Backhouse, dated 28th Sept. 1834; pages 39 and 40; Memorandum prepared in the Foreign Office in Feb. 1840, pages 32-39; and letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston, dated 12th Oct. 1834; pages 43 and 44 of the correspondence.

On the 21st September, therefore, he wrote to the captain of the “Imogene,” requesting him to move the frigates from Whampoa to Lintin; and left Canton for Macao in Chinese boats the same evening. Mr. Colledge, the Surgeon to the Commission, having arranged with the Hong merchants, that he should be allowed to proceed by the inner passage so as to shorten the journey. The boats conveying the party were delayed on the way, until the Chinese had received news of the departure of the frigates from the river; and Lord Napier appears to have been insulted and badly treated throughout the voyage. His illness was naturally aggravated by this treatment, and he died 15 days after his arrival at Macao on the 11th October.

Lord Napier was placed in a position of extraordinary difficulty. His instructions undoubtedly led him to suppose, that he was to correspond with the Canton authorities in a manner befitting the dignity of the representative of the British nation; and it is clear that the Chinese had no intention of permitting such correspondence, and that they were firm in their determination to treat the English, as they had always done, as their inferiors both in power and in civilisation.

A memorial from the officers of the Local Government, reporting to the Emperor, with the customary Chinese embellishments, the occurrences at Canton from the date of Lord Napier's arrival up to the date of the suspension of British commerce, contains the following significant passage:—"The said barbarian Eye would not receive the Hong merchants, but afterwards repaired to the outside of the city, to present a letter to me, your Majesty's Minister, Loo. On the face of the envelope, the forms and style of equality were used; and there were absurdly written the characters—great English nation—(Great Britain). Examining at that time, it appeared that in keeping apart the central and the outside (people), what is of the highest importance is a maintenance of dignity and sovereignty. Whether the said barbarian Eye has or has not official rank, there are no means of thoroughly ascertaining. But though he be an officer of the said nation, he cannot write letters on equality with the frontier officers of the Celestial Empire."

Enclosure 1 in a letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston dated 18th Nov. 1834; pages 62-66 of the correspondence.

It is not too much to say that no matter what his diplomatic abilities might have been, he would not have succeeded in establishing himself in the position contemplated by his instructions. He was, however, unquestionably ill-fitted for the task. His correspondence shows that he was imperious, and was inordinately sensitive on the subject of the dignity of his Sovereign and of the British nation; and he appears also to have been badly informed in regard to the history of British relations with China, and to have been unfortunate in the advisers, upon whom he relied at Canton. For the East India Company and their policy he had evidently not much respect. "It was not," he wrote upon one occasion, "until 1786, I think, that Kienlung confined us to the port of Canton; and since which time, the trade being merely a question between a company of merchants in London and the Chinese Government, the two parties have continued to play into each others' hands to their mutual advantage, without any reference to the convenience, comfort, and advantage of the people. Had the monopoly never existed, is it possible to conceive that the British commerce would ever have been confined to the port of Canton? The bare idea of such a predicament is absurd." It is not likely, therefore, that he was much influenced by the two Company's servants who were associated with him as Superintendents; but Sir G. Robinson, at any rate, appears to have entirely concurred with him throughout, and Mr. Davis was in accord with him as to the expediency of establishing direct communication with the Chinese authorities, and of refusing to correspond with them through the medium of the Hong merchants. His methods, however, rather than his objects, were open to adverse criticism.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Grey, dated 21st August 1834; pages 26-28 of the correspondence.

Up to the 9th August, he appears to have contemplated the attainment of the objects of his appointment by pacific means; but Chinese arrogance soon goaded him to desperation. Five days later, on the 14th August, he expressed an opinion that, in the interests of Great Britain and of all civilised nations, a commercial Treaty should be negotiated with China, throwing open the country to trade; and that if the Chinese Government was not prepared to enter into such a Treaty, it should be coerced. "The Chinese," he wrote, "are most anxious to trade with us; the Tartar viceroys cannot comprehend it. If the Emperor refuses our demand, remind him he is only an intruder; and that it will be his good policy to secure himself upon his throne by gratifying the wishes of his people. Remind him that the British traded to all ports of China before his dynasty escaped from the wilds of Tartary; and that even one of his early forefathers not only opened all his ports to foreigners, but invited them to settle and spread civilisation in his Empire. The Chinese all read, and are eager for information; publish among them and disseminate far and wide your intentions—that is all your intentions both towards the Government and themselves. Disclaim every view of conquest, or of holding partial possession beyond a certain time; disturb not the passage of their vessels or the tranquillity of their towns; only destroy their forts and batteries along the coast, and on the river sides, without interfering with the people. Such annoyances to the batteries, of course, only to be carried into effect in case of the obduracy of the Emperor. Three or four frigates and brigs with a few steady British troops, not sepoys, would settle the thing in a space of time inconceivably short. Such an undertaking would be worthy the greatness and the power of England, as well from its disinterestedness towards other nations, as from the brilliant consequences which must naturally ensue."

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston, dated 9th August 1834; pages 7-10; and letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Napier, dated 7th August 1834; pages 25 and 26 of the correspondence.

Letter from Lord Napier to Lord Palmerston, dated 14th August 1834; pages 11-16 of the correspondence.

Again, in the same letter he discussed the possibility of a suspension of trade in the following terms:—

"My present position is, in one point of view, a delicate one, because the trade is put in jeopardy, on account of the difference existing between the Viceroy and myself. I am ordered by His Majesty to go to Canton, and there report myself by letter to

" the Viceroy. I use my best endeavours to do so, but the Viceroy is a presumptuous
 " savage, and will not grant the same privileges to me that have been exercised con-
 " stantly by the Chiefs of the Committee What then remains but the
 " stoppage of the trade, or my retirement? If the trade is stopped for any length of
 " time, the consequences to the merchants are most serious, as they are also to the
 " unoffending Chinese. But the Viceroy cares no more for commerce, or for the comfort
 " and happiness of the people, as long as he receives his pay and plunder, than if he did
 " not live among them. I cannot hazard millions of money for any length of time on
 " the mere score of etiquette. If the trade shall be stopped, which is probable enough
 " in the absence of the frigate, it is possible I may be obliged to return to Macao to let
 " it loose again. Then has the Viceroy gained his point, and the Commission is
 " degraded. Now, my Lord, I argue, that whether the Commission retires by force of
 " arms, or by the injustice practised on the merchants, the Viceroy has committed an
 " outrage on the British Crown, which should be equally chastised. The whole system
 " of government here is that of subterfuge, and shifting the blame from the shoulders
 " of the one to the other. Act with firmness and spirit, and the Emperor will punish
 " the Viceroy, as the mandarin* did the wood cutter for Mr. Innes."

Lord Napier was no doubt right in thinking that the Chinese Government would only agree under pressure to accord better treatment to British subjects, or to foreigners generally, than they had up to that time received; but his methods were injudicious, and his advocacy unconvincing, and the impossibility of attaining the objects contemplated by pacific measures required further demonstration.

Enclosure (1)
 in a letter from
 Mr. Davis to Lord
 Palmerston,
 dated 18th
 Nov. 1834;
 pages 62-66 of the
 correspondence.

The only mention of opium, it may be noticed, throughout these proceedings, occurs in the memorial from the officers of the Local Government of Canton to the Emperor, which has been already referred to, and is to the following effect: "But the barbarians
 " are by nature insatiably avaricious, and the more forbearance and indulgence are
 " shown to them, the more do they become proud and overbearing. . At present, the
 " barbarian ships, which clandestinely sell opium in the outer seas, are daily increasing.
 " Just when the laws were being established to bring them to order, there further
 " came this mad mistaken barbarian Eye. If at this time indulgence be at once shown
 " to them, they will then advance step by step, begetting other foolish expectations.
 " It is unavoidable that some slight display should be made of reducing and repressing
 " them."

Edict of the Go-
 vernor of Canton,
 Enclosure 1 in
 a letter from
 Captain Elliot to
 Mr. Backhouse,
 dated 17th
 Nov. 1834; pages
 58-61 of the
 correspondence.

The Government at Peking on hearing that the English ships of war had forced an entry into the inner river was much incensed, and the Governor of Canton and other officials were sharply called to account. "It seems," wrote the Emperor, "that all
 " the forts have been erected in vain; they cannot beat back two barbarian ships; it
 " is ridiculous, detestable. If the military operations be reduced to such a state as
 " this, it is not surprising that the barbarians regard them slightly."

Governor Loo was deprived of his two-eyed peacock's feather and of the title of guardian of the Heir-apparent, and was also degraded from official rank, but was temporarily retained in the office of Governor; the Naval Commander-in-Chief was degraded; and the naval and military officers in command at the Bocca Tigris were condemned to wear the Cangue or wooden collar in public, and were tried and some of them tortured, to ascertain whether they were guilty of traitorous connexion with the foreigners. "When once," said the Emperor, "the said barbarian Eye is brought
 " under, his schemes exhausted, and his power isolated, so that he bows his head
 " and confesses his faults, a slight trifling indulgence may then be extended to him
 " If he still continue obstinately blinded, and do not arouse, but remain
 " perverse as before, let then the said Governor and his colleagues arrange and direct
 " the military operations and set in motion, the machinery of expulsion and destruc-
 " tion. It is absolutely requisite to make the said barbarian Eye tremble and quake
 " before the Celestial Majesty, and penitently arouse to reverential submission."

Edict of the
 Emperor in reply
 to a memorial of
 the officers of
 the Local
 Government at
 Canton, reporting
 Lord Napier's
 departure, dated
 7th Oct. 1834,
 in Extracts from
 the Records
 of Proceedings
 dated 8th
 Dec. 1834;
 pages 74 and 75
 of the corre-
 spondence.

On hearing the news of Lord Napier's departure, however, the Emperor expressed his satisfaction at the manner in which the affair had been managed. "Now," he wrote, "having driven the said barbarian Eye and others out of the port, the said
 " Governor and others, although at the beginning they failed in a preventive guard,
 " have in the end been able to settle the thing well and securely, without loss of the
 " national dignity, and without incurring any bloody strife. I, the Emperor, am
 " exceedingly well pleased." Loo accordingly received back his title and his peacock's feather, but remained deprived of official rank, though continued in the office of

* An account of this incident is given at pages 50 and 51 of this narrative.

Governor, and the naval and military officers under examination were ordered to be released after wearing the Cangue for a month.

On the death of Lord Napier, Mr. Davis succeeded to the office of Chief, and Sir G. Robinson and Mr. Astell to the offices of Second and Third Superintendents; and Captain Elliot, whose appointment as Master Attendant had been rendered unnecessary by the rescission of the Order in Council imposing duties on the goods and tonnage of British ships, became Secretary to the Commission.

The suspension of the trade was removed by the Governor, as soon as Lord Napier withdrew to Macao, and business at Canton went on as usual; and, pending the arrival of instructions from England, Mr. Davis decided to remain quiet at Macao. "In the absence of any advances on the part of the Chinese," he wrote to Lord Palmerston, "a state of absolute silence and quiescence on our part seems the most eligible course, until further instructions shall be received from home. At the same time, that this line of procedure hazards nothing, and that the business of the shipping goes on, it may occasion to the Local Government, a feeling of uncertainty and suspense as to the future, calculated to draw from them some advances, which might be turned to good account."

Letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston, dated 12th Oct. 1834; pages 43 and 44 of the correspondence.

The Governor of Canton adhered to his resolution, to neither recognise the Superintendents nor permit them to reside at Canton; and the agents of the East India Company were requested by the Hong merchants not to sublet any portion of their factory to the Superintendents, during the continuance of their lease.

The trade, both licit and illicit, proceeded briskly; but the absence of any controlling authority among the British merchants soon made itself felt, and on the 19th October the Governor issued the following order to the Hong merchants:—"For all affairs of trade it is requisite and necessary to choose a person as head and director, that there may be someone to sustain the responsibility. The merchants have already been before commanded to examine and deliberate, but have not yet made any report in answer. Uniting the circumstances this order is issued. When the order reaches the said merchants, let them immediately obey and act accordingly, and instantly make known to all the separate merchants of the said nation, that they are in a general body to examine and deliberate what person ought to be made the head for directing the said nation's trade, and forthwith to report in answer. Thereafter the responsibility of conducting public affairs shall rest on the barbarian merchant who becomes head and director."

Enclosure 1 in a letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd Nov. 1834; page 47 of the correspondence.

The reply submitted by the Hong merchants did not satisfy the Governor, who, on the 20th October, issued a second order:—"Now the Company has terminated and is dissolved, and the said nation's barbarian merchants come hither to trade, each for himself. If some other Taepan be not appointed, all affairs will become scattered, out of order, and without arrangement; just as is the case with the barbarian ships now anchored in the offing of Maton (Lintin), which neither come up to Whampoa to trade, nor yet get under weigh; and the said nation's sampan vessels presume of themselves to sail in and out, not submitting to examination. And when ordered to inquire and investigate, the Hong merchants make excuses of ignorance. What state of things is this? . . . When I, the Governor, commanded to decide respecting a person to be a directing head, it was with consideration as to the said senior merchants transacting public affairs; it was not at all with regard to the barbarians buying and selling. What the said merchants have reported, is wholly with respect to the bartering of goods; there is no regard shown to public affairs. This is, indeed, a great misunderstanding. Let them again consult and deliberate with their whole minds, and report in answer."

Enclosure 2 in the above letters pages 47 and 48 of the correspondence

"And, at the same time, let them act in obedience to the other order, and make known to the said nation's separate merchants, that they are immediately with haste to send a letter home to their country, calling for the renewed appointment of a commercial man, acquainted with affairs, to come to Canton and sustain the duties of Taepan, to direct buying and selling, and to restrain and control all the merchants. Specially, do not again cause a barbarian Eye to come hither to control affairs, thereby occasioning, as Lord Napier did, the creation of disturbances in vain."

A third order to the same effect followed on the 23rd October, commending the British merchants for having continued to trade, but observing that, as the ships and the merchants were numerous, it was absolutely necessary that a commercial man, thoroughly acquainted with the great principles of dignity, should be appointed as Taepan, and should come to Canton to direct and control the business."

Enclosure 1 in a letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston, dated 11th Nov. 1834; pages 53 55 of the correspondence.

Enclosure
the above letter;
page 56 of the
correspondence.

The Emperor also issued an Imperial edict of a similar purport, which was published in Canton by the Governor on the 6th November. "The English barbarians," he said, "have an open market in the inner land, but there has hitherto been no inter-change of official communications; it is, however, absolutely requisite that there should be a person professing general control, to have special direction of affairs. Let the said Governor immediately order the Hong merchants to command the said separate merchants, that they send a letter back to their country, calling for the appointment of another person as Taepan to come for the control and direction of commercial affairs, in accordance with the old regulations."

Letter from Mr.
Davis to Lord
Palmerston,
dated 18th
Nov. 1834;
pages 61 and 62
of the corre-
spondence.

The British merchants in Canton replied to these orders on the 10th November that no authority as trading chief could be held by any person without the sanction of the British Government, which had already appointed officers to superintend and control its subjects at Canton.

The attempt made to induce the British merchants to appoint a Chief, who would keep his countrymen in order and enforce respect for Chinese regulations, was a remarkable negation of the right to control and govern foreigners residing in China; but it was, at any rate, consistent. Except in cases of homicide, the Chinese, as it has already been stated, had not attempted to exercise jurisdiction over the foreign residents in their country; and the orders issued by Governor Loo at the time of Lord Napier's arrival show that he, as well as his predecessor, Le, recognised fully the necessity for an English Chief. They wanted, however, a Chief whom they could treat as a servitor and an inferior; and Lord Napier's injudicious proceedings created a strong indisposition to have any dealings with a British officer.

Enclosure 2 in a
letter from Mr.
Davis to Lord
Palmerston,
dated 18th
Nov. 1834;
pages 66
and 67 of the
correspondence.

The abolition of the Company's monopoly appears to have led at once to an increase of unlicensed trading by the Chinese; and on the 1st November 1834 the Governor of Canton and the Superintendent of Customs found it necessary to issue an edict, directing that any Chinese trader, other than a Hong merchant, entering the factories of the foreigners, either to buy or to sell goods, should be punished as a traitor; and that shopmen, trading on their own account in the name and with the connivance of Hong merchants, should be held responsible, equally with the merchants, for the Government Custom duties.

Enclosure 2 in a
letter from Mr.
Davis to Lord
Palmerston,
dated 2nd Jan.
1835; pages 77
and 78 of the
correspondence.

On the 3rd November 1834, an Imperial edict against opium was received at Canton. Opium brought to China, it was said, was principally disposed of by the foreigners in the "outer seas;" and the Governor and his colleagues were accordingly ordered to send a naval force and drive away all opium ships, remaining outside the port after the conclusion of the trading season, and to station cruisers among the foreign ships, and at suitable places along the coast, to seize native vessels and boats engaged in the traffic. Chinese smuggling opium, or opening "opium furnaces," were to be arrested, tried, and punished with severity, and Custom House officials were to receive rewards for successful seizures. The Governor also was directed to issue orders to the English through the Hong merchants to the effect that if any English ship was found smuggling and evading payment of the Government duties, all vessels belonging to persons of that nation would be prevented from trading.

Letter from Mr.
Davis to Lord
Palmerston,
dated 2nd Jan.
1835; page
76 of the
correspondence.

"It is almost needless to observe," wrote Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston in reference to this edict, "that previous documents of this nature have proved entirely nugatory, and that the opium trade at last (*sic*) has continued in spite of them. It remains now to be seen whether the Native Government, having its attention at length awakened to the increased amount of smuggling transactions, consequent on the open trade of this season, will endeavour to give greater efficacy to its edicts, and oppose some effectual impediment to the contraband commerce of Lintin."

Enclosure 1 in
the letter from
Mr. Davis to
Lord Palmerston,
dated 2nd Jan.
1835; page 77
of the corre-
spondence.

Another edict was issued by the Imperial Government about this time, directing the Governor and his colleagues to inquire whether foreigners were subjected to undue exactions by the Hong merchants at Canton, and to punish severely any persons convicted of extortion, as it was possible that Lord Napier's contumacious violation of the laws, and the entry of the frigates into the inner river, were the result of discontent arising from the rapacity of the merchants.

Letter from Mr.
Davis to Lord
Palmerston,
dated 2nd Jan.
1835; page 76
of the corre-
spondence.
Edict of the
Governor of
Canton and
Superintendent

Mr. Davis considered that this edict was inspired by a feeling of uneasiness, and apprehension of further trouble, arising from the recent occurrences, rather than by any spontaneous desire to do justice to the foreigners; but the motives, which dictated it, can only be surmised. 'Whatever' may have been the real cause, no inclination appears to have been evinced at Canton to treat foreigners with greater civility; and

the customary annual proclamation was issued on the 15th November 1834, directing the Hong merchants to repress the pride and profligacy of the barbarians, and to abstain from gratifying their libidinous dispositions; and prohibiting the employment by foreigners of Chinese as servants and attendants.

Mr. Davis during his term of office as Chief Superintendent made no effort to open communication with the officers of the Provincial Government. An adjustment of the dispute should, he thought, take place as "the result of mutual necessity"; and he was not prepared to accept a position of subordination to the Hong merchants, and to abandon the claim, which had been put forward by Lord Napier, for the establishment of direct official intercourse. He did not, therefore, favour an unconditional submission; and the failure of the attempt made by the Company's servants in 1829-30 to coerce the Chinese, by suspending the trade, made him unwilling to try the effect of that measure again.

British subjects were accordingly advised to avoid giving any ground of complaint, and to refrain, as much as possible, from allusions to the past or anticipations of the future, so as to impress the Chinese with a sense of their reliance in the ability of the British Government to settle the difficulty in a satisfactory manner, but with this admonition they were left to manage their own affairs; and the Superintendents remained at Macao, and waited for instructions from England.

The British merchants at Canton were, as usual, in favour of the adoption of strong measures. On the 9th December 1834 a petition, signed by Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, Innes, and others (in all 64 persons), was submitted to His Majesty the King in Council, praying him to take measures to maintain the honour of Great Britain, and preserve the advantages which a safe and uninterrupted commerce with China was calculated to yield. "Your petitioners," it was said, "beg leave most earnestly to submit their thorough conviction, founded on the invariable tenor of the whole history of foreign intercourse with China, as well as of its policy on occasions of internal commotion, down to the present moment, that the most unsafe of all courses that can be followed in treating with the Chinese Government or any of its functionaries, is that of quiet submission to insult, or such unresisting endurance of contemptuous or wrongful treatment, as may compromise the honour, or bring into question the power, of our country."

They proposed, therefore, that a Minister Plenipotentiary should be sent to some convenient station on the east coast of China, with a sufficient maritime force, to demand reparation for the insults offered to Lord Napier, to His Majesty the King, and to the British flag, and compensation for the losses, which they had themselves sustained in consequence of the suspension of their trade, and to arrange for the promotion and extension of the British trade with China in the future; and suggested that such negotiations should not be assigned to any person previously connected in China "with commerce conducted under the trammels and degradations to which it had been subject."

The indirect attack upon the East India Company's servants then in the positions of Chief and Second Superintendent was perhaps partly personal, but was also doubtless inspired by the belief that an officer, sent direct from Great Britain, would be more likely to resent Chinese insolence and arrogance, than men who possessed practical experience of the conditions, upon which intercourse between the two countries had up to that time been conducted.

Mr. Davis resigned his appointment as Chief Superintendent and left China on 21st January 1835. He had, it appears, intended to leave China during the winter before his appointment as Superintendent of Trade; and under the conditions, which existed at the time of his departure, he considered that he could effect nothing by remaining at his post. A letter, which he wrote to the Governor-General of India in October 1834, contains a clear exposition of his views and policy. "At the same time," he wrote, "that the local authorities have evinced their desire to continue the trade, it is my duty to state that I have no expectation of any voluntary advances from them towards the recognition of His Majesty's Commission. The government of foreigners through the medium of the Hong merchants is a system too valuable to the Canton officers, in diminishing their responsibility and enabling them to practise their heavy exactions with impunity, to be readily abandoned by them; nor does there seem any chance of bettering the condition of the English trade in this respect, unless His Majesty's Government deem it expedient to adopt measures of coercion, in the event of the previous, and more eligible, course of a reasonable appeal to Peking, by the Yellow Sea,

of Customs, dated 15th Nov 1834, in Records of Proceedings of the Superintendents, dated 6th Dec. 1834; page 75 of the correspondence.

Letters from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston, dated 11th Nov. 1834, and 19th Jan. 1835; pages 52 and 53 and 78-80 of the correspondence.

Notice to British subjects in China, dated 10th Nov. 1834; pages 56-58 of the correspondence.

Petition of British subjects at Canton to his Majesty the King in Council, dated 9th Dec. 1834; pages 63-71 of the correspondence.

Letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston, dated 19th Jan. 1835, and Records of Proceedings dated 19th, 21st, and 22nd Jan. 1835; pages 78-81 of the correspondence.

Letter from Mr. Davis to Lord William Bentinck dated 24th Oct. 1834; pages 45 and 46 of the correspondence.

Letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston, dated 11th Nov. 1834; pages 52 and 53 of the correspondence.

"having been found to fail Under these circumstances, and during the uninterrupted progress of the trade, it is clear to me that the duty of this Commission is to abstain from all uninvited approaches towards an intercourse with the Government, and to observe a perfect silence pending the references home."

And again in a letter to Lord Palmerston, written in November 1834, regarding the Chinese edicts requiring the appointment of a commercial chief, he observed—"Being duly sensible of the inconveniences, that may attend the absence of a British controlling authority from Canton, I will only repeat the expression of my assurance, that this Commission will avail itself gladly of any favourable opening to commence a negotiation with the Local Government. I must, however, state my conviction that any adjustment ought to take place as the result of a mutual necessity; and that an unbecoming and premature act of submission on our part, under present circumstances, could not fail to prove a fruitless, if not a mischievous, measure."

He shared, as will be seen from the first quotation, the view held by so many of the East India Company's servants from the time of Mr. Flint, that more was to be obtained at Peking than at Canton; and was of opinion that an appeal to the Emperor against the conduct of the Canton authorities should be tried, before any measures were taken to compel the Chinese Government to recognise the King's Commission, and place British commerce upon a more satisfactory footing. He did not, however, make any strong recommendation on the subject, and left the determination of the next move to His Majesty's Government; merely suggesting that the Imperial edict, which required the Governor of Canton to ascertain whether the discontent of the foreigners had been caused by the rapacity of the Hong merchants, offered a favourable opportunity for such an appeal. "An opportunity," he wrote to Lord Palmerston, on the 19th January 1835, "is afforded by this Imperial document, which His Majesty's Government (should it be indisposed to accede to the Chinese proposition of a 'trading chief,') may not be inclined to neglect, in making an appeal to the Court of Peking, against the conduct of its servants at Canton, whose corrupt system, in relation to the European commerce, tends nearly as much to defraud the Emperor of his dues, as to oppress and discourage the foreign trader."

Letter from Mr. Davis to Lord Palmerston, dated 19th Jan. 1835; pages 78-80 of the correspondence.

Sir George Best Robinson succeeded Mr. Davis as Chief, and Mr. Astell was temporarily appointed as the Second, and Captain Elliot as the Third Superintendent.

A few days after this change in the direction of affairs, the second officer and some seamen (one European and ten natives of India and Manilla), belonging to the British trading ship "Argyle," were seized by the Chinese on the coast, about 40 miles from Canton, with the object of extorting money, and a ransom of 500 dollars was demanded.

Letter from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, dated 3rd Feb. 1835; and Records of the Superintendent's Proceedings, dated 29th and 30th Jan. and 4th Feb. 1835; and Foreign Office memorandum of 1840; pages 31-36 of the correspondence.

The Captain of the ship complained to the Superintendents, and Sir G. Robinson sent Captain Elliot to Canton to present a letter to the Governor, representing the circumstances, and requesting that measures might be taken to obtain the liberty of the captives. The letter was signed by the three Superintendents, to give it a different character and appearance from Lord Napier's communications; and upon the outside of the envelope some words were written to show that it "related to matter concerning human life."

Captain Elliot, accompanied by the Rev. C. Gutzlaff, and wearing his uniform as a Captain in the Royal Navy, took the letter to one of the gates of Canton on the 1st February, intending to present it to an officer of the Chinese Government. He was, however, assaulted as soon as he entered the city gate by a subordinate Chinese mandarin, and was thrown to the ground and treated generally with much indignity. Notwithstanding this reception, he persevered in his attempt to deliver the letter to an officer, and refused to hold any communication with some linguists, who appeared and wished to converse with him. Eventually he and Mr. Gutzlaff were admitted to the presence of two general officers, who had, as they were told, been specially deputed by the Governor to meet them. The officers were seated, and Captain Elliot tried to take a seat, but they immediately rose and received him standing. He then respectfully presented the letter to one of them, but he refused to receive it. Mr. Gutzlaff explained in Chinese that Captain Elliot was a British officer, and had come to make a representation in a matter that concerned the lives of British subjects, but the officer replied that they only received petitions. Mr. Gutzlaff showed him the superscription on the envelope, which he read; and they then left abruptly, repeating that they only received petitions.

The object of the representation was, however, attained, though the letter was not received; and the men who had been seized were released, and rejoined their ship at Canton on the 18th February.

Lord Napier's despatches to Lord Palmerston from the 9th to the 21st August 1834, were received at the Foreign Office in England upon the 31st January 1835; and the Duke of Wellington, who was then Foreign Secretary, wrote at once, on the 2nd February, to Lord Napier earnestly recommending to his attention the instructions communicated by Lord Palmerston for the guidance of the Superintendents, more particularly the 18th and 19th Articles of the general Instructions under the Royal Sign Manual. "It is not," he said, "by force and violence that His Majesty intends to establish a commercial intercourse between his subjects and China; but by the other conciliatory measures so strongly inculcated in all the instructions which you have received."

Letter from the Duke of Wellington to Lord Napier, dated 2nd Feb. 1835; page 26 of the correspondence.

The other letters and proceedings of the Superintendents, from the 21st August to the end of October 1834, reached the Foreign Office shortly after; and, on the 24th March 1835, the Duke recorded his view of the position in a memorandum. "It is quite obvious," he wrote, "that the attempt made to force upon the Chinese authorities at Canton an unaccustomed mode of communication with an authority, with whose powers and of whose nature they had no knowledge, which commenced its proceedings by an assumption of power hitherto unadmitted, had completely failed; and as it is obvious that such an attempt must invariably fail, and lead again to national disgrace; and as it appears that, as soon as Lord Napier had withdrawn from Canton to Macao, the trade had been opened, that pilots had been allowed to take British ships up the river to Whampoa, and that the trade was as flourishing as ever, when the accounts came away; it appears that the time is come when the Cabinet may take into consideration the means of managing and regulating this affair in future."

Memorandum by the Duke of Wellington, dated 24th March 1835, pages 51 and 52 of the correspondence.

He recommended therefore—

- (1.) That the Chief Superintendent in charge of the trade should not go to Canton without the permission of the Chinese.
- (2.) That he should "not depart from the accustomed mode of communication."
- (3.) That he should be a man of naval, military, or official rank and reputation, whose firmness and discretion could be relied on; and should have "great powers to enable him to control and keep in order the King's subjects."
- (4.) That there should be one Chief and one Second Superintendent, who should be a member of the legal profession, and should be appointed to hold the Criminal and Admiralty Court which had been established; and that the office of Third Superintendent should be abolished and some other retrenchments made in the cost of the Commission as originally constituted.
- (5.) That the instructions under the Royal Sign Manual, which required the Superintendents to proceed to and reside at Canton, should be altered, and that alterations should also be made upon some other points, which, however, were not specified.

"It will be," the Duke concluded, "in the power of Government hereafter to decide whether any effort shall be made at Peking, or elsewhere, to improve our relations with China, commercial as well as political. That, which we now require, is not to lose the enjoyment of what we have now got.

"I would recommend that till the trade has taken its regular peaceable course, particularly considering what has passed recently, there should always be within the Consul General's reach, a stout frigate and a smaller vessel of war."

The Ministry, in which the Duke of Wellington was Foreign Secretary, only held office for four months, and upon the return of the Liberals to power, Lord Palmerston resumed his appointment at the Foreign Office. Lord Palmerston was not inclined to accept the Duke's view that the Chief Superintendent should be ordered to communicate with the Chinese authorities through the Hong merchants, and as there was no desire either on the part of the Ministry or of the nation to take measures to coerce the Chinese, the Superintendents were for some months practically left to themselves to discover a way out of the difficulty.

This Sir G. Robinson made no attempt to do; and during the period that he held office, from the 19th January 1835 to the 14th December 1836, he had no communication with the authorities at Canton, except on the occasion of the "Argyle" incident, and adhered closely, as he stated in reply to the Duke of Wellington's letter to Lord Napier, dated 2nd February 1835, and in several letters addressed to Lord Palmerston, to the policy of observation adopted by Mr. Davis; with whom he concurred as to the inadvisability of taking any action that might lead to an interruption of the trade or produce further complications, until the Superintendents should be placed in possession of the views and intentions of His Majesty's Government.

Letters from Sir G. Robinson to the Duke of Wellington, dated 26th July 1835; page 100; and to Lord Palmerston, dated 13th April 18th Oct., 11th Nov., and 10th Dec. 1835, and 16th and 29th Jan., 8th and 27th Feb., 18th April, 10th May, and 29th Nov. 1836;

pages 94, 95, 100, 101, 106, 112, 113, 120, 121, 131, 133, and 135 of the correspondence.

Letter from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, dated 16th Oct. 1835; pages 100 and 191 of the correspondence.

Letter from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th Feb. 1836; page 131 of the correspondence.

Letters from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, dated 19th May 1836; page 133 of the correspondence.

Edict from the Superintendent of Customs to the Hong merchants, dated 8th March 1835, with annexed copy of a Memorial from the Local Government at Canton to the Emperor, proposing revised Trade Regulations pages 83 to 94 of the correspondence.

His opinions and policy throughout this period will appear clearly from the following extracts from his official correspondence:—

Writing to Lord Palmerston on the 16th October 1835, he observed:—"I trust your Lordship will approve of the perfectly quiescent line of policy I have considered it my duty to maintain under the present aspect of affairs. I have never in the slightest degree perceived a disposition on the part of the Chinese authorities to enter into communication, or even permit an intercourse, with the officers of this Commission. On the contrary, I am convinced any premature and ill-timed attempt to that effect would end in repulse and disappointment, and, as in the instance of Captain Elliot's visit to the city gate in January last,* involve additional contumely and insult, thereby greatly impeding the prospective adjustment of existing difficulties, as well as creating new and vexatious interruptions to the present quiet and prosperous routine of the trade, for no other object than the possible attainment of very theoretical, if not questionable, advantages."

Again, in another letter dated 27th February 1836, he wrote:—"On the subject of attempting to communicate with the local authorities through the medium of the Hong merchants, it is scarcely necessary for me to comment. The very act of such intercourse with them will ever preclude the possibility of our coming into more intimate contact from the mandarins. But it is no communication, inasmuch as they will ever decline to deliver even our petitions on all occasions relating to the extortions, exactions, oppressions, and corruption of their own body, against whose power and monopoly we have principally to exclaim, and for the annihilation of which our strongest efforts ought to be exerted."

"From a people so arrogant and barbarous, nothing is gained by undue humiliation and self-abasement. They are generally disposed to respect us, in proportion as we respect ourselves. Under existing circumstances, the less we have to do with the Chinese authorities, the more probable it is we shall avoid difficulties and dangers, by which not only our present tranquility may be endangered, but our future arrangements affected."

And on the 10th May 1836, he commented as follows upon a communication addressed by the Hong merchants to him and to the chiefs of all foreign nations at Canton, requesting them to restrain trading ships arriving at Canton from resorting to other places on the coast: "My object in addressing your Lordship on this subject is simply to prove that I am not, by any means, in communication with the Hong merchants, nor have I in any way deviated from that line of policy so well suited to maintain our present position, which is all I aspire to do, until I have the honour to receive positive and definite instructions."

Although, however, the British Superintendents were systematically ignored by the Chinese authorities during Sir G. Robinson's tenure of office, and the Superintendents, except, perhaps, on the occasion of the "Argyle" incident, made no attempt to obtain formal recognition, some events, of much importance, occurred during the period.

The altered conditions of the trade and the increase of smuggling and illicit trading, particularly in what the Chinese called the "outer seas," led to further revision of the Foreign Trade Regulations in March 1835, and the Governors of the seaboard provinces of China were requested by the Governor of Canton to issue orders requiring trading vessels proceeding to Canton from places within their jurisdiction for the purchase of foreign goods, to obtain stamped manifests from the Canton Custom House covering all goods purchased, and to treat as contraband all foreign goods, found within their jurisdiction, that were not so protected.

The revised regulations, eight in number, are summarised below:—

- (1.) Foreign ships of war were, as before, prohibited from entering the inner river and port of Canton, and the naval force was made responsible for keeping them out. The trade of the nation, to which any ship of war entering the inner river might belong, was to be at once stopped.
- (2.) Foreigners were again prohibited from bringing arms, foreign women, and seamen to Canton, and the Hong merchants and officers of the guard stations were made responsible for preventing any transgression of the order.
- (3.) Pilots and compradores (purveyors) of foreign ships were all to be licensed by the Tungche of Macao, and were made responsible for preventing and reporting illicit practices. "Of late," it was stated, "there has constantly been a

* In connexion with the seizure of the officer and boat's crew of the "Argyle."

“ set of vagabonds in the outer seas, falsely acting in the capacity of pilots;
 “ who artfully make away with the goods of barbarians and then run off.
 “ There has also been a class of vagabonds, who craftily assume the name of
 “ compradores, and unlawfully combine for the purpose of smuggling and
 “ other illegalities.”

- (4.) Each barbarian factory was allowed to employ two gate keepers and four water carriers, and each merchant was permitted to hire one man to keep his goods. These men were to be hired by the purveyors; the purveyors, in their turn, were to be appointed by the linguists; and the linguists by the Hong merchants; this “shutting up regulation” having been designed to prevent unlawful and traitorous combinations between foreigners and natives.

The employment of natives as menial servants was once more declared to be “eternally prohibited.”

- (5.) The employment by foreigners travelling between Canton and Macao of covered, flag-bearing sampan boats, which the Company's captains had been permitted to use, was prohibited, as these boats offered facilities for the transport of arms and contraband goods. The orders* permitting foreigners to only leave the Canton factories and take exercise in the place appointed for the purpose, on three days in each month, which admittedly had been continually disobeyed in recent years, were to be strictly enforced; the number of persons in a party was not to exceed 10; and the Hong merchants and the linguists were to receive punishment, if the orders were disregarded.

- (6.) Foreigners were to submit petitions through the medium of the Hong merchants, in order that the dignity of Government might be rendered impressive; but petitions against the merchants, which they had refused to present, might be submitted direct at the offices of the local magistrates.

- (7.) The security system was to be further developed by the appointment, for each trading ship, of a Hong merchant as surety by rotation, to act as an informer upon the other Hong merchant, who might be engaged as surety by the foreign trader for the sale of goods, payment of duties, and the transaction of public business.

- (8.) The naval force was to be responsible for preventing the clandestine sale of goods, chargeable with duty, in the “outer seas.” “The barbarian vessels,” it was stated, “continually cast anchor in the outer seas, and delay entering the port; and some even do not at all enter the port, but return and sail away; not only storing up and selling opium, but also, it is feared, clandestinely disposing of foreign goods. We, your Majesty's Ministers, on every occasion of this being reported to us, have immediately replied by strict directions to the naval force, to urge and compel them to enter the ports, or if they will not enter the port to drive them instantly away, and not permit them to loiter about. We have also appointed officers at the various maritime entrances, to seize with strictness smuggling vagabonds. In repeated instances men and vessels going out to sea to sell opium have been seized, and on investigation punishment has been inflicted. But the province of Canton has a line of coast continuous along the provinces of Fuhkien, Chekeang, Keangsoo, and Tientsin (Chihle). Traitorous vagabonds of the several provinces sail in vessels of the sea upon the outer ocean, and clandestinely buy and sell goods, dealing with the barbarians, and then carry back (their purchases) by sea. This class of traitorous dealers, neither entering nor leaving by any of the sea ports of Canton, there are no means of guarding against or seizing them. And the foreign goods having a divided consumption, the amount that enters the port is gradually lessened, the consequences of which on the duties are great.”

“I cannot say, however,” wrote Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston in reference to these regulations, “that the alterations or additions are framed in such a spirit, or proceed to such an extent, as would render adherence to these eight rules at all more compatible with the conduct of the trade, or our continuance in the country for one month, than to the eight several times multiplied, already deposited in the Company's archives. In fact, perhaps I need hardly observe to your Lordship, that the single object of the republication of these instruments from time to time, is to enable the

Letter from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston dated 30th March 1833; page 87 of the correspondence.

* These orders were said to have been issued in the time of Governor Tseang in 1816 (the 21st year of Keaking).

“ Local Government to evade responsibility, in every conceivable contingency which
 “ may arise out of the foreign intercourse, by fixing the duty of a most minute
 “ control upon other persons.”

Letter from
 Captain Elliot to
 Rear-Admiral Sir
 T. B. Capel,
 dated 2nd
 Feb. 1837;
 page 189 of the
 correspondence;
 and “China
 Opened,” (Vol.
 II., page 75), by
 the Rev. C.
 Gutzlaff.

A British ship, the “Troughton,” engaged in the regular trade was attacked by pirates in the summer of 1835, almost within sight of the Macao Roads; the Captain and several of the crew were wounded in the conflict which ensued; the ship was plundered, and a sum of 70,000 dollars was carried off. Some portion of the money appears to have been returned, but the perpetrators of the outrage were not brought to justice; and the case does not appear to have formed the subject of any communication from the Superintendents to the Canton authorities.

Letter from Sir
 G. Robinson to
 Lord Palmerston,
 dated 1st July
 1835; pages 95-
 100; and from
 Lord Palmerston
 to Captain Elliot,
 dated 8th
 Nov. 1836;
 page 127 and 128
 of the correspon-
 dence.

A matter, in itself of little importance, though it had far-reaching consequences, engaged Sir G. Robinson's serious attention about this time. Messrs. Turner & Co., of Canton, claimed a sum of 300 dollars from Mr. Keating, being, as they alleged, the balance due on account of a cargo of rice, consigned to him, from Batavia. Mr. Keating refused to pay, because he had been obliged to pay this sum to the Hong security merchant over and above the legitimate port duties on the cargo. Turner & Co. urged that the Hong merchants' extortion was the result of his own action in leaving the rice in the merchant's warehouses longer than was necessary, but this Mr. Keating denied. Turner & Co. applied to the Superintendents, and Sir G. Robinson, thinking that justice was on their side, and that it was absolutely necessary to maintain the reputation of the British trader in Canton for good faith, exerted himself to effect a settlement of the claim. Mr. Keating, persistently refused to admit any liability; denied the authority of the Superintendents to interfere, and even appealed to the Portuguese Governor against a supposed attempt on their part to exercise jurisdiction in Macao; and as no Court of Civil jurisdiction had been created, and the Superintendents had no means of compelling him to pay, Sir G. Robinson advanced the money to Turner & Co. on the public account, with the object of making him a debtor to the Crown.

This proceeding was subsequently disapproved by Lord Palmerston; and the Superintendents, though not made personally responsible for the advance, were cautioned against the adoption of such a course on any future occasion; and Mr. Keating was left to repay the sum advanced or not, as he might think proper. The Superintendents, however, were instructed to avail themselves of any suitable opportunity that might offer itself, to draw the attention of the Chinese authorities to the extortionate proceedings of the security merchant, and to endeavour to induce them to enforce strictly their own regulations.

Letter from Sir
 G. Robinson to
 Lord Palmerston,
 dated 20th
 Nov. 1835;
 pages 102-104;
 and letters from
 Lord Palmerston
 to Sir G. Robin-
 son, dated 6th
 June, and to
 Captain Elliot
 dated 8th
 Nov. 1836;
 pages 111-112,
 and 126 of the
 correspondence.
 Also letter from
 Mr. Innes to Sir
 G. Robinson,
 dated 22nd
 Feb. 1836; page
 124 of the
 correspondence.

Another remarkable instance of the lawlessness and contempt for the Chinese Government, which animated some of the British traders at Canton, occurred in the autumn of 1835. Mr. James Innes, the same gentleman, apparently, who had fired the house of the Superintendent of Customs in 1832, employed a native pilot to transfer some goods from a vessel, proceeding to Canton, to another vessel at Lintin, which was bound for Manilla. The pilot appears to have entered the Canton River with the goods, instead of proceeding to Lintin, and was seized by the Custom House officials, near the Bocca Tigris, for a real or supposed attempt at evasion of the Custom House regulations. Mr. Innes applied to the Governor for redress; and having experienced some delay in obtaining restitution of the property, he informed the Governor that he proposed to procure redress by acts of reprisal against the Chinese trade. He did, according to his own account, put a vessel in motion for the purpose; but eventually abstained from his contemplated hostilities, on receiving a pledge from Sir G. Robinson, that the case should be brought to the notice of His Majesty's Government,* and that the recovery of the property should be made the subject of a demand by the Superintendents upon the Chinese authorities, upon their “first formally coming into contact with them.”

Sir G. Robinson, as promised, reported the circumstances to the British Government; commended highly Mr. Innes' forbearance and moderation in abandoning his intended measures of reprisal in consequence of his advice, and recommended that a strong remonstrance, accompanied with a demand for redress and compensation, should be submitted to convince the Chinese Government that outrages of the kind could not be committed with impunity, and to prevent British subjects from proceeding to “summary means for the protection and recovery of their property” in despair of obtaining redress by proper and reasonable representations.

* The Chinese Magistrate of Macao replied, it may be noticed, to a communication from Sir G. Robinson in regard to this case. The reply thus received was apparently the only official recognition Sir G. Robinson received throughout his term of office.

Lord Palmerston took a very different view of the case. He condemned strongly Mr. Innes' intended acts of reprisal, which, as he wrote, if carried into execution, would have rendered him liable to the penalties of piracy. "If Mr. Innes alone were concerned," he continued, "he might be left to abide by the consequences of his own violence, but the proceedings, which he threatens to adopt, would expose to inconvenience and danger the British subjects resident at Canton; and I have therefore to instruct you to prevent Mr. Innes by all legal means, from executing his threats, if his own sense of their impropriety should not have already induced him to renounce them."

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Sir G. Robinson, dated 6th June 1836; pages 111 and 112 of the correspondence.

Sir G. Robinson, however, was instructed to avail himself of any suitable opportunity to press upon the Chinese authorities the restoration of the property in question, unless the authorities could show that the goods were liable to seizure in accordance with the Custom House regulations; though the claim was said to be by no means so clear as to warrant the Superintendents in making it a subject of demand upon their first formal meeting, or communication, with the authorities.

Further instructions on the case were communicated five months' later, after receipt of a report from the Law Officers of the Crown. Captain Elliot, to whom the letter was addressed, was directed to express to Mr. Innes, the conviction of His Majesty's Government, that he would abandon all intention of resorting to measures, which His Majesty's legal advisers had declared would amount to piracy, and to inform him that, if he should persist in carrying his intentions into execution, he would be abandoned by the British Government to the fate which such measures would probably bring upon him, and that the Commander of any King's ship, that might fall in with him, would be bound to treat him as a pirate.

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 8th Nov. 1836; page 126 of the correspondence.

In November 1835 Sir G. Robinson proceeded to Lintin, leaving the other members of the Commission at Macao, with the double object of saving the Commanders of British ships from the necessity of visiting Macao to obtain port clearances or to transact other business, and of endeavouring to check, by his presence, the occurrence of disorders and riots among the merchant shipping; and, on the 1st December, he proposed, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, that the jurisdiction of the Superintendents should be extended so as to include Lintin, or any other place, to which the Superintendents might think fit to resort, outside the Canton River. The establishment of the authority of the Commission at Lintin would, he thought, enable him to control and assist British subjects as effectually as if he were at Canton, and residence outside the river would be less likely to involve the Superintendents in disputes with the Chinese Government than residence in Canton itself; unless, indeed, they were there established with the right of direct official communication with the authorities, a result which, in his opinion, could only be achieved by force of arms.

Letters from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, dated 24th Nov. and 1st and 10th Dec. 1835, and 29th Jan. 1836; pages 104-109 and 114-117 of the correspondence.

"Sincerely, anxiously, as I hope," he wrote, "that His Majesty's Government may be pleased to take measures to notice and resent the contumely and insults to which the late Lord Napier was subjected, so fatally terminating in his expulsion with that of the whole of His Majesty's Commission from Canton, and in the lamented death of that nobleman, I deem it an imperative duty to point out with the utmost deference, that all the ends contemplated, as I am informed, by the establishment of the King's Commission in China, may be amply and competently fulfilled by similar powers, to those with which we are invested within the limits (as I conceive they are erroneously termed) of the port, being extended to the Superintendents, or other more judiciously styled authority without the river, or wherever they may find it most convenient to resort."

Letter of 1st December 1835; page 105.

His Majesty's Government concurred with Sir G. Robinson as to the desirability of extending the limits of the jurisdiction possessed by the Superintendents, and Lord Palmerston instructed him to publicly notify the extension of that jurisdiction so as to include Lintin and Macao.

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Sir G. Robinson, dated 28th May 1836; page 111 of the correspondence.

In December 1855 an officer of a British ship, the "Fairy Queen," was seized upon some pretext, and put in irons by certain subordinate Chinese officials, when on his way in a Chinese fast boat from Lintin to Canton; and a sum of 500 dollars was demanded as the condition of his release. The officer sent a Chinese with a letter to his ship requesting that the money might be paid. The Captain, upon Sir G. Robinson's advice, detained the Chinese messenger. The next day another messenger appeared, who demanded a reduced sum. The officer was clamorous for release, and the Captain was prepared to attempt a forcible rescue. He was, however, dissuaded by Sir G. Robinson; and the officer was eventually released.

Letter from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston dated 10th Dec. 1855; pages 108-109 of the correspondence.

A few days after this, one of the Hong merchants applied to Sir G. Robinson, as the "chief authority" of his country, for his assistance in the recovery of a sum of money

Letter from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, dated 12th

Jan. 1836 and enclosure: pages 110 and 111 of the correspondence.

Letter from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, dated 18th April 1836; page 131 of the correspondence.

Extract from a letter from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, dated 5th Feb. 1836; pages 119 and 120 of the correspondence.

which was owed to him by some Parsees; but it does not appear that the application was made with the knowledge or sanction of the Chinese authorities.

The Chief Superintendent's influence with Mr. Innes and the Captain of the "Fairy Queen" certainly prevented measures which might easily have produced an immediate rupture with the Chinese; and the trading season of 1835-36 was said by Sir G. Robinson to have been one of the most successful ever remembered in China.

The opium trade, however, was coming more and more to the front; and Sir G. Robinson's remarks upon it are worthy of reproduction. "I see no grounds," he wrote, "to apprehend the occurrence of any fearful events on the north-east coast, nor can I learn what new danger exists. I am assured from the best authority that the scuffles between different parties of smugglers and mandarins, alike engaged and competing in the traffic, are not more serious or frequent than in this province. In no case have Europeans been engaged in any kind of conflict or affray, and while this increasing and lucrative trade is in the hands of the parties, whose vital interests are so totally dependent on its safety and continuance, and by whose prudence and integrity it has been cherished and brought into its present increasing and flourishing condition, I think little apprehension may be entertained of dangers emanating from imprudence on their part. Should any unfortunate catastrophe take place, what would our position at Canton entail upon us but responsibility and jeopardy, from which we are now free? On the question of smuggling opium, I will not venture in this place, though, indeed, smuggling carried on actually in the mandarin boats can hardly be termed such. Whenever His Majesty's Government direct us to prevent British vessels engaging in the traffic, we can enforce an order to that effect, but a more certain method would be to prohibit the growth of the poppy and manufacture of opium in British India."

It seems possible that Sir G. Robinson may have been influenced to some extent in his intention to leave Macao, and establish his headquarters at Lintin, by differences of opinion with his colleague, Captain Elliot, who was at this time Second Superintendent. Captain Elliot, it appears, did not agree with his Chief in his view of Mr. Innes' conduct, and was evidently anxious to arrive at an understanding with the Chinese, and to adopt for that purpose measures of conciliation and submission. "The peaceful and conciliatory policy," he wrote to Lord Palmerston on the 25th January 1836; "by which the King's Government appear to me to desire to maintain and promote the commercial intercourse with this Empire; is not very generally approved among the 50 or 60 resident merchants at Canton, and a determination to give it effect, so far as depends upon me, is the least popular task I could have proposed for myself." In pursuance of these views, he seems to have advocated, in 1835-36, an attempt to open communication with the Governor of Canton through the Hong merchants, as on the 22nd July 1836 Lord Palmerston communicated to him the following instructions upon the point:—"I have to observe to you that it does not appear to His Majesty's Government, that it would be expedient that you should attempt to re-open communications with the Viceroy through the Hong merchants; but, on the contrary, it is desirable that you should decline every proposition to revive official communications through that channel, whatever may be the quarter from whence such propositions may come. It might be very suitable for the servants of the East India Company, themselves an association of merchants, to communicate with the authorities of China through the merchants of the Hong; but the Superintendents are officers of the King, and as such can properly communicate with none but officers of the Chinese Government. This is a point upon which you should insist, and I have, therefore, to instruct you, if any attempt should be made by the Hong merchants to enter into communication with you upon matters of public business, to express your regret that you are not at liberty to receive any such communications except from the Viceroy direct, or through some responsible officer of the Chinese Government. I have to add that His Majesty's Government do not deem it expedient that you should give to your written communications with the Chinese Government the name of 'petitions.'"

Captain Elliot also, in a minute recorded in December 1835, recommended that the Captain of a steamboat, which had been objected to by the Chinese, should be enjoined on the King's authority not to proceed to Canton; and Lord Palmerston thought it necessary to instruct him to use great caution in interfering in such a manner with the undertakings of British merchants. "In the present state of our relations with China," he wrote, "it is especially incumbent upon you, while you do all that lies in your power to avoid giving just cause of offence to the Chinese authorities, to be at the same time very careful not to assume a greater degree of authority over British subjects in China than that which you in reality possess."

Extract from a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 25th Jan. 1836; page 136 of the correspondence.

Extract from a letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 22nd July 1836; page 123 of the correspondence.

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 22nd July 1836; pages 121-122 of the correspondence.

Another letter from Captain Elliot, written in March 1836, and received in the Foreign Office one day after the above despatch was written, shows clearly that he then differed from the views held by Lord Napier, Mr. Davis, and Sir G. Robinson as to the inexpediency of communicating with the Chinese authorities through the Hong merchants :—

“It had long seemed to me,” he wrote, “that the arrival of the new Viceroy at Canton would furnish us an occasion for the re-opening of our communications with the provincial authorities, by the only channel which, I am well persuaded, will ever open out to us at once, without a very hazardous and a very needless struggle.”

Sir G. Robinson, on the 29th January and 1st February 1836, remarked upon the evils of disunion and opposition, which appeared to inevitably result from the existence of a board of three or more persons, and expressed his opinion that affairs would be managed better by a single individual. He proposed, therefore, that the appointments of Second and Third Superintendents should be abolished, and that the Chief Superintendent should be made solely responsible for the supervision of the trade and the maintenance of order among British subjects. The headquarters of the Superintendent should, he thought, be established on board a merchant ship, and he should reside at any place, that might be found suitable, in the vicinity of the shipping, “out of the power and free from the restraints of the Chinese.”

The Chief Superintendent at Lintin was certainly in more direct contact with British ships and British seamen than he would have been at Macao, or even perhaps at Canton, under the conditions of the trade then existing. His residence, however, at the emporium of illicit trade was calculated to create an impression that this trade was fostered and encouraged by the British Government, and it is clear from remarks made by Sir G. Robinson, in his letter of the 29th January, that the measure was sharply criticised by some of the British merchants then in China. Lord Palmerston also was evidently doubtful as to its expediency, and informed the Chief Superintendent in a letter, written on the 7th June 1836, that although he was not prepared to disapprove of his temporary residence at Lintin, and was willing to take it for granted that the reasons, which had induced him to separate himself from his colleagues and carry on there the business of the Commission alone, had appeared to him to be sufficient, His Majesty's Government was unable to authorise the permanent establishment of the Commission at that place without further information.

Sir G. Robinson's views offered no prospect of an improvement in the unsatisfactory relations existing between the Commission and the Chinese Government; and the expense of the Commission was unnecessarily great. In the same letter, therefore, Lord Palmerston informed him that His Majesty's Government had decided to reduce the establishment in China, and to abolish the office and salary of Chief Superintendent, and that his functions would cease from the date of receipt of the letter. Such a measure, as he said, was called for by the necessity of practising economy in every branch of the public service, and was justified by the extent and nature of the business which the Commission had to transact.

Sir G. Robinson's letters of the 29th January and 1st February, which reached the Foreign Office a few days after the issue of these orders, produced no change in this decision, and Captain Elliot, on the 15th June 1836, was directed to consider himself as the Chief of the Commission.

Other reductions in the establishment were made shortly after. The appointment of Third Superintendent was abolished, and a new appointment of Deputy Superintendent on a reduced salary was created in its place, and the salaries of the Secretary, Chinese Secretary, and Surgeon were reduced.

The trade had continued without interruption after Lord Napier's unfortunate death, and His Majesty's Government had not thought it advisable to make any demonstration of naval force at Canton. The plunder, however, of the “Troughton,” and the difficulty experienced by the Superintendents in controlling British seamen in the port, convinced Lord Palmerston that their authority must be supported, and the Naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies was requested, in the spring of 1836, to station a ship of war permanently in the China Seas, to act in concert with the Superintendents for the maintenance of British interests.

The Superintendents also had difficulties with the Portuguese Governor of Macao, who declined, either to recognise their authority in that settlement, or to grant redress in cases of outrage by Portuguese upon British subjects. A representation was made on the subject to the Government of Portugal; and the British Admiral was instructed to call the special attention of the Commanders of ships of war on the China station to the necessity of watching over the interests of British subjects at Macao.

Extract from a letter from Captain Elliot, to the Foreign Office, dated 14th March 1836; and received at the Foreign Office on the 23rd July 1836; pages 136 and 137 of the correspondence.

Letters from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, dated 29th Jan. and 1st Feb. 1836; pages 114-119 of the correspondence.

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Sir G. Robinson, dated 7th June 1836; pages 113 and 114 of the correspondence.

Letters from Lord Palmerston to Sir G. Robinson and to Captain Elliot, dated 15th June 1836; page 119 of the correspondence.

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot dated 8th Nov. 1836; pages 130 and 131 of the correspondence.

Letters from the Hon. W. Fox Strangways and from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 14th Sep. and 6th Dec. 1836; pages 123 and 132 of the correspondence.

Letters from
Captain Elliot to
Lord Palmerston,
dated 27th July
1836 and 2nd
Feb. 1837;
pages 137-138 and
153-156 of the
correspondence.

The evils, which the Hong merchants had anticipated from the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly, were in the meantime fast developing. The demand for opium was strong and was met by increasing imports from both sides of India; and the trade was no longer confined to Canton, but had been extended to other sea-board provinces on the north-east coast of China. The value of the opium imported into China by British merchants in 1836 amounted, according to Captain Elliot, to nearly 18,000,000 dollars, being about 1,000,000 dollars in excess of the total value of the tea and silk exported by them during the year. The hope expressed by Mr. Buckingham in the House of Commons in 1833, and entertained doubtless by many others, that free trade with China would lead to an increasing demand in that country for British manufactures, had therefore proved delusive. The East India Company abstained from illicit trading, and had exported British manufactures to China, even on some occasions at a loss, to provide funds at Canton for their investment. Merchants, untrammelled like the Company by scruples on the score of illicit trading, brought to China the article of commerce for which there was the most demand, and that article was opium.

The missionaries, moreover, were not disposed to submit to the interdict, which had been placed upon the spread of Christianity in China; and a voyage* undertaken in 1835-36 by Messrs. Medhurst and Stevens for the purpose of distributing tracts in the Chinese language along the coast, appears to have attracted the serious attention of the Chinese Government. More than one Imperial edict was promulgated regarding the distribution of religious tracts, and the Government at Peking had unquestionably strong objections to the creation of a bond of union between foreigners and the natives by the propagation of the Christian religion.

Enclosure, in the
letter from
Captain Elliot to
Lord Palmerston,
dated 2nd Feb.
1837; pages
156-161 of the
correspondence

In or before June 1836, Heu Naetse, the Vice-President of the Chinese Sacrificial Court, submitted a remarkable memorial to the Emperor, urging that the more severe the interdicts against opium were made, the more widely did the evils, which arose therefrom, spread throughout the country, and recommending that a change should be made in the policy of Government. In the time of Kienlung and his predecessors, as he said, opium was admitted into Canton as medicine, subject to a tariff duty of five taels, four mace, and five candareens on each package of 100 catties. After this the import of the drug was prohibited, but in the first year of Keaking persons convicted of opium-smoking were subject only to the punishment of the pillory and the bamboo. The penalties had in course of time been increased, and opium-smokers were then (1836) liable on conviction to be punished with transportation in various degrees, and with death after the ordinary period of imprisonment. Notwithstanding this severity, opium-smokers had increased in number, and the habit had spread throughout almost the whole Empire.

"Formerly," he wrote, "the barbarian merchants brought foreign money to China, which, being paid in exchange for goods, was a source of pecuniary advantage to the people of all the seaboard provinces. But latterly the barbarian merchants have clandestinely sold opium for money, which has rendered it unnecessary for them to import foreign silver. Thus, foreign money has been going out of the country, while none comes into it." The export of silver had, he urged, caused a great appreciation in its value as compared with "cash," and this had disorganised the salt trade, as the merchants sold salt for "cash" and paid the Government duties in silver. It would not be right to stop the foreign trade because the English (*sic*) had traded in opium, and although the Celestial Empire would not hesitate to relinquish the revenue derived from it, the recent extension of clandestine trade to Fukhien and Keangnan, and even to Tientsin and Manchuria, showed that it would be impossible to prevent all foreign commerce. "Besides," as he said, "the hundreds of thousands of people living on the sea-coast depend wholly on trade for their livelihood, and how are they to be disposed of? Moreover, the barbarian ships, being on the high seas, can repair to any island that may be selected as an entrepôt, and the native seagoing vessels can meet them there, it is, then, impossible to cut off the trade."

* An edict was issued by the Emperor in regard to this voyage, in which the successive misdemeanours of the English, viz., the construction of the quay and garden at Canton, bringing foreign women to that city, riding in sedan chairs, the presumptuous submission of petitions, the forcing of the passage of the Bocca Tigris in 1834, and finally "the distribution of foreign books calculated to seduce men with lies," were detailed and condemned; and the Governor of Canton was directed to "issue explicit orders to the English Chief and others on the subject, and to remind them that their being allowed commercial intercourse at Canton is a matter of extraordinary favour, but that if the foreigners continue to sail about in this disorderly manner, they must immediately be driven out of port, and no longer allowed commercial intercourse." ("China: its State and Prospects, with especial reference to the spread of the Gospel," by the Rev. W. H. Medhurst.)

The distribution of tracts along the coast was, it may be observed, commenced by the Rev. C. Gutzlaff on the occasion of the voyage of the "Lord Amherst" in 1832.

The manner in which the opium trade was carried on, and the evils, which resulted from the attempts made to suppress it, were graphically described. "Here (at Lintin)," he wrote, "are constantly anchored seven or eight large ships in which the opium is kept, and which are, therefore, called receiving-ships. At Canton there are brokers of the drug, who are called melters. These pay the price of the drug into the hands of the resident foreigners, who give them orders for the delivery of the opium from the receiving-ships. There are carrying boats plying up and down the river, and these are vulgarly called fast crabs and scrambling dragons. They are well armed with guns and other weapons, and are manned with some scores of desperadoes, who ply their oars as if they were wings to fly with. All the Custom-houses and military posts, which they pass, are largely bribed. If they happen to encounter any of the armed cruising boats, they are so audacious as to resist, and slaughter and carnage ensue. . . . The dread of the laws is not so great on the part of the common people, as is the anxious desire of gain, which incites them to all manner of crafty devices, so that sometimes indeed the law is rendered wholly ineffective. There are also both on the rivers and at sea banditti, who, with pretence of acting under the orders of Government, and of being sent to search after and prevent the smuggling of opium, seek opportunities of plundering. When I was lately placed in the service of your Majesty, as Acting Judicial Commissioner at Canton, cases of this nature were very frequently reported."

As therefore, he argued, it was impossible to stop the foreign trade, and the prohibitive regulations had been wholly inoperative, the only practicable method was to permit the importation of opium upon payment of duty, as a medicine, and to require that after it had passed the Custom House, it should be delivered to the Hong merchants in exchange for merchandise, and that no money should be paid for it. Foreign money should be placed on the same footing as sycee silver, and the export of it should be equally prohibited.

Heu Naetse had evidently no sympathy with opium-smoking, which he described as a vile practice. "Opium," he said, "was originally ranked among medicines; its qualities are stimulant; it also checks excessive secretions, and prevents the evil effects of noxious vapours. When anyone is long accustomed to inhaling it, it becomes necessary to resort to it at regular intervals, and the habit of using it, being inveterate, is destructive of time, injurious to property, and yet dear to one even as life. Of those who use it to great excess, the breath becomes feeble, the body wasted, the face sallow, the teeth black; the individuals themselves clearly see the evil effects of it, yet cannot refrain from it." Smokers of opium were, however, in his opinion, unworthy of consideration, and the waste that was going on "in the resources, in the very substance of China," was a far more important consideration. He recommended therefore that in future no restriction should be placed upon the purchase and use of opium by the people generally, but that to show the Government condemnation of the habit, and to maintain an appearance of consistency, all civil and military officers, soldiers, and scholars should be prohibited from using the drug, and that any of them, who might be found smoking, should at once be dismissed from service.

On receipt of this memorial, Tang, who had succeeded Loo as Governor of Canton during the spring of 1836, and his colleagues were directed by the Emperor to consider the question and report.

Imperial Edict, dated 12th June 1836; page 161 of the correspondence.

The Commissioners of Finance and Justice and the Superintendent of Customs were consulted, and on the 7th September 1836 the Governor and Deputy Governor reported in favour of Heu Naetse's proposals. "We, your Majesty's Ministers," they wrote, "having examined the original memorial, and considered the details therein contained respecting the evils to be removed, regard the whole as true and accurate. The request for a repeal of the prohibitions and change in the system, and a return to the former plan of laying a duty on opium, is also such as the circumstances of the times render necessary, and it is our duty to solicit your Majesty's sanction thereof. In case of such sanction, any foreigner, who in the course of trade may bring opium, must be permitted to import and pass it at the custom-house, paying the duty on it as fixed by the maritime tariff of Kienlung (viz., 3 taels, 3 mace, 8 candareens and 6 cash per 100 catties), and must deliver it to the Hong merchants in the same manner as long-ells, camlets, and other goods, bartered for native commodities, but on no account may he sell it clandestinely for money. If this plan be faithfully and vigorously carried into effect, the tens of millions of precious money which now annually go out of the Empire will be saved, the source of the stream will be purified, and the stream itself may be eventually stayed."

Enclosures 3, 4, and 8 in the letter from Captain Elliot above quoted; pages 161-168 and 173-181 of the correspondence.

They submitted, therefore, for approval nine regulations, which they had framed to give effect to the proposals; the consideration, as they said, "of the very first consequence," being, "that effectual measures should be taken to prevent the exportation of sycee silver." All opium imported was to be paid for in merchandise, as the object in repealing the prohibition against its importation was to "prevent the loss of specie occasioned by the sale of the drug for money," and the Hong merchants were to be held responsible that no sycee silver was exported. The export of foreign money in limited quantities (viz., three-tenths of any surplus there might be in the value of the goods imported into China in any ship over the value of the return cargo, subject to a maximum of 50,000 dollars for each ship) was to be allowed, in accordance with the practice then existing, which had its origin in orders issued by Governor Yuen in 1818; foreign money, before that date, having, as they said, been exported without any limit or restriction.

The prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy in China should also, they recommended, be relaxed, as there was no better plan of checking the importation of opium by foreigners than to "sanction the cultivation and preparation of it in the Empire." The smoking extract of opium prepared in China was said to possess milder properties and to be less injurious, though not less soothing, than the imported drug.

The Governor and Deputy Governor, as it has been already noticed, fixed the date of the first Imperial interdiction against opium in the fourth year of Keaking, 1799 A.D. "Opium," they said, "is an article brought into the Central Empire from the lands of the far-distant barbarians, and has been imported during a long course of years. In the reigns of Yungching and Keenlung it was included in the tariff of maritime duties under the head of medicinal drugs, and there was then no regulation against purchasing it or inhaling it. But in the fourth reign of Keaking (1799 A.D.) the then Governor of this province Keihking, of the Imperial kindred, regarding it as a subject of deep regret that the vile dirt of foreign countries should be received in exchange for the commodities and the money of the Empire, and fearing lest the practice of smoking opium should spread among all the people of the inner land to the waste of their time and the destruction of their property, presented a memorial requesting that the sale of the drug should be prohibited, and that offenders should be made amenable to punishment. This punishment has been gradually increased to transportation and death by strangling."

A radical change of policy of this nature had, however, its opponents; and memorials against the proposed legislation of the opium trade were submitted in October 1836 by Choo Tsun, a member of the Inner Council, and by Heu Kew, a sub-censor over the Military Department.

Choo Tsun argued that effectual prohibition of the importation of opium was possible, and that a law, which was not entirely effectual, should not on that account be abolished. "The laws," he said, "that forbid the people to do wrong, may be likened to the dykes, which prevent the overflowing of water. If anyone then, urging that the dykes are very old, and therefore useless, should have them thrown down, what words could express the consequences of the impetuous rush and all-destroying overflow!"

If, he continued, it were possible to prevent the exportation of foreign money by permitting trade by barter only, why should it not be equally possible to prevent the importation of opium; and if this were prevented the exportation of dollars would cease of itself. Increased cultivation of the poppy in China would interfere with the supply of food grains, and would not check the trade in foreign opium, as people naturally prized things that were foreign and strange, and undervalued those that were in ordinary use. The production of opium in Yunnan was even then, as he could say from personal experience, not less than several thousand chests, but the exportation of silver had not in consequence diminished, and the lack of the metal in that province was greater than before.

It would, he argued with much force, be impossible to permit the common people to sell and smoke opium, and prevent the officers and soldiers and the literati from acquiring the habit; and an extension of the use of opium among the soldiery would, he urged, render them effete and worthless, and the result would be the ruin of the Empire. The injury caused to the people by opium was indeed his main argument. "To sum up the matter," he said, "the wide spreading and baneful influence of opium, when regarded simply as injurious to property is of inferior importance, but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands most anxious consideration, for in the people lies the very foundation of the Empire. Property, it is true, is that on which the subsistence of the people depends. Yet a deficiency of it may be

Enclosures 5 and 6 in the letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd Feb. 1837; pages 168-178 of the correspondence.

“supplied, and an impoverished people improved, whereas it is beyond the power of any artificial means to save a people enervated by luxury.” The conquest of Batavia by the Dutch was, he added, explained by a historian of Formosa to be due to the enervation of the people resulting from the use of opium; and he ascribed to the English the design of weakening and enfeebling the Chinese by the introduction of the drug. He quoted also a remark by Kanghi, in 1717 A.D., to the effect that there was “cause for apprehension, lest in centuries or milleniums to come, China *should* be endangered by collision with the various nations of the West”; referred admiringly to the policy of Keaking, as laid down in 1818, of coercing the barbarians with firmness and vigour in the event of their refusing to comply with the regulations and assuming an attitude of opposition and rebellion; and concluded by recommending the Emperor to maintain the prohibition, and to order the Governors and Deputy Governors of all provinces to redouble their efforts for its enforcement.

The account, given by Choo Tsun, of the manner in which, and the time when, the use of opium was first prohibited in China, does not, it may be observed, differ materially from the statements made on the subject by Heu Naetse and the officers of the Canton Government. “And in regard to opium,” he said, “special enactments were passed for the prohibition of its use in the first year of Keaking (1796)”; and since then memorials, presented at various successive periods, have given rise to additional prohibitions, all which have been inserted in the code and the several tariffs.

Heu Kew’s memorial foreshadowed the policy eventually adopted. He admitted that silver had risen largely in value, and agreed with Heu Naetse that this result had been caused by its clandestine exportation, principally in payment for opium. “The amount annually lost to the country,” he said, “is about ten and some odd millions of money. The money thus lost was at first the foreign money, wherewith foreigners had previously purchased goods; now it is entirely the fine silver of the inner land, cast into a different form at Macao. Formerly the foreigners imported money to purchase the merchandise of the country; but now it has all been carried back. . . . It is since the suppression of the pirates in the reign of Keaking (1810 A.D.) that opium has gradually blazed up into notice. At first the annual sale of it did not exceed in value a few millions, but of late it has risen to nearly 20 millions; and the increase and accumulation of the amount from day to day and from month to month is more than can be told.” He was, however, opposed equally to the proposals, which had apparently been made by some persons, for the suspension of all foreign commerce, and to Heu Naetse’s scheme for the legalisation of the opium trade. Considering the length of time that the foreign commerce had been carried on, its sudden interruption would, he thought, be an undignified and impolitic measure; while the legalisation of the opium trade would lead to an increase in the amount of opium imported, and to a corresponding increase in the clandestine exportation of silver, and would, moreover, be wholly incompatible with the “uninjured dignity” of the Celestial Empire. The importation of opium and the exportation of sycee silver were, he argued, both rightly interdicted, and an effectual prohibition of the import of opium was practicable under an energetic administration. The foreigners were, no doubt, presumptuous and violent, as they had shown by riding in sedan chairs, by consorting with Chinese prostitutes, by their actually levelling Chinese graves to make a road at Macao, and by their lawless trading on the high seas in evasion of the port duties; but they had never “failed to succumb” when they had been met with a firm front, as on the occasions of Lord Napier’s arrival at Canton, and the destruction of the quay at the East India Company’s factory in 1831. He recommended therefore that the Chinese should first be “awed and purified” by the severe punishment of the Natives selling opium by retail, of the Hong merchants who arranged the transactions, of the wholesale brokers, of the boatmen who conveyed the drug from the receiving-ships, and of the naval officers who had connived at the illicit trade; and that attention should then be directed to the foreigners.

Of the foreigners at Canton he named nine, five Englishmen (Mr. Jardine, who, as he said, was nick-named “the iron-headed old rat,” and Messrs. Innes, Dent, Turner, and Whiteman), one American, and three Parsees, who were supposed to be notorious opium dealers, and proposed that these men should be arrested and compelled to cause all the receiving-ships anchored at Lintin to leave, and to write a letter to the King of their country (*sic*), to inform him that the Chinese Government had determined to stop the importation of opium, and that they would be released and permitted to continue their trade, if the opium ships ceased from resorting to China, but that if the ships again brought opium, all trade would be stopped, and they (the writers) would be executed. “If,” he concluded, “a talented, intelligent, and determined officer were, in the first place, to punish severely the Chinese traitors, we may hope that he would thus be able at once to overwhelm the spirit of the barbarians.”

Enclosure 7 in the letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd Feb. 1837; page 178 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd Feb. 1837; pages 153-156; and Imperial edict, enclosed in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 21st Feb. 1837; page 191 of the correspondence.

Letters from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 7th Feb. 1837, and enclosures; pages 181-187; and letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 2nd Feb. 1837; pages 153-156 of the correspondence.

Enclosure (1) in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 21st Feb. 1837; page 191 of the correspondence.

Acts 33 Geo. 3. c. 52. and 53, Geo. 3. c. 155; and letter from Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, dated 1st July 1835; pages 95-100 of the correspondence.

The Emperor, on receipt of these memorials, directed further consideration of the subject, and Governor Tang and his colleagues were ordered to consult together upon the recommendation to punish severely all Chinese, who had introduced and sold opium, or in any way connived at it; and "having determined on the steps to be taken in order "to stop up the source of the evil," to present a true and faithful report.

The reply sent by the Local Government at Canton to this edict is not on record, but the Governor and his colleagues appear to have proposed that the policy of prohibition should receive a further trial.

On the 28th October 1836, also, they caused inquiries to be made regarding the nationality of the nine merchants named by Heu Kew, and the nature of their connexion with the opium trade; and, on the 23rd November 1836, they ordered the merchants in question (eight of whom were British subjects) to settle their affairs and leave Canton within a fortnight. The time allowed for their departure was, however, extended by a second order to the end of February 1837, and the question was subsequently dropped, and no attempt was made to enforce the edict of expulsion.* Strong measures, however, were taken against the native smugglers, which were attended with considerable success, and caused a decided check to the opium deliveries.

On the 26th January 1837, the Emperor issued the following orders upon the final proposals of the Canton Government in regard to the importation of opium, and the exportation of silver: "A report has this day arrived from Tang and his colleagues "presenting the result of their mutual deliberations, directed to remove the baneful "effects that arise from opium having pervaded the country. By the prevalence of "opium throughout the Empire, there has been occasioned a daily decrease of our fine "silver; being now desirous to exert ourselves entirely to stop up the source of this "evil, the only sure mode of proceeding is utterly to prohibit the exportation of sycee "silver. If, by diligent and assiduous watchfulness in the places from whence the "silver is exported, and at those points by which it necessarily must pass, we can "deprive both the traitorous natives and the barbarians of all opportunity of exercising their artful devices, it is clear that we may thus gradually close up the breach "and prevent further exportation.

"The said Governor and his colleagues have been able to perceive this, and point it "out in their memorial. Let them join heart and hand to enforce vigilant and "faithful observation, to punish all traitorous Natives who combine with the foreigners "in illegality, and entirely to hinder foreign merchants for gratifying their avaricious "greediness, and let it be their grand object wholly to prevent the exportation of our "fine silver."

The dispute between Mr. Keating and Turner & Co., in 1835, showed the necessity for the establishment at Canton of a Court of Civil jurisdiction, in addition to the Court of Criminal and Admiralty jurisdiction, which had been created in 1833; and a consideration of the reports submitted by the Superintendents in regard to the case, and in regard also to the case of Mr. Innes, brought to light the fact that the Order in Council of 1833, regarding the powers and authority of the Superintendents over British subjects, was based upon a misunderstanding, and that the Superintendents had really, with the exception perhaps of the judicial powers conferred by the creation of the Criminal and Admiralty Court, no authority whatever.

The Order in Council invested the Superintendents with the powers and authorities for the control of the trade of China and His Majesty's subjects in China, that were possessed by the supracargoes of the East India Company, save in so far as these were repealed or abrogated by the Act of 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 93, to regulate the trade to China and India.

The shipping which resorted to China from Great Britain, during the continuance of the East India Company's monopoly, was under the complete control of the supracargoes, as the ships either belonged to the Company, or were chartered by it. The ships from India also were furnished with licenses by the Governments in that country, which were withdrawn at pleasure by those Governments, or in cases of emergency by the Select Committee of the supracargoes. The supracargoes had the power to arrest and deport from China any British subject, who was there without a license from the Company, and in the case even of licensed persons they were able to suspend the license, and inform the Chinese authorities, that they would not interfere for the adjustment of any debts such persons might contract subsequently to the date of the

* Captain Elliot, it may be observed, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, dated 7th February 1837, said that he should feel bound to interpose in the event of the Provincial Government attempting seriously to expel the gentlemen in question from China. "And," he wrote, "your Lordship may rely on my measured, but firmest, "opposition to an intolerably injurious aggression of this practical nature." (Page 182 of the Correspondence.)

notice. In disputes between private traders in China the supracargoes had not been accustomed to interfere.

The Act to regulate the trade to China and India, which abolished the Company's monopoly extinguished the necessity for any license either to trade with, or to reside in, China; and the power to prevent any ship, belonging to a British subject, from trading with China, or to expel from China any British subject, consequently lapsed.

Lord Palmerston, when issuing final orders in the cases of Messrs. Keating and Innes, in November 1836, warned Captain Elliot that the power of expulsion of British subjects from China had ceased to exist. "His Majesty's Government," he wrote, "are fully aware of the inconvenience arising both from the undefined state of the jurisdiction of the Superintendents in China, and from their want of power to enforce decisions, to which they may come, on matters submitted to them by members of the commercial body in China. The general question as to the nature, extent, and powers of the future establishment in China is now under the consideration of His Majesty's Government; and I am in hopes that at no distant period some effectual remedy may be provided for the inconvenience to which I have more particularly adverted. In the meantime I have to recommend to you to confine your interference, when called for, as much as possible to friendly suggestion and advice to the parties concerned. The assumption of powers which you have no means of enforcing, and the issuing of injunctions which are set at nought with impunity, can only tend to impair the authority and lower the dignity of His Majesty's Commission in the eyes of those by whom it is of importance that it should be looked up to with respect."

Letters from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 8th Nov. 1836; pages 128 and 129 of the correspondence.

The orders of His Majesty's Government, dated 15th June 1836, appointing Captain Elliot to be Chief of the Commission, reached China on the 14th December of that year; and Captain Elliot entered at once upon his duties with, as he said, "a strong persuasion that a conciliatory disposition to respect the usages, and above all to refrain from shocking the prejudices of the (Chinese) Government, *was* the course at once most consonant with the magnanimity of the British nation, and, with the substantial interests at stake, in the maintenance of peaceful commercial relations."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 14th Dec. 1836; page 139 of the correspondence.

Lord Palmerston's letter of the 22nd July 1836, directing him not to attempt to re-open communications with the Canton Government through the Hong merchants, and not to give to his communications with the Government the name of petitions, had not reached him, and, in the absence of any such instructions, he at once determined to abandon all claim to a right of direct communication with the Governor, and to correspond with him through the Hong merchants in the manner usual with the Select Committee of the supracargoes of the East India Company. The orders issued, also, by the Local Government for the expulsion of British subjects from China, afforded an additional reason for his anxiety to establish himself at Canton as soon as possible.

He accordingly prepared a respectful and conciliatory address to the Governor, informing him of his appointment as "Chief English Authority" in China, and requesting that he might be permitted to proceed to Canton, under the usual passport, as soon as possible, for the performance of his duties; superscribed the address as a "pin" or petition, and wrote a note to Howqua, the senior Hong merchant, requesting him to present the address to the Governor. He then forwarded the address on the 16th December 1836 to the agents of the East India Company at Canton and to Messrs. Jardine and Dent, and requested them to deliver it to Howqua for presentation.

Enclosure 1 in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 30th Dec. 1836; page 142 of the correspondence.

Enclosures 2 and 3 in the same letter; page 143 of the correspondence.

The address was delivered, as requested, and on the 23rd December 1836 Howqua presented to the Company's agents and merchants, who had delivered it, the edict issued by the Governor upon the subject. The 13 Hong merchants, in a body, also addressed a letter to Captain Elliot, forwarding a copy of the edict for compliance.

Enclosures 4, 5, and 6 in the same letter; pages 143-145 of the correspondence.

In the edict the Governor acknowledged with satisfaction the "reverential and submissive" tone of Captain Elliot's address, and remarked that "he would doubtless be implicitly obedient in all things." He observed, however, that he designated himself as an "officer from afar," and appeared to be an Eye and not a Chief Supracargo, which was wholly inconsistent with the manner in which affairs had been up to that time conducted. Before submitting a report to the Throne for instructions, he deputed, therefore, two district magistrates, the Macao sub-prefect, and the Hong merchants to make inquiries at Macao, whether Captain Elliot had really received written credentials from the King of Great Britain, what was his office, and what was the proposed nature of his duties as Superintendent, whether he had any ulterior aim and

object, and why an Eye had been sent instead of a Chief Supracargo. "If," said the Governor, "on examination no covert purpose appear, then let orders be immediately enjoined on the said foreigner to reside for a time at Macao, and wait there till I, the Governor, shall have sent in a memorial to the great Emperor. And as soon as I shall learn His Majesty's gracious pleasure, I will then address a communication to the Superintendent of Maritime Customs, calling on him to grant a passport for the said foreigner to come up to Canton and oversee matters. When he thus comes up, he must comply with the old regulations, having a residence at Canton and another at Macao, and coming and going at the regular seasons."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 30th Dec. 1836; pages 139-142; and enclosures 7 and 8; page 146 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot furnished an explanation in writing, upon the points specified by the Governor, for the information of the officers deputed for the purpose; and replied to the edict on the 28th December 1836, through the Hong merchants, admitting the propriety of his remaining at Macao until the Emperor's pleasure had been ascertained, and explaining that his duty at Canton would be to conduct the public business of his nation and to preserve by all possible means the peace which existed between the two countries. The Chinese officers at Macao had no personal communication with Captain Elliot. The Hong merchants wished him to visit the officers, but this he declined to do, and offered to receive them at his own house. The officers, however, would not agree to this, and the explanation required was eventually given in writing to the Hong merchants. Their conduct on the occasion is significant of the conditions upon which communication with the authorities was re-opened.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 30th Dec. 1836; pages 139-142 of the correspondence.

"I have thus, my Lord," wrote Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, "once more opened the communications with this Government, and I sincerely trust your Lordships will see no reason to disapprove of my motives, or of the manner of my proceeding. I have acted under a strong persuasion that all hope of peacefully carrying the point of direct official intercourse was futile; that the actual condition of circumstances was hazardous; that the instructions in my hand do not warrant the assumption that I have any high political or representative character, and, finally, that the course itself which I have pursued is neither derogatory to the national honour nor at variance with sound principles of public propriety and utility."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 12th Jan. 1837, and enclosure; page 148 of the correspondence.

In a subsequent letter Captain Elliot forwarded a memorandum by Mr. Morrison, the Chinese Secretary of the Commission, upon the exact signification of the Chinese character "pin," and suggested that it meant rather a "respectful exhibition of information" than a petition. As stated in the memorandum, however, "pin" was the word used by Chinese officers below the third rank, of whom the highest corresponded in station to the prefects and sub-prefects of departments in France, when addressing the higher provincial authorities; and replies submitted by these authorities to such communications were designated as commands. "Pin," according to Dr. Morrison's Chinese dictionary, was to "state to a superior, whether verbally or by writing, whether petitioning something or to give information of, whether from the people to an officer of Government, or from an inferior officer to a superior several degrees higher."

It can hardly, therefore, be denied that the English word "petition" is a sufficiently accurate translation of the Chinese "pin"; and Lord Palmerston, on receiving these letters, at once issued the following orders:—

Extract from a letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 12th June 1837; page 149 of the correspondence.

"I have now to desire that, upon the receipt of this despatch, you will forthwith inform the Hong merchants and the Viceroy that His Majesty's Government cannot permit that you, an officer of His Majesty, should hold communications with an officer of the Emperor of China through the intervention of private and irresponsible individuals. You will, therefore, request that any communications, which the Governor may have to make to you in future, may be sent to you direct, and that the Governor will consent to receive directly from you any communications on public affairs, which the interests of the two Governments may require you to make to him. You will also explain, that if in future your written communications should not be endorsed with the character, which is usually adopted by subordinate officers in China when addressing representations to superior Chinese authorities, this alteration will not arise from any want of respect on your part towards the Governor, but will simply be the result of the established usages of England, which do not admit that an officer commissioned by the King of England should so address an officer commissioned by any other sovereign."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th Jan. 1837, and enclosures; pages 149-152 of the correspondence.

In the meantime the Governor of Canton, who was evidently satisfied with Captain Elliot's attitude, submitted a report to the Emperor recommending that Captain Elliot might be allowed to proceed to Canton for the discharge of his duties as the Chief Controlling English Authority, in accordance with the regulations under which the Select

Committee of supracargoes had formerly acted. "Though he is not," wrote the Governor, "precisely the same as the Chief Supracargo hitherto appointed, yet the difference is but in name, for in reality he is the same. And after all, he is a foreigner to hold the reins of foreigners; and if not allowed to interfere in aught else, it would seem that an alteration may be admitted."

The Emperor's sanction to this recommendation was received at Canton on the 14th March 1837. "It is our Imperial pleasure," he said, "that he be permitted to repair to Canton, under the existing regulations applicable to Chief Supracargoes, and that on his arrival at the provincial capital he be allowed to take the management of affairs. . . . In future he is to reside sometimes at Macao and sometimes at Canton, conforming herein to the old regulations; and he must not be permitted to exceed the proper time, and by loitering about gradually effect a continued residence. The said Governor and his colleagues are hereby authorised to hold the said foreigner responsible for the careful control of affairs, so that all disturbances may be prevented. They should issue strict orders to all the officers, civil and military, and to the Hong merchants, requiring them to inform themselves from time to time of the true state of things, and to keep a watch on the said foreigner. If he exceed his duty and act improperly, or combining with traitorous natives, seek to twist the laws to serve his private ends, he must immediately be driven back to his country in order to effectually remove the source of evil."

This edict was communicated by the Governor to the Superintendent of Customs, and by the Superintendent of Customs to the Hong merchants; and the orders, which it contained, as to the conditions under which Captain Elliot was permitted to proceed to Canton, the nature of his responsibility, and the necessity for living partly at Macao and partly at Canton were enjoined upon Captain Elliot by the Hong merchants.

"For the first time in the history of our intercourse with China," wrote Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, "the principle is most formally admitted, that an officer of a foreign sovereign, whose functions are purely public, should reside in a city of the Empire." The position which he accepted, however, both in regard to residence at Canton and correspondence with the authorities, was the same in every particular as that of the East India Company's servants; and a study of the edicts, issued by Governor Loo in regard to Lord Napier leaves little doubt that the same position would have been accorded to him, if only he had been sufficiently submissive. A change of any kind was distasteful to the Chinese, but the principal objection to the appointment of an officer, as distinguished from a trading chief, appears to have been the claim advanced for correspondence upon terms of equality with the Governor himself.

Captain Elliot applied for his passport through the Hong merchants, and proceeded to Canton, in April 1837. He had, as is clear from a letter written at the time to Lord Palmerston, no intention of permanently taking orders from the Hong merchants, and trusted that, when once established at Canton, he would by tact and judgment soon carry the principle that the Governor's communications should be addressed to him and not to the merchants. "Upon the side of His Majesty's Government," he wrote, "it appears to me, that no condition is wanting to give to the representations of its agent here a complete formal character. They are the communications of a foreign officer recognised by the Emperor, addressed to the head of the Provincial Government, and they reach his Excellency's hands in a sealed shape. As respects the communications of the Government intended for me, the state of the case is very different. They are injunctions to persons with whom, in the admission of the Emperor, I have no congeniality of pursuit, and who therefore in common sense ought to have no public relations with me." And after further explanation of the objections to such a form of correspondence and the inconvenience likely to result from it, he concluded the letter as follows: "In my own humble opinion the actual manner of communication from us to the Chinese is sufficiently formal and complete for all our purposes. From them to us and for their objects it is defective. I can assure your Lordship that this is a condition of circumstances far less inconvenient to His Majesty's Government than to the Provincial authorities. The defect, however, is of their own creation, and the remedy is in their own hands."

Captain Elliot's correspondence on the subject of opium, in the summer of 1836 and early spring of 1837, must now be referred to. As early as July 1836, writing as Second Superintendent, he discussed the probable causes and effects of the proposal for the legalisation of the opium trade made by Heu Naetse, which had, he supposed, been communicated to the Foreign Office by Sir G. Robinson. "This stroke (the legalisa-

Letters from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 18th and 22nd March 1837, and enclosures; pages 193 and 195 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 18th March 1837; page 193 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 1st April 1837; pages 196-198 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th July 1836; pages 137 and 138 of the correspondence.

“tion of the trade),” he said, “is aimed at the overthrow of the Lintin and outside trade, and the limitation of our commercial sphere to Canton and the Hong merchants. The extent to which it is successful, must depend mainly upon the adherence to the moderate duties and charges proposed in the Memorial Smuggling there may be at Canton, as there is now of all sorts of merchandise to an immense extent, but there will be smuggling nowhere else than at Canton, that is always supposing that the charges are kept at the moderate rate now proposed, the probabilities of which I cannot judge of. It has been a confusion of terms to call the opium trade a smuggling trade. It was formerly a prohibited trade, but there was no part of the trade of this country which had the more active support of the local authorities. It commenced and has subsisted by means of the hearty connivance of the mandarins, and it could have done neither the one nor the other without their constant countenance.

“In my mind it is much less the Lintin or the coast trade, that have produced this striking measure, than the tea and the tract missions to the coasts of last year. These events attracted the very anxious notice of the Court itself, and this scheme is the result. The Lintin trade, as long as it was quietly pursued, always had the countenance of the high mandarins of this province, and though they were naturally unfriendly to its extension to the coast of the neighbouring provinces, still they were disposed to stifle complaints to the Court upon that subject, in order to stave off searching inquiry into their own affairs here. Tracing backwards, no doubt the opium will be found to be the great primary cause of this change. But the immediate cause here has, I firmly believe, been the distribution of tracts. The opium ships might have continued to visit the coasts with little more than former notice, but the books alarmed the Court seriously.”

Letter from
Captain Elliot to
Lord Palmerston,
dated 2nd
Feb. 1837; pages
153-156 of the
correspondence.

As Chief Superintendent, at the beginning of February 1837, Captain Elliot transmitted to Lord Palmerston Heu Naetse's memorial, the orders of the Emperor upon it, the report of the Local Government at Canton, the memorials of Choo Tsun and Heu Kew, and the second Imperial edict, directing that the subject should be further considered; and again expressed an opinion that the proposal for the legalisation of the opium trade had been dictated more by political and financial considerations, than by “the awakening spirit of public virtue, upon the part of the Chinese Government.” “The opium trade,” he wrote, “only commenced or subsisted, as its present state of stagnation indisputably proves, by reason of the hearty concurrence of the chief authorities of these provinces, and indeed also of the Court. No portion of the trade to this country more regularly paid its entrance than this of the opium. The least attempt to evade the fees of the mandarins was almost certain of detection and severe punishment, and a large share of these emoluments reached not merely the higher dignitaries of the Empire, but, in all probability, in no very indirect manner the Imperial hand itself. The origin of the legalisation scheme is to be ascribed, I believe, mainly if not entirely to the following causes:—Firstly, to the intense political disquietude of the Court at the extension of the trade on the north-east coasts. Secondly, to the increasing alarm, which is felt at what is considered to be the irrecoverable disappearance of the real wealth of the country, that is to say, the silver in exchange for the opium.

“The first cause has possibly operated with additional force since the events of 1834 at Canton; and the visits of the missionaries to the coasts in 1835 and 1836 with tracts in the Chinese language, have also unquestionably attracted the anxious attention of the Court.”

Whatever might have been the motive of the proposal to legalise the trade, the ultimate adoption of the scheme was, in Captain Elliot's opinion, certain. The Local Government had tried, with considerable success, to suppress the smuggling from Lintin, and it was confidently rumoured that the Governor had sought permission from the Court to continue the restrictive policy upon trial for one year; but these measures were, he considered, merely preliminary to the establishment of the trade upon a legal basis. The proposals of Heu Naetse were more politic and opportune than those of his opponents, and were therefore, in his opinion, more likely to be successful.

Trade in the meantime was in a state of stagnation. The abolition of the Company's monopoly had, as Captain Elliot said, been followed by overtrading; the imports of British manufactures had been heavy, and the prices of China produce had been forced up by competition; while the interruption of the opium sales had locked up silver, and had thereby increased the embarrassment of the British merchants. With the object,

therefore, either of inducing the Provincial Government to relax its restrictive zeal, or of expediting the anticipated sanction to the legalisation of the opium trade, Captain Elliot requested the Naval Commander-in-Chief in India to send a ship of war to the China Seas "for the purpose of affording such countenance to the general British trade in China, as *might* be practicable, without any risk of inconvenient discussions or collision with the (Chinese) Government;" and applied also to the Governor-General of India for one or two of the Company's cruisers for the same service: "In the actual state of our commerce with China," he wrote to the Governor-General, "I believe I may say that the interruption of the opium traffic must have the effect, not merely of temporarily crippling our means of purchasing in this market at all, but undoubtedly of placing us, in respect to the prices of the export staples, completely in the power of what may justly be described to be a co-partnership of native dealers. The failure of the opium deliveries is attended with an almost entire cessation of money transactions in Canton. And in the glutted condition of this market your Lordship will judge how peculiarly mischievously the present stagnation must operate on the whole British commerce with the Empire." "I would beg to observe to your Lordship that the frequent and short visits of ships of war to this anchorage, and in the neighbourhood of the points to which the outside trade has extended, seem to me to be movements calculated either to carry the Provincial Government back to the system, which has hitherto prevailed, or to hasten onwards the legislative measure from the Court."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Bladen Capel, K.C.B., dated 2nd Feb. 1837; page 189 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, dated 2nd Feb. 1837; page 188 of the correspondence.

On the 21st February 1837, Captain Elliot transmitted to England the Imperial edict, which was issued on the receipt of the second report from the Local Government of Canton, containing the final recommendations of the Governor and his colleagues in regard to the prohibition of the importation of opium and the exportation of silver. His letter to Lord Palmerston betrays some misconception in regard to this edict. He speaks of it as issued in reply to the report submitted by the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton on the 7th September 1836, supporting Heu Naetse's proposals, whereas it is clear that it was issued in reply to the further report, called for from them in consequence of the memorials of Choo Tsun and Heu Kew. The purport of the edict is apparently to prohibit entirely the exportation of sycee silver, and to sanction the measures proposed for stopping up the source of the evil, by preventing effectually the importation of opium. Captain Elliot, however, expressed an opinion to the effect that sanction had actually been accorded to the proposed withdrawal of the prohibition against opium. "Founding" he wrote, "my conclusions entirely upon the edict, (and the authenticity of that is beyond dispute), I cannot hesitate to repeat to your Lordship my opinion, not only that this measure is determined, but that the Provincial Government is actually in possession of the pleasure of the Court to admit the opium."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 21st Feb. 1837; pages 189 and 190 of the correspondence.

The conviction that the trade would shortly be legalised had, no doubt, an effect upon Captain Elliot's proceedings, but it is quite incorrect to suppose that he was a friend or supporter of the trade. "It cannot be good," he wrote in this letter, "that the conduct of a great trade should be so dependent upon the steady continuance of a vast prohibited traffic in an article of vicious luxury, high in price and liable to frequent and prodigious fluctuation. In a mere commercial point of view, therefore, I believe it is susceptible of proof that the gradual diversion of British capital into other channels of employment than this would be attended with advantageous consequences."

"The effect upon the Indian finance of its sudden cessation could not fail to be extremely perplexing; but I have not been a careless observer since I have been in this country, and I hope your Lordship will let me say that there are many cogent reasons for regretting the extent to which the Indian income is dependent upon such a source of revenue."

A few days before Captain Elliot's departure from Macao for Canton, in April 1837, news had reached him from Singapore of the rescue by an English ship of seventeen Chinese, who were found in a sinking junk; and (to use his own words) it occurred to him that the communication of this gratifying intelligence might be made subservient to the purpose of gradually accustoming the Governor to recognise the distinction between his station and that of the foreign commercial agents in China. He accordingly submitted from Macao, on the 8th April, a politely worded address to the Governor, informing him of the rescue and safety of the Chinese, and acknowledging gratefully the acts of kindness which his shipwrecked countrymen had often experienced upon the coast of China;

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th April 1837; and enclosures 1-7; pages 198-205 of the correspondence.

and remarked that "the interchange of these charities *could* not fail to strengthen the bonds of peace and goodwill between the two countries."

On the 12th April, in another address, he reported his arrival at Canton, and requested that he might be permitted, in accordance with the custom of his nation, to pay his personal respects to the Governor.

The Governor, in an edict to the Hong merchants, dated 13th April, admitted that the "dutifulness" displayed in the rescue of the Chinese was worthy of commendation; and ordered the merchants to inform Captain Elliot that when the men arrived at Canton they would be sent on to their own province. He took umbrage, however, at the wording of the address from Macao, and on the 19th April issued a second edict upon the subject. "But for all," he said, "for those without as well as those within the pale of the Empire, there are rules and bonds of action, styles and modes of expression, becoming that dignity, which has so long been respected. To the renovating principles for so long a period emanating from our Empire, the barbarians on every side have submitted themselves. They have tendered to the Celestial Empire their respectful services, and this Empire stands in truth at the head of the lands at its remotest borders, in no other character than that of a ruler amid ministering servants. As to foreign merchants, permission is granted them to trade and to export, and thus is bestowed on them the means of obtaining profit. And in regard to those in distress, they are rescued from their distresses, and with needful gifts are sent back. These things arise solely from the all-pervading goodness, and cherishing kindness of the Great Emperor, whose favours are constant and universal. Between him and the small, the petty, how can there exist anything like the 'bonds of peace and goodwill?'"

The said Superintendent, in his address on this occasion, has failed altogether to conform himself to the old rules, has omitted the respectful expression 'Celestial Empire,' and has absurdly used such words and expressions as 'your honourable country,' and 'peace and goodwill between the two nations,' giving utterance to his own puffed-up imaginations. Not only is this offensive to the dignity to be maintained, but also the ideas therein expressed are absurd and ridiculous."

He did not, he explained, plainly correct Captain Elliot, and cast back his address, because he had only recently arrived, and was possibly not informed upon many matters; but it was necessary to prevent mistakes of the kind in future. He accordingly directed the senior Hong merchants to enjoin an order upon Captain Elliot, requiring him to word his addresses in the manner called for by the dignity of the Celestial Empire, and commanded them to carefully examine his addresses in future before presentation, and to return them, if they should contain any matter inconsistent with that dignity.

This order Captain Elliot determined to resist. He knew, as he wrote to Lord Palmerston, that it had long been "practically admitted" that the Hong merchants had "no pretensions to meddle" with addresses transmitted by the Select Committee of the East India Company's supracargoes, though he was "not aware that the principle had ever been formally and specifically conceded." He accordingly sent at once for Howqua, the senior Hong merchant, and directed the messenger to inform him that if he did not attend within the hour he need not take the trouble to go at all, as the communication, which he (Captain Elliot) had to make to the Governor, would be submitted by another channel; and he would leave Canton in a few hours. Howqua appeared within the time, and a discussion commenced. Captain Elliot informed him that he did not dare to accept such an order, as the Governor had issued, and that he proposed to return it immediately. Howqua entreated him not to be precipitate, and at his solicitation Captain Elliot deferred action for two days. On the 22nd, however, he returned the objectionable edict to Howqua, and submitted an address to the Governor, respectfully informing him that it was impossible for him, as a foreign officer and not a merchant, to submit his addresses to the approbation of the Hong merchants before their transmission; and adding that in future he could only receive such official communications, sealed with the Governor's seal, as the Governor should be pleased to address directly to him, and not to the merchants. He announced also verbally to Howqua that if the matter were not satisfactorily adjusted by midnight on the 28th, he would leave Canton.

On the 24th Howqua returned, and informed Captain Elliot that the Governor had declared it was wholly out of his power to communicate with him direct; but had admitted that his objections to any interference by the Hong merchants with his addresses to Government, were well founded. In consideration also of the fact that

Captain Elliot was an officer, he was prepared to address edicts on the subject of his communications to the three senior Hong merchants, who held honorary official rank, and not to the whole Hong body.

It is amusing to find the wily Howqua proposing, as a special concession to the dignity of a British officer, an arrangement that was* objected to by the Company's servants, who regarded it as an insidious attempt to draw closer the restrictions upon foreign commerce, and to establish the dreaded Cohong.

Captain Elliot, however, was disposed to waive the point of direct communication from the Governor to him, provided that the edicts issued to the merchants were not disrespectful to his Government, and that he was permitted to submit sealed addresses to the Governor; and the Governor also, who felt probably that he had taken up a false position, was evidently anxious for a compromise.

On the 25th, therefore, an edict was issued, in which the Governor formally recognised Captain Elliot's right to submit sealed addresses through the Hong merchants, as it was evident that he had no desire to do anything that was contrary to the requirements of dignity, but declared it to be inexpedient to alter the established rule of the Celestial Empire, which required that commands to foreigners should always be addressed to the senior Hong merchants to be enjoined by them.

Captain Elliot replied to this edict, on the 27th, offering his respectful thanks for the order that his addresses should be transmitted to the Governor by the three senior Hong merchants in a sealed form, and expressing his intention of continuing to carry on communications in the manner prescribed by the Governor, until he should receive further instructions from his own Government.

Captain Elliot, as he himself admitted, was not aware that the privilege of communicating with the authorities in the Chinese language, "without previous explanation with the Hong merchants," had been conceded† by the Governor of Canton in 1814; and Lord Palmerston and the officials at the Foreign Office were also, evidently, unaware of the fact. It appeared, therefore, that Captain Elliot had obtained a substantial concession; and Lord Palmerston, on receiving his letter of the 27th April, containing an account of these occurrences, communicated to him the following orders:—

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 2nd Nov. 1837; page 192 of the correspondence.

"In your despatch of the 27th April you detail the particulars of various communications which you had had with the Viceroy of Canton, with a view to the assertion of your right to forward your communications direct to that officer in a sealed form, and to receive those of his Excellency in a similar form addressed direct to yourself and not to the Hong merchants.

"Her Majesty's Government have learnt with satisfaction that you had succeeded in obtaining the admission of the first of these claims, which relates to the mode of sending in your own communications, and I am to express to you the approbation of your Government of the course which you pursued on this occasion.

"You will not fail on every suitable opportunity to continue to press for the recognition on the part of the Chinese authorities of your right to receive direct from the Viceroy sealed communications addressed to yourself, without the intervention of Hong merchants."

The Governor of Canton replied, by edict, on the 1st May 1837 to Captain Elliot's address of the 27th April upon the subject of his future communications. "As to commands," he said, "which I the Governor may have to give, such commands have hitherto been enjoined and inculcated through the medium of the senior Hong merchants. This concerns the settled dignity of the Celestial Empire, and the said nation, in its up-gazing contemplation of the majesty and benignity of the Empire, will assuredly indulge no foolish expectations of change."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 24th May 1837, and enclosure; pages 206 and 207 of the correspondence.

This edict convinced Captain Elliot that no further concession was likely to be obtained from the Governor by negotiation. "Upon the whole, perhaps," he wrote to Lord Palmerston, "your Lordship may be led to think that there can be no advantage in wringing a change of practice in this respect from the Chinese Government; and I would submit that, if the actual manner of the intercourse, (direct with the Governor—

* "In discussions with the provincial officers," wrote the Select Committee to the Court of Directors in 1825, "we have always evinced to the Hong merchants our sense of the impropriety of conducting any public business to which every Hong merchant is not a party; the only way we possessed of demonstrating our opposition to the formation of a Cohong, was by always insisting on the attendance of all the merchants when the two senior merchants presented themselves with letters or communications with (*sic*) the Government." Letter of 19th March 1825 in App. II. to the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company, dated 11th October 1831.

† See page 14 of this Narrative.

"indirect from him), be not best suited to the condition of circumstances in this country, at least its further modification had better be left to time and favourable opportunities."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Mr. Backhouse, dated 2nd June 1837, and enclosures; pages 207-209 of the correspondence.

Abandoning, therefore, for the time all endeavours to induce the Governor to consent to issue orders to him direct, he determined to try and secure some modification of the regulation which required him to obtain a passport upon each occasion when proceeding from Macao to Canton. In this he was completely successful. He judiciously did not remain too long at Canton upon the occasion of his first visit, and then availed himself of the opportunity afforded by a disturbance among some British seamen at Whampoa to return, and to apply to the Governor for a relaxation of the rule. The Governor at once made the required concession. "The said Superintendent's official duties," he said, in an edict issued in reply on 1st June 1857, "consisting in the particular control of the merchants and seamen, it is of course right that whenever troubles arise among these classes, he should immediately proceed faithfully to investigate and settle them. The said Superintendent's present representation, 'that if, during the period of his stay at Macao, he should have affairs to attend to at Canton or Whampoa, he fears that to be required always to wait till his application for a passport is answered will be productive of injurious delays,' is a correct statement of the matter, and it is my duty to permit him, from time to time as business may occur, to come up and go down in an European boat, not making it necessary to apply for a passport. On every occasion before the said Superintendent leaves Macao, and after he returns, it will be his duty to report clearly to the sub-prefect at Macao the circumstance and the time, in order that that officer may report the same to myself and the Superintendent of Maritime Customs, severally, for the sake of thorough precision."

"I venture," wrote Captain Elliot to Mr. Backhouse, on the 2nd June 1837, in the letter reporting this arrangement, "to offer my humble opinion that there is an increasing disposition upon the part of the Chinese Government to conciliate that of His Majesty; and I hope it will be thought that my own measures and respectful approaches have, in some sense, served to encourage this spirit of accommodation."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Mr. Backhouse, dated 3rd July 1837, and enclosures; pages 209-214; and letters from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 29th Aug. and 4th Sept. 1837, with Enclosure 1 in the latter letter; pages 215-218 of the correspondence.

An instance of Chinese humanity to foreigners in distress occurred about this time. Some of the seamen on a British ship, the "Fairy," mutinied, and murdered their captain in the China Seas, some time in 1836, and landed 15 of the crew (a Portuguese and 14 lascars), who refused to join in the outrage, upon the coast of Fuhkien. The men, who were landed, were well treated by the Chinese, and were eventually forwarded, under the Emperor's orders, by the Governor of Fuhkien to Canton, in order that they might be sent back in some vessel to their own country. Half the journey to Canton was performed in chairs, and on their departure from Foochowfoo each man received a present in silver of about 50s.

Before the arrival of the men at Canton, Captain Elliot, who had heard of their detention in Fuhkien, and thought that the visit of a ship of war to that province might have a good political effect, requested Captain Quin, of Her Majesty's sloop "Raleigh," which had been sent on duty to the China station (in connexion, apparently, with the Superintendent's requisition of the 2nd February), to proceed to Foochowfoo and apply to the Governor for their release. Captain Quin, who was accompanied by the Rev. C. Gutzlaff, performed this service with discretion, but it does not appear that his visit had much political importance, or was productive of any permanent result. The "Fairy's" men left Foochowfoo at the end of June, on the day after the arrival of the "Raleigh" at the mouth of the Min River; but the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Lieutenant-General, replied civilly enough to an address from Captain Quin, and the people were friendly and obliging. The orders of the Governor and his colleagues, however, which were transmitted to Captain Quin by the Prefect of Foochow and four other naval and military officers, warned him that foreign ships were not allowed to visit the province of Fuhkien, or to trade anywhere but at Canton, and that he should, therefore, depart, as soon as possible, and not venture to sail northwards under any pretext. The address presented, also, was returned.

Captain Elliot suggested that a letter should be written by Lord Palmerston to the Governor of Canton to thank the Chinese Government for their kindness to the castaways, but no notice seems to have been taken of the suggestion.

Enclosure 3 in the letter from Captain Elliot to Mr. Backhouse, dated 3rd July 1837; pages 210 and 211 of the correspondence.

Vice-Admiral Sir T. Bladen Capel, when sending the "Raleigh" to China, appears to have felt some uneasiness as to the nature of the service upon which she was to be employed; and Captain Elliot thought it necessary to assure him, that he was fully sensible of the extreme impropriety of committing His Majesty's Government to any

appearance of countenancing illicit traffic, and that he should carefully abstain from moving the Commander of any ship of war on the station to take any steps which could possibly bear such a construction.

On the 20th September 1837 an affray occurred at Canton in which a Chinese was said to have been stabbed by a lascar; and the two lascars, who were concerned in the affray, and two others, who were on shore at the same place, were seized by the Chinese and confined in the Consou House. On the following morning the Chinese magistrate forwarded the lascars to Captain Elliot for examination, but declined to leave them in his charge. In the evening, however, Captain Elliot, who was afraid that the men might be removed during the night into the city, if they were left at the Consou House, sent for the senior merchants, and insisted that they should be made over to him for trial, in the presence of Chinese officers, in accordance with the laws of Great Britain. Howqua argued that the offence had been committed in China, and that the offenders should, therefore, be tried by the Chinese Courts; but Captain Elliot informed him that it was impossible to consent to the trial by Chinese of British subjects for a breach of the laws of China, "whilst those laws were only partially administered towards them and whilst appeal to the higher Chinese tribunals was entirely shut out from them," and that all which could be justly expected from the British Government under such circumstances was the provision of "means for the fair trial of British offenders against Chinese life or property by British laws and British officers." He threatened also to leave Canton if the men were not made over to him by 10 o'clock that night, and hinted that an application for their release might be presented by 800 or 1,000 men from Whampoa in the event of his departure. Howqua entreated him to wait until he could obtain the Governor's orders in the morning; but Captain Elliot was firm, and Howqua yielded and surrendered the men.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated Sept. 26th, and postscript dated Oct. 3rd, 1837; pages 231 and 232 of the correspondence.

The man, who was stabbed, does not seem to have been in any danger, and Captain Elliot's demand for the surrender of the lascars for trial was therefore justified by Chinese practice and precedent. No further proceedings, however, seem to have been taken. Captain Elliot left Canton on the 30th September, taking the lascars with him; and on the 1st October the Chinese magistrate issued an order, directing that they should be finally made over to him, to be dealt with in such manner as he should think proper. The nature and extent of the Superintendent's legal authority were, to say the least of it, doubtful; and as the Chinese dropped the case, the men appear to have escaped without a trial.

In a letter to Lord Palmerston, describing the occurrence, and explaining the action he had taken, Captain Elliot, in October 1837, expressed an earnest hope that no time might be lost in the formation of adequate judicial and police institutions for the government of the King's subjects in China, and assured Lord Palmerston that it was in his power to secure from the Chinese provincial authorities the most formal sanction to their operation.

A China Courts Bill, it may be observed, was introduced in Parliament by Lord Palmerston in 1837, and again in 1838, to create a Court of Civil jurisdiction at Canton, and to enable the Criminal Court, there established, to sentence a British subject to expulsion from the limits of the Court's jurisdiction for breach of any regulation, made by the King in Council, in accordance with the powers conferred by the Act of 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 93, for the control of British subjects in China. The Bill passed the House of Commons in 1837 without opposition; but was withdrawn from the House of Lords, in consequence of expected opposition from Lord Ellenborough, and for reasons connected with the state of the Government at the time. In the spring of 1838 the Bill was re-introduced; but was opposed in the House of Commons by Mr. Hawes, on behalf of Sir G. Staunton, on the ground that it was inexpedient to confer upon the Superintendents judicial powers, of the nature proposed, without the consent of the Chinese Government. Sir J. Graham also expressed himself unfavourable to any extension of the authority of the Superintendents; and the Bill was accordingly withdrawn in Committee, at the end of July, in consequence of this opposition.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3 series, vols. 44, from 9th July to 16th Aug. 1838, and 53, from 24th March to 11th May 1840.

The assertion by Howqua of the Chinese right of jurisdiction in the lascars' case was made use of by Mr. Hawes, as proof that the Chinese Government would not assent to the exercise of jurisdiction by British Courts in Chinese territory; but it is doubtful how far Howqua was in earnest on this occasion, and it is also doubtful how far he was authorised to express the views of the Provincial Government. On hearing of Sir G. Staunton's opposition to the China Courts Bill, he professed himself unable to

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd Jan. 1839; pages 339 and 340 of the correspondence.

understand the object of his objections; and entreated Captain Elliot to remind the Government of Great Britain that the Chinese Government never interposed in the affairs of foreigners, except in cases of extreme urgency, upon the principle that it was ignorant of their laws and customs, and that it would be unjust to subject them to rules made for people of totally different habits, and brought up under a totally different discipline. This reasoning, as Captain Elliot said, was marked by wisdom and moderation, but the question bristled with difficulties; and it is not easy to see how the difficulties could have been solved without the aid of force. The Chinese Government, as it afterwards showed, was willing enough to assert rights of jurisdiction, when the objects, which it had in view, could not be attained without the exercise of such rights.

Letter from
Captain Elliot to
Lord Palmerston,
dated 18th Nov.
1837, and en-
closure 1; pages
233-236 of the
correspondence.

From the time of his first arrival in Canton, in April 1837, Captain Elliot was frequently urged by the senior Hong merchants, in compliance, as they alleged, with special orders from the Governor, to send away the opium receiving-ships from their customary anchorages outside the Port of Canton; and, on the 4th August, the Governor and Deputy Governor issued an edict upon the subject, reciting the substance of an Imperial edict, which they had received from Peking, and directing the Hong merchants to require the English Superintendent to send away all the opium ships then anchored in Chinese waters within 10 days. The Imperial edict is thus summarised in the correspondence: "A memorial has been laid before the Emperor, representing that " more than 10 English vessels are constantly anchored outside the port in the " anchorages of Kapshuy-moon and Kumsing-moon; that the illicit trade in the " importation of opium and the exportation of sycee silver depends entirely on these " vessels; and that they form also places of refuge for proscribed smugglers. The " Emperor accordingly directs that the resident foreigners be immediately required to " send them away, and also that steps be taken to punish all natives engaged in the " smuggling of opium."

Captain Elliot sent no written reply to this edict, but informed the merchants, as he had already done in reply to their verbal representations on the subject, that his orders charged him with the superintendence of the legitimate trade of Canton; that his Government had "no formal knowledge" of the existence of any other traffic; and that he could, therefore, only concern himself with the duties which he had due authority to perform.

On the 17th August, the Governor and Deputy Governor issued a second edict, censuring the merchants for not having obtained a reply from the Superintendent, who, as they said, was authorised to dispose even of trifling questions, and ought certainly to interfere in an important matter, which was contrary to the laws of the Chinese Empire, and must, therefore, be at variance with his own instructions, and requiring them to again instruct him to immediately send away all vessels anchored at Lintin, and at other places outside the port, and to take measures to prevent the importation of opium, and other contraband articles in future.

Captain Elliot again evaded the submission of any direct reply; and, on the 18th September, the Governor and Deputy Governor issued a third edict, observing that the Superintendent's inaction gave ground for supposing that he was unfit for his position, and ordering him once more to send the ships away, and to represent the matter to his Sovereign, and request him to prohibit them from again returning to China. "The Hong merchants," they said, "finally are commanded to report whether " the Superintendent is looking on with folded arms, or whether the delay arises from " obstinacy of those on board the receiving-ships. They are warned also not to risk " their fortunes and lives by negligence and indifference."

On the 19th September, also, they published for compliance another Imperial edict, which had been issued in consequence of the apprehension of opium smugglers in the province of Fuhkien, requiring the foreign officers and chief supracargoes at Macao to send away the offending parties, in any case in which they might receive information of the existence of contraband traffic. The Hong merchants, when communicating this edict, anxiously entreated Captain Elliot to acknowledge receipt of the orders of the Local Government, and to explain his position in regard to the opium trade.

The persistence of the Local Government, and the earnestness of the Hong merchants, convinced Captain Elliot that there was no immediate prospect of the withdrawal of the prohibition against the importation of opium; and he accordingly addressed the Governor on the 25th September, admitting that he personally was aware of the existence of an extensive illicit traffic, carried on by foreign ships outside the port of Canton, but pointing out that he only saw the papers of British ships, which actually entered the port, and that it was impossible for him to communicate to the King of

Enclosure 2 in
the above letter;
page 236 of the
correspondence.

England information, which had been communicated to him in an unauthentic manner by the Hong merchants. He had, he said, in his ordinary intercourse with the Government, accepted that mode of communication, because he had been informed that it was in accordance with the customs of the Chinese Empire; but in the transmission of communications for the information of the King of England, it was in like manner just and necessary that due regard should be paid to the customs of Great Britain. The Governor of Fuhkien had recently announced his orders to the captain of a British ship under the seals of officers of the Fuhkien province, and if a similar mode of procedure were now adopted, he would have no difficulty in making the necessary representation. "The undersigned will conclude this address," he said, "by observing that his gracious Sovereign has never yet been approached with representations setting forth the existence of irregularities by the subjects of his kingdom upon these coasts; and that His Majesty, therefore, can know nothing of any such allegations, or of the pleasure of the Emperor in respect to them."

The line of argument adopted was ingenious, and even Chinese arrogance recognised the incongruity of a diplomatic communication to the King of England through the medium of the Hong merchants. The Governor and Deputy Governor, in reply therefore, while arguing that the Superintendent was well acquainted with the facts, and ought to have had no difficulty in making the necessary communication, admitted that there was some force in his contention that he was unable to "bring to the knowledge of his King a plain and unauthentic document," and announced accordingly their intention of communicating their orders on this occasion through the Prefect (City Governor) and the Chief Military Officer of the Kwang Chow Department as a special arrangement.

Enclosure 3 in the above letter; page 237 of the correspondence.

These officers accordingly, on the following day (September the 29th), issued commands direct to the Superintendent, communicating to him the orders of the Governor and Deputy Governor in regard to the receiving-ships.

Enclosure 4 in the above letter; pages 237-240 of the correspondence.

In the orders of the Governor and Deputy Governor the substance of the four previous edicts was repeated, and the Superintendent was called upon to take immediate action against the opium ships at anchor, and to submit the necessary representation to his Sovereign, in order that the ships might be prohibited from again resorting to China. "If, after this time of issuing our commands," they said, in conclusion, "the receiving vessels again collect, as though we were not heard, and continue to remain looking around them, it will be manifest that amendment finds no place in the hearts of those concerned in them; and not only will they be no longer borne with by the great Emperor, but by their own King also they will certainly be subjected to trial. We cannot do otherwise than pursue them with the rigour of the laws, and show forth to all the Celestial terrors. If the said Superintendent fail to pay earnest obedience hereto, he also will draw upon himself investigation and expulsion."*

Captain Elliot's acknowledgment of these orders was delayed in consequence of the absence of the Governor from Canton, but on the 17th November he wrote, assuring the Governor that his edict "conveyed directly" to him "under the seals of the Kwang Chow Foo (City Governor) and Kwang Heep" (Chief Military Officer of the Kwang-Chow Department) would be at once communicated to England.

Enclosure 5 in the above letter; page 240 of the correspondence.

"He has," he wrote, "already signified to your Excellency with truth and plainness that his Commission extends only to the regular trade with this Empire; and further, that the existence of any other than this trade has never yet been submitted to the knowledge of his own gracious Sovereign. He will only permit himself to add, on this occasion, that circumstances of the kind described by your Excellency, cannot be heard of without feelings of concern and apprehension; and he desires himself to express an earnest hope that sure and safe means of remedying a hazardous state of things may be speedily devised."

In a letter on the subject of these edicts, Captain Elliot informed Lord Palmerston that he was unable to ascertain the reason why the proposed legalisation of the opium trade had been postponed, but that the policy of suppression was then being energetically

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 19th Nov. 1837, and annexed memorandum; pages 241-245 of the correspondence.

* This official communication, which was to form the basis of Captain Elliot's representation to the King of England, was, it should be observed, made to him in the form of orders by two subordinate Chinese officers; the City Governor and the Chief Military Officer of the Kwang Chow Department issuing their own commands, and not merely communicating the orders of the Local Government. The Kwang Chow Foo in the East India Company's correspondence is called the City Governor, and in the later correspondence he is called the Prefect of the Department of Kwang Chow. The Kwang Hee or Heep is sometimes called the Military Attaché, or Aide-de-camp, and sometimes the Commandant of Police; and on this occasion he figures as the Chief Military Officer of the Kwang Chow Department.

prosecuted, with the result that the trade had been thrown, more directly than before, into the hands of Europeans.

"The vigorous proceedings," he wrote, "of the Provincial Government against the native smugglers at the outside anchorages in the immediate neighbourhood of this port, have had the effect of vastly increasing the traffic on the eastern coasts of this and the neighbouring provinces (*sic*) of Fuhkien. Till within the last few months, that branch of the trade never afforded employment to more than two or three small vessels; but at the time of this despatch, and for some months past, there have not been less than twenty sail of vessels on the east coasts; and, I am sorry to add that there is every reason to believe blood has been spilt in the interchange of shot, which has ever and anon taken place between them and the mandarin boats.

"The most grave result of the vigilance upon the spot remains to be described. The native boats have been burned, and the native smugglers scattered; and the consequence is, as it was foreseen it would be, that a complete and very hazardous change has been worked in the whole manner of conducting the Canton portion of the trade. The opium is now carried on (and a great part of it inwards to Whampoa) in European passage-boats belonging to British owners, slenderly manned with lascar seamen, and furnished with a scanty armament, which may rather be said to provoke or to justify search, accompanied by violence, than to furnish the means of effectual defence."

The higher officers of the Provincial Government were, he believed, perfectly aware of the extensive smuggling that was then carried on in European boats, and although up to that time, from motives of policy or self-interest, they had not attempted to interfere, it was impossible to count upon a continuance of their inactivity. The passage also of an article so valuable, in small and badly-armed vessels, offered a great temptation to smugglers and other lawless members of the native Chinese population; and an outbreak of piracy might induce the Government to undertake a second Ladrone (Pirate) war, directed against European smugglers and Chinese freebooters alike.

The value of the trade, conducted in so hazardous a manner, was, he said, about three-fifths of the total value of all imports; and the time had, in his opinion, arrived for the intervention of the British Government to protect commerce generally from interruption, and to secure the safety of British subjects in China. "The necessity," he wrote, "for such interposition is not, it may be said, immediately obvious. That may be the case in England, and it would be an ungrateful task to throw it into a stronger light. But at all events I shall simply say, that it seems to me the actual state of things cannot continue to be left to the turn of events, without such deeply-rooted injury to the national character in the estimation of this huge portion of mankind, as it is painful indeed to reflect upon."

He recommended, therefore, that the Secretary of State should acknowledge the official communication, which had been made by the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton, in regard to the opium trade, and should inform the Governor, in reply, that a Commissioner would be despatched to China, "to inquire in what degree the evils complained of were justly chargeable to Her Majesty's subjects, and to consider by what means it might be possible to establish all things upon a safe and satisfactory footing;" and that a Special Commissioner, bearing an autograph letter from Her Majesty the Queen to the Emperor of China, should subsequently be despatched, with a strong naval escort, to the Island of Chusan, or to some other suitable place on the coast at a convenient distance from Pekin, to discuss the subject of opium with officers appointed for the purpose by the Chinese Government, and to endeavour to effect by negotiation the recognition of the trade; to obtain, if possible, some relaxation of the restrictions imposed upon commerce generally, and upon intercourse between the two countries; and to suggest some reasonable scheme for the control and government of British subjects in China. It was, he said, his plain duty to adhere to the principle that opium was a subject with which he had no concern; but a Special Commissioner could explain that more than half of the opium imported into China was produced in foreign territory; that it was impossible for the British Government either to prohibit or prevent the importation of foreign opium, or the importation in foreign ships of opium produced in British territory and exported to other countries, and that, as matters stood, it would be necessary to permanently maintain a naval force upon the coast of China to protect persons engaged in lawful trade from the possible consequences of measures taken against the illicit traffic; and arguments of this nature, if properly adduced, would, he thought, induce the Chinese Government to change its attitude, and legalise the trade.

“ Upon the whole,” he wrote, “ it seems to me that the time has fully arrived when Her Majesty’s Government should justly explain its own position with respect to the prevention or regulation of this trade ; give its own counsels, or take its own alternative course.”

Two days after the despatch of this letter, Lord Palmerston’s orders, of the 12th June 1837, reached Captain Elliot, instructing him that correspondence with the authorities through the medium of the Hong merchants could not be permitted, and that the superscription of his official communications as petitions must be discontinued.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 29th Nov. 1837, and enclosures ; pages 245-249 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot accordingly submitted an address to the Governor with a superscription in Chinese, specially designed for the occasion, meaning, “ presented before his high place,” but the Governor would not receive it. As Captain Elliot reported : he opened and read it carefully, and after some consideration wrote upon it, with his own pencil, the words, “ cannot be permitted,” and directed the Hong merchants to return it with that remark.

Captain Elliot then prepared a second address, superscribed in the same manner, announcing formally the nature of his instructions, and requesting the Governor to permit in future, under the circumstances, direct official communication ; and sent it, with the two Secretaries to the Commission, to the city gate, for delivery to the Commandant of Police. “ Your Excellency,” he wrote, “ in an elevated station, and practised in public affairs, will know that the undersigned does not dare to disobey these strict commands of his Government, and that he could not presume to propose any changes upon less urgent grounds than are now faithfully stated. If your Excellency shall think fit always to forward your pleasure directly to the address of the undersigned, through the Kwang Chow Foo and the Kwang Heep, as was lately done, and will further consent to receive his respectful addresses in reply, without the specification of the character ‘ Pin,’ all difficulty will be removed.”

The address was delivered to the Commandant, and was received by the Governor ; and on the following day the Hong merchants brought an edict in reply, which was, they said, a courteous explanation of the reasons why the Governor was obliged to adhere to the mode of intercourse with foreigners, which had received the sanction of ancient custom. Captain Elliot declined to receive the edict ; but delivered to the merchants a third address to the Governor, requesting that the City Governor and the Commandant of Police might be deputed to his residence to take a copy of the letter of instructions, which he had received from England. “ According to the regulations,” as he said, “ the undersigned cannot wait upon these officers at their residences in the city, and he has therefore requested that they will visit him here.”

The Governor in his turn refused to receive this address, on account of the alteration in the superscription, and it was returned by the Hong merchants.

Captain Elliot then made over to the merchants an unsealed address to the Governor, with an intimation that they might deliver it or not as they pleased ; and announced his intention of leaving Canton for Macao. In the address he announced that the orders, which he had received from the British Government, were peremptory ; and that the Governor’s determination to reject all addresses, not superscribed as petitions, and to refuse sanction to the arrangements proposed for the future conduct of official correspondence, must have the effect of interrupting all communications, until further orders should be received from England ; and he therefore formally disclaimed all responsibility for the adjustment of any difficulties or disputes that might arise. The merchants hinted that the Governor might possibly concede the point of direct official intercourse, but could not sanction any change in the superscription of addresses ; but Captain Elliot informed them that his orders were positive on both points and must be obeyed ; and the negotiation ended.

On the 29th November Captain Elliot informed the British subjects resident at Canton that all official communication between him and the Governor had ceased ; and on the 2nd December he proceeded to Macao.

“ Direct written communications from the Governor to a person in my station,” he wrote to Lord Palmerston on the 29th November, “ your Lordship may be assured are impossible of attainment, till Her Majesty’s officers are here supported by the presence of force ; and then it is certainly probable that the point may pass without much difficulty.” He considered however, that the transmission of attested copies of the Governor’s edicts, by the City Governor and the Commandant of Police would, under the circumstances then existing, be a sufficiently satisfactory mode of com-

Extract from a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 4th Dec. 1837; page 249 of the correspondence.

munication, and would moreover be compatible with the terms of Lord Palmerston's despatch of the 12th July 1836; and in another letter, written from Macao five days later, he expressed an opinion that the peaceful establishment of direct official intercourse upon these conditions was "no longer of questionable or difficult accomplishment," and would be at once achieved by the transmission in a ship of war to the mouth of Peiho of a letter, written by the Secretary of State under Her Majesty's orders, to the Cabinet at Peking. "The principle" he wrote, "that officers were not to reside in the Empire, has been formally renounced by the Emperor himself, and that was the main obstacle; the clearest admission of my right to direct sealed communications with the Governor, upon the ground of my official character, has been conceded; an official mistake in an edict describing me to be a merchant, has been publicly acknowledged and corrected; facilities, (especially upon the plea that I was an officer, and involving a direct official intercourse with the mandarin here,) have been accorded; striking proofs of the disposition to devolve upon me in my official capacity the adjustment of all disputes, even between Chinese and my own countrymen, have been afforded. On one occasion the Provincial Government has already communicated with me in a direct official shape; and upon my late departure from Canton, it was easy to perceive that the Governor was prepared to fall entirely into that course, upon the condition that I should waive the proposed change in the superscription of my addresses."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 7th Dec. 1837, and enclosures; pages 250-252 of the correspondence.

On the 20th November 1837, further orders were issued by the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton, in regard to the opium receiving-ships, in consequence of the receipt of an Imperial edict upon the subject. "The anchorage of foreign ships in the inner seas," ran the Imperial edict, "and their combining with natives, to introduce what is contraband, are the most aggravated evils now existing in the province of Kwang-tung. The Governor and his colleagues, aforesaid, must faithfully and strictly make examination and clearly ascertain, whether, since they have issued these orders, the said foreign Superintendent has or has not paid obedience to them; and whether the receiving-ships have or have not taken their departure; they must require the ships, one and all, to return to their country, and must not suffer them to linger for a moment. If they dare to suffer gradual encroachment, and to let the matter rest, at a future day, when I, the Emperor, on inquiry hear of it, or am by anyone informed thereof, the said Governor and his colleagues alone will I hold responsible."

The Governor and Deputy Governor accordingly issued orders, to be enjoined upon Captain Elliot, to the effect that he must send away the receiving-ships within a month, and report the fact of their departure, for the information of the Local Government, and for communication to Peking. "If," they said, "they (the ships) dare again, in any measure, to linger, then the kindness and tenderness of the Celestial Empire having been carried to the utmost, and there being no room left for additional favour, it will remain only (to) display the Celestial terrors, and to make apparent the glory of the established laws. We shall have to report plainly to the great Emperor, that the merchant ships may be denied permission to open their holds, and that grasping the laws, we may pursue with them the receiving-ships. And further, seeing that the said Superintendent, in the discharge of his official duties, sits hand-bound, idly looking on at the unrestrained and illegal practices of depraved foreigners, even kicking against our commands, and resisting the Imperial pleasure, we shall find it difficult to believe that he is not guilty of the offence of sheltering and giving license to these illegalities. We will assuredly proceed to expel him, and drive him back to his country." The Hong merchants also were threatened with degradation and punishment, if the ships were not removed within the month.

The interruption of official communications prevented Captain Elliot from sending any reply to these orders. He forwarded, however, a copy of the edict for Lord Palmerston's information on the 7th December, and suggested that the menaces to stop the trade, and expel him from the Empire, strengthened the arguments, by which, in his letter of the 19th November 1837, he had advocated "immediate and earnest approaches" to the Court at Peking by Her Majesty's Government. He added also, that the outlook was so uncertain, and the intentions of Government so inscrutable, that it was in his opinion highly necessary that a small naval force should immediately be stationed in the China Seas, for the protection of British interests.

Captain Elliot's proposal, for the appointment of a Special Commissioner, amounted to a recommendation for the despatch of another Mission to China, and Her Majesty's Ministers were not prepared to attempt another experiment of this kind, or to interest themselves directly in behalf of the persons engaged in the opium trade.

Lord Palmerston, therefore, in a letter dated 15th June 1838, communicated the orders of the British Government upon the proposal, and upon the subject of Captain Elliot's communications with the Provincial Government at Canton.

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 15th June 1838; page 258 of the correspondence.

"Her Majesty's Government," he wrote, "have had under their consideration your despatches of the 29th November and 4th December 1837, in which you report your proceedings in execution of the instructions conveyed to you in my despatch of last year, relative to the manner in which you should send communications to, and receive them from, the Chinese authorities at Canton. I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve the course which you have pursued; and as the Chinese authorities persisted in their refusal to communicate with you in the manner required, Her Majesty's Government consider that you were perfectly right in withdrawing from Canton to Macao.

"With respect to the smuggling trade in opium, which forms the subject of your despatches of the 18th and 19th November, and 7th December 1837, I have to state, that Her Majesty's Government cannot interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country in which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of the Chinese laws on this subject, must be borne by the parties, who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts.

"With respect to the plan, proposed by you in your despatch of the 19th November, for sending a Special Commissioner to Chusan, to endeavour to effect some arrangement with the Chinese Government about the opium trade, Her Majesty's Government do not see their way in such a measure with sufficient clearness to justify them in adopting it at the present moment."

No regulations existed for the preservation of the peace, or the maintenance of discipline among the British seamen at Whampoa, and during the years that followed the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly mutinous outbreaks upon the ships appear to have been frequent. A fruitful cause of these disturbances was the existence of an idea among the seamen, that corporal punishment could not lawfully be inflicted by order of any captain in the merchant service; and a serious disturbance, which occurred in September 1837, forced the subject upon Captain Elliot's attention. The disturbance was quelled with tact and firmness by Captain Elliot in person; and he then took steps to establish a system for the preservation of order, and to make it publicly known that merchant captains had a legal right to enforce subordination on board of their ships by any punishment, corporal or other, which was not at variance with custom.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 18th April 1838, and enclosures; pages 294-299 of the correspondence.

He accordingly promulgated regulations, by which the senior commander of the Company's late maritime service, who happened to be at Whampoa, was charged with the duty of checking any riot or insubordination on any British ship with a European crew, and was invested with authority to try and punish offenders; and the senior commander of the ships, at the port, in the Indian trade, was invested with similar responsibility and authority in respect to vessels with lascar crews.

The Chinese raised no objection; and the regulations appear to have been suited to the circumstances, and to have worked well. An outbreak which occurred at Whampoa, subsequent to their introduction, in January 1838, was suppressed by the senior officer of the Company's late service, in the capacity of port magistrate; and two British seamen, who had been mutinous, were tried and flogged, apparently with the best possible result upon the conduct of the seamen.

The regulations, however, as was subsequently pointed out by the Law Officers of the British Crown, were an interference with Chinese sovereign rights, which could only be justified either by treaty or by implied permission from usage; and were, moreover, of such a nature, that they could only be made and issued by Her Majesty the Queen under the Act 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 93. Lord Palmerston accordingly directed Captain Elliot, in March 1839, to endeavour to obtain the written approval of the Governor of Canton to the regulations, in order that proper steps might be taken, to give them validity, in accordance with the Act in question.

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 23rd March 1839; pages 317 and 318 of the correspondence.

Affairs had reached a crisis long before Lord Palmerston's letter reached Canton, and no action was taken upon it; but the orders issued offer a further illustration of the anxiety of the British Government to avoid giving offence to the Chinese, and also, it may be said, of the extreme difficulty that existed in maintaining friendly relations between the two countries, one of which felt itself bound by the principles of international law, and the other utterly refused to recognise any law, or principles, but its own.

Enclosure in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 5th Feb. 1838; pages 254-258 of the correspondence.

On the 30th December 1837 the Governor of Canton and the Deputy Governor and Superintendent of Customs submitted a joint memorial to the Emperor upon the measures they had taken to suppress the trade in opium, and the degree of success with which they had been attended. Chinese jurisdiction, they said, extended over the inner and outer seas to the Ladrone Islands, beyond which was "the wide and boundless ocean, the black water of the foreign seas," over which China had no control. The receiving-ships had been driven from Kumsingmoon and the "inner seas" (or the inlets of the mainland), but were still anchored at Linton and other places in the "outer seas," within the Ladrone Islands; and only one of them, a Dutch ship, had complied with the orders issued, and sailed away from the coast. The number of receiving-ships, as ascertained by inquiry, was twenty-five, most of which were British vessels from India, but there were also others under the American, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Danish flags, "of each from one or two, to three or four." Stringent orders for the instant departure of the ships had, they said, been enjoined upon Captain Elliot and the foreign merchants, but they had not up to that time complied, and had made excuses to gain time; and the advisability of a temporary suspension of trade was accordingly suggested. "If," they wrote, "they (the foreigners) be now intimidated by the stoppage of trade, they will probably no longer allow the receiving-ships to remain, lest by such contumacious conduct they effectually damage their means of livelihood."

In the meantime they had requested the Naval Commander-in-Chief to expel the receiving-ships from the outer seas; and had taken steps to cut off their supply of provisions. "We, your Ministers," they continued, "have for some time past made seizure of opium dealers and smugglers of every description, without mercy, in order to prevent the exportation of sycee silver and the importation of opium, and thus to put a stop to this contraband traffic. . . . Your Ministers have now been earnestly engaged in these measures for one year. They dare not yet say that their efforts have had the full effect to be desired. But with regard to the existing state of things in the provincial city, it may be observed, that the price of sycee silver is at present very low; and that opium, one ball of which, on board the foreign vessels, formerly cost the traitorous natives (nations) about 30 dollars, brings now only from 16 to 18 dollars. Of the smuggled silver, too, that has been seized, a large portion has been foreign money, which would seem to imply that to export silver is now comparatively difficult."

Smugglers arrested had, they said, been severely punished; the shops of opium dealers had been closed; the apprehension of persons frequenting them had been ordered; and although some discontent had been created, and scandal-mongers* had not hesitated to charge them even with bribery, and the subordinate civil and military officers with favouritism and corruption, while other over-anxious individuals had complained of the dulness of trade and the bad prices realised for tea and silk, the policy adopted, if pursued with vigour and firmness for a long time, could not, in their opinion, fail to be eventually "extremely beneficial."

Extract from a letter from Captain Elliot to the Foreign Office, dated 18th May 1838; page 253 of the correspondence.

In January 1838 a move was made against the European smugglers. The boat of a British subject, Mr. Just, a watchmaker at Canton, was searched by some Customs House peons in the river, and three chests of opium were found in it. This, as Captain Elliot reported, was "the first instance for many years of a searching visit on board European boats;" and the proceedings were certainly not calculated to carry much conviction to the British community of the sincerity of Chinese intentions. Mr. Just, it appears, might have settled the affair at once by a bribe of 2,000 dollars to the officer making the seizure; but he would not give more than 1,000. As the knowledge of the seizure spread, the number of officials requiring bribes increased, and the demand for hush-money rose rapidly to 6,000 dollars, and was said, by Captain Elliot, on the 18th January 1838, the date upon which he reported the case, to be then rising. The exact manner in which the matter was adjusted does not appear; but as no proceedings were taken against Mr. Just, and the European smugglers were not intimidated, a compromise of some kind was evidently effected.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 20th April 1838, and enclosure; pages 299-301 of the correspondence.

In February and March the number of boats belonging to or employed by British subjects in the illicit traffic between Lintin and Canton increased largely; and the deliveries of opium were frequently attended with conflicts† of firearms between the

* "Some there are," they wrote, "babbling scandal-mongers, who represent that we, your Ministers, if besought by those, who bring reach (? peace) offerings in their hands, are not unwilling to accept gifts."

† I have stated the facts as officially reported by Captain Elliot. Mr. Jardine, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon the China Trade in 1843, said that Captain Elliot's statement was, in his opinion, "overrated," and that he did not believe there had been a single life lost, or a single individual wounded, in these conflicts. —(Q. 1571.)

boats and the Chinese preventive vessels. It does not appear that there was any loss of life on either side; but the state of affairs was considered by Captain Elliot to be so serious, that in the month of March he made another attempt to induce the Governor to make such concessions on the "communication" question, as would permit him to return to Canton and control his own countrymen.

He prepared, accordingly, a statement, representing that months must elapse before he could obtain instructions from his own Government in regard to his future correspondence, and that the absence of responsible authority over his countrymen, during this time, might lead possibly to international complications; and suggesting that under the circumstances the Governor should forward, for the information of the British Government, a formal explanation of the reasons why addresses from an officer of Captain Elliot's rank could only be submitted as petitions, and should allow him in the meantime to submit addresses, not petitions, to the City Governor and the Commandant of Police, and to receive the Governor's orders direct from them. "Between these honourable officers and Elliot," he wrote, "there need be no superscription on the addresses except the names and titles of each officer; because it is recorded, in a memorial to His Imperial Majesty, that Elliot also is an officer of the fourth rank in his own nation." This statement he made over to the Chinese Secretary, Mr. Morrison, at the beginning of April, for delivery to Howqua, the senior Hong merchant, with an intimation that he might show it to the Governor if he thought fit. Howqua took the statement, but returned it in a few days to Mr. Morrison, with a message to the effect that the Governor had seen it, but could not accede to such an arrangement.

"I was sensible," wrote Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, "that the present state of things at Canton could only subsist as long as the Governor could venture to appropriate a large share of the bribes, by which the system is upheld; and therefore, I looked for no other result at his hands. . . . Should any serious disaster ensue, threatening the lives of Her Majesty's subjects engaged in these pursuits, (and, in my own judgment, this result is perfectly probable), I shall not fail to found the strongest remonstrances against such extreme measures upon the Governor's rejection of these last proposals. That circumstance would fully justify a representation to the Court, that the irregularities leading to the mischief were the consequence of his Excellency's manifest and disgraceful corruption; and that, therefore, he alone was responsible for all those evils, which might have been prevented, if he had been honest enough to do his own duty, or to permit me to do mine."

In the month of April, a Chinese was executed by strangulation, outside the walls of Macao, for the crime, as stated in an inscription of his sentence, of "traitorous intercourse with foreigners, and for smuggling opium and sycee silver." This violent measure, which, as Captain Elliot reported, was the first proceeding of the kind in that part of the Empire, was said to have been carried out by the special command of the Court; and the unusual place of execution, and the terms of the sentence, showed plainly that it was intended to warn, and to intimidate, the foreigners.

After April, however, there was a lull, and no further action was taken against the Europeans for some months. The smuggling within the river continued and increased; and, notwithstanding the Macao execution, it was currently reported that the Governor of Canton, or some member of his family, had four boats engaged in it. There was, it must be added, some reason to suppose that participation by Government officers in the traffic had been sanctioned, as a matter of policy, by the Imperial Government, with the object of ascertaining the manner in which, and the persons by whom, it was conducted, but Natives as well as Europeans, were distrustful of the good faith of such proceedings, and the Governor's son was publicly charged in a Chinese placard with being improperly concerned in the business.

Evidence of Messrs. Inglis and Jardine before the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon the China Trade in 1840.

The question of the Hong merchants' indebtedness came once more to the front about this time. The introduction of free trade on the part of Great Britain produced no change in the Chinese commercial system. By the regulations of the Government, foreign merchants were limited, as before, in their dealings in the principal staples of trade to the recognised Hong merchants; and although the orders, issued by Governor Loo in November 1834, show that there had been some increase of unlicensed trading by Chinese shopkeepers, the Hong monopoly appears to have been fairly well maintained.

Memorial to Lord Palmerston, dated 21st March 1838, forming Enclosure 2 of a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 29th March 1838, and pamphlet entitled "The Chinese Security Merchants in Canton."

The merchants traded as before, in separate interests, but they were held responsible, as a body, for the dues of Government, and for liabilities to foreigners contracted by

and their debts," forming Enclosure 5 in the same letter; pages 260-262 and 276-291 of the correspondence.

Correspondence between the Local Government, Hong merchants, and foreign merchants, relative to the affairs of the Hingtae Hong forming Enclosure 3 in the letter from Captain Elliot above quoted; pages 262-275 of the correspondence; and letter from Captain Elliot to Mr. Backhouse, dated 20th April 1838; pages 307 and 308 of the correspondence.

Memorial to Lord Palmerston, dated 21st March 1838; pages 260-262 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 1 in Captain Elliot's letter to Lord Palmerston, dated 29th March 1839; pages 259 and 260 of the correspondence. Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 28th April 1838, and enclosures; pages 301-307 of the correspondence.

Correspondence between the Local Government, Hong merchants, and foreign merchants relative to the affairs of

any one of their number; and the proposed relaxation of the principle of collective responsibility, which was sanctioned in 1830, at the instance of the Select Committee of supracargoes, does not seem to have been brought into operation.

At the commencement of 1837, the number of merchants or firms was 13; and one of the 13, the Hingtae Hong, failed in that year for more than 2,200,000 dollars, the greater part of which was due to British subjects. Some of the other merchants, also, were supposed to be in difficulties, and one of them, Kinkua, was hopelessly involved.

The creditors of the insolvent Hong applied to the Governor, in April 1837, to direct a settlement of their claims by the merchants as a body, in any manner he might think proper; and the Governor immediately ordered the merchants to make an examination of accounts, and ascertain what sums were really due, and to devise some arrangement for their liquidation. Some delay occurred, and repeated applications were made by the creditors, which produced further orders by the Governor to the merchants; and in the month of July a committee, consisting of three of the foreign creditors (two Englishmen and one American), and the three senior Hong merchants, was formed to examine the accounts of the insolvent firm, and finally decide the amount due to each claimant. Mr. Dent, one of the English members, was appointed chairman. Reductions amounting to 477,000 dollars were made by the Committee in the claims put forward; but the liabilities of the firm were finally assessed at 2,261,438 dollars, of which 2,179,386 were due to British subjects.

The manager of the Hingtae Hong and his brother were put into prison as a punishment; and the merchants as a body were required to settle the liabilities of the firm, on the understanding that they might recoup themselves, in the usual manner, by additional impositions on the trade. The merchants at first proposed a settlement in fifteen years; and this led to further appeals to the Governor, who in December 1837 declared formally that the question was entirely distinct from that of the opium ships, and that the debts would be paid to the uttermost farthing, without reference to any measures that might be taken against the ships. He would not, however, promise to reduce the period, proposed by the merchants, for repayment of the debts, and informed the creditors that the matter was under consideration. Later in the month, the Commissioners of Finance and Justice reported that twelve years would be a suitable period; and in March 1838 the Hong merchants, of their own accord, agreed to fix the term at nine years.

The European creditors would not accept this offer, partly because they thought the term was too long, and partly because some, if not all of them, were of opinion that the settlement should cover the liabilities of the other merchants, and that the opportunity should be taken to bring the question of Hong indebtedness to a definite issue.

On the 21st March 1838, therefore, a public meeting of British merchants was held at Canton, and a memorial to Lord Palmerston was adopted by several of the leading firms, including most of the creditors of the Hingtae Hong, setting forth the grievances to which they were subject, owing to the conditions under which the trade was conducted, and to the inefficiency and impoverishment of the Hong merchants; urging that the Chinese Government, which insisted upon confining the foreign trade to a few merchants, was bound to arrange that those merchants should be men of sufficient capital and property for the position; and praying that the British Government would make a representation to the Cabinet at Peking to facilitate the adjustment of all claims then outstanding, and to procure, if possible, the adoption of some arrangement for the prompt repayment of any debts, that might be thereafter contracted.

This memorial was forwarded by the chairman of the meeting to Captain Elliot for transmission, with a request that he would give to the memorialists his cordial support.

The creditors of the Hingtae Hong, however, had carried on their correspondence regarding the settlement of the liabilities, with the Hong merchants and the Governor direct, without the intervention of the British Superintendent; and the principal creditors, Jardine, Matheson, and Company, did not subscribe the memorial to Lord Palmerston, and made another application to the Governor on their own account, on the day that the memorial was signed, requesting him to issue orders to the merchants to make a more favourable settlement. A similar application was made by Turner and Company; and Dent and Company and other creditors informed the Governor that, although they had referred the matter through the British Superintendent to their own

Sovereign, they were prepared to gratefully receive any portion of their claims, of which he might be pleased to order payment.

the Hingtae Hong; page 275 of the correspondence.

The result of these divided counsels might have been anticipated. The creditors of the Hingtae Hong continued their negotiations with the Hong merchants, and although the Governor, on the 11th April in reply to three applications made by the creditors refused to order the merchants to reduce further the time proposed for liquidation, a settlement was eventually effected in November 1838, providing for the repayment of the Hingtae debts in eight and a half years without interest, and for the adjustment also of the debts of Kinqua, who had not been officially declared insolvent, in ten years with simple interest at six per cent.

Memorial from the creditors of the Hingtae Hong to Lord Palmerston, dated 26th Nov. 1838; pages 321 and 322 of the correspondence.

The memorialists had no new grievance to complain of; and as the liabilities of the Hingtae Hong were said, both by the creditors and by Captain Elliot, to be the result of *bond fide* commercial transactions, and to differ in this respect from debts incurred by Hong merchants, on former occasions, in consequence of speculation or extravagance, the Governor appears to have treated the foreign creditors of the insolvent firm fairly enough. The existence of the Hong monopoly was no doubt a genuine grievance, which was greatly aggravated by the insolvency or impoverishment of any of the monopolists; and the manner in which the collective responsibility of the merchants was enforced, and any debts, that had been contracted, were paid, was, as Captain Elliot well said, "a device for saddling the foreign commerce with all the heavy consequences of most imprudent trading on both sides; with all the losses occasioned by incapacity or extravagance upon the part of the Hong merchants; and . . . with all the squeezes, which the Local Government *could*, upon any pretext, fasten upon the Cohong." The extra duties imposed upon the trade, to provide funds for the repayment of the debts of the Hingtae firm and Kinqua, were said by Captain Elliot to amount approximately to a million of dollars per annum.

Memorial to Lord Palmerston, dated 21st March, and Captain Elliot's letter to Lord Palmerston, dated 29th March 1838; pages 259-262 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 8th Jan. 1839; pages 340-342 of the correspondence.

The Company's supracargoes in 1829-30 had pressed for the abolition of the principle of collective responsibility for these reasons; but the system had its advantages for the individual trader; and an occasion, when private interests were so much concerned, was not really a favourable one for raising the general question of trade disabilities.

Captain Elliot, however, on receiving the memorial of the 21st March, with an account of the proceedings taken up to that time, for the recovery of the debts of the Hingtae firm, informed the memorialists that the matter would be brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government; and expressed an opinion that the "determination of a just period," for payment of the debts, "had better be left open for arrangement" between the Governments of Great Britain and China, and that "the creditors would be taking a sound course, both as respects their own, and the permanent interests of the trade, in steadily declining to have any further concern with these matters, than to receive the whole, or such instalments, of their claims upon the Chinese Government, as the Provincial authorities *might* think fit to pay."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Mr. Inglis, dated 27th March 1838; pages 275 and 276 of the correspondence.

He then forwarded the memorial to Lord Palmerston, and transmitted at the same time a historical memorandum published at Canton by a gentleman, who had formerly been in the Company's service, describing the conditions under which foreign trade was conducted at Canton, and the relations which had existed between the Hong merchants and the East India Company and British free traders, from the commencement of the 18th century up to the date of the memorial. "This first occasion," he wrote, "of such a crisis as the present, seems to me to be a necessary and a favourable conjuncture for combining just demands for prompt payment, with earnest efforts to establish our commerce in this Empire on a sounder basis." The free traders, he pointed out, were not in a position to sustain a long deprivation of large portions of their trading capital, and were without the means, which the Company possessed, of maintaining a financial equilibrium at Canton; and some considerable modification of the Chinese monopoly was, in his opinion, necessary to prevent the frequent recurrence of financial disasters of the same nature, as that then complained of. He recommended, therefore, that a demand for the money due to British merchants should be made upon the Chinese Government by the Special Commissioner, whose appointment he had previously advocated; and that, as soon as the question had been satisfactorily settled, the Commissioner should point out that the Chinese regulations were unsuitable to the altered conditions of British commerce, and should remain in China "to maintain secure and becoming public communications; and to prevent serious

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 29th March 1838; page 259 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd April 1838; pages 291-294 of the correspondence.

"cause of dispute between the two nations," until such time as the Chinese Government should itself propose necessary modifications of the existing system.

"All these considerations," he wrote, "lead me to the conclusion that to shape our course, and systematically to persevere in it in such a way as will cast the undivided task of proposition upon the Chinese Government, is a policy which is deserving of your Lordship's attention."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, and enclosures, dated 2nd Dec. 1838; pages 321 and 322 of the correspondence.

In November 1838, the creditors of the Hingtae Hong, submitted a second memorial to Lord Palmerston, through the Superintendent, informing him of the settlement they had made in regard to the debts then outstanding, which had formed the chief object of their first memorial, but urging the necessity of intervention by Her Majesty's Government to provide for the prompt liquidation of debts, that might be incurred in the future, both in the interests of British subjects and of the Hong merchants themselves. A representation to the Chinese Government upon the subject of the commercial system might, they suggested, have the effect of reducing the exactions and demands which were made upon the merchants by the authorities at Canton.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 8th January 1839; pages 340-342 of the correspondence.

In regard to this memorial, Captain Elliot, in January 1839, submitted some further observations for Lord Palmerston's consideration. A system of free trade on the side of Great Britain with an association of Chinese monopolists could not, he said, fail to be an unfortunate arrangement; but he concurred with the view taken by the Select Committee of the Company's supracargoes in 1829-30, and thought that even under the altered conditions of British trade, the interests of the nation would be best served by an abandonment on the part of China of the so-called national guarantee for the repayment of the Hong merchants' debts; and as there was no immediate prospect of the appointment of a Special Commissioner, to negotiate with the Chinese Government in regard to the opium trade and other matters, he suggested that a direct application should be made by the British Government to the Court at Peking upon the subject.

"I would," he wrote, "submit that the altered state of circumstances on our side should be plainly explained, and that a request should be made for the very considerable extension of the number of persons licensed to trade with us, Her Majesty's Government upon its part consenting to give up all direct claim upon the Chinese Government for the future payment of foreign debts on a single condition, namely, that special orders should be issued by the Emperor to the authorities at Canton to apprehend and punish any native debtors, who attempted to defraud their foreign creditors."

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 23rd March 1839; page 318 of the correspondence.

The British Government, it appears, was at first disposed to take action for obtaining redress from the Chinese Government of the grievances complained of in the first memorial submitted by the merchants; but it was finally decided to wait until the necessity for intervention should be further demonstrated. The Naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies had been ordered to visit Canton; and it was hoped that his appearance on the scene might bring about some amicable adjustment of the question. In February 1839, however, news of the settlement, which had been arrived at, reached England; and Lord Palmerston then wrote to Captain Elliot, to inquire how the matter stood, as it appeared from statements in Canton newspapers, that the memorialists had effected an arrangement with the Hong merchants upon terms not materially different from those against which they had protested. "I request," he wrote, "that you will inform me whether this statement is true; and if it is, I have further to instruct you to impress upon the British merchants resident in China that it is of great importance to their own interests, as well as to the character of this country, that they should not on any future occasion hastily apply to the British Government to found a representation to the Chinese Government in their behalf upon principles which they themselves may be disposed to abandon before such representation could reach the Chinese authorities."

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 27th Feb. 1839; page 317 of the correspondence.

No orders appear to have been passed by Her Majesty's Government upon the suggestion made by Captain Elliott in January 1839; for the submission of an application to the Court at Peking, in regard to the Hong monopoly system; and the Hong merchants and their debts do not seem to have formed the subject of any further correspondence with the officers of the Chinese Government up to the outbreak of hostilities in 1840.

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 2nd Nov. 1837, and enclosure; pages 192-194 of the correspondence.

The standing instructions, in respect to China, of the Naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies were revised in September 1837; and the Commander-in-Chief was informed that Her Majesty's Government considered it desirable that one or more of the ships under his orders should visit the China station as frequently as possible, and

should remain there as long as might be consistent with the demands of the service elsewhere, to afford protection to British interests, and give weight to the Superintendent's representations, in any case in which a British subject might have just cause of complaint against the Chinese authorities, and to assist in the maintenance of order among the crews of the British merchant ships at Canton.

He was, however, requested to admonish the officers commanding any ships thus sent, to be careful to prevent the officers and men, belonging to the ships, from offending the prejudices, or violating the laws and customs of the Chinese, and to studiously respect the regulations of the Chinese Government as to the limits beyond which foreign ships of war were not allowed to pass, except in a case of emergency, in which a demonstration, or the actual employment of force, might be urgently and absolutely necessary for the protection of the lives and property of British subjects.

The Commander-in-Chief was at the same time instructed to take the earliest possible opportunity of visiting China, if possible in a line of battle ship, to meet and confer personally with the Superintendent. "You will, however," it was said, "constantly bear in mind that while on the one hand it is useful that the Chinese should be aware of the nature and extent of Her Majesty's naval power, it is on the other hand most important that you should avoid any proceedings, which might inspire the Chinese with an apprehension that this naval power is likely to be employed in unprovoked hostility against them."

In pursuance of these instructions, Sir Frederick Maitland, the Naval Commander-in-Chief, visited China, with Her Majesty's ships "Wellesley" and "Algerine," arriving off Macao on the 13th July 1839. Captain Elliott there joined him; and the ships then proceeded to Tong-koo Bay, an anchorage to the southward of the Bocca Tigris, at a distance of about seven leagues.

Letters from Captain Elliott to Lord Palmerston dated 7th and 10th Aug. 1838, and enclosures: pages 308-317 of the correspondence.

A few days after the Admiral's arrival, the Chinese Magistrate of Macao addressed an order to the Superintendent, but Captain Elliot was not prepared to take orders from an officer in his position; and returned the communication unread, with a note to the effect that he would attend to it as soon as it was put in proper form. The Governor then issued an edict in the usual manner to the Hong merchants, which was forwarded by them to Tong-koo Bay; but this document also was returned unopened by Captain Elliot, with a message to the effect that he could not receive any communication made in a manner at variance with the instructions of the British Government.

It was necessary, however, to announce the objects of the Admiral's visit, and with Sir F. Maitland's approval, Captain Elliot proceeded to Canton to make the announcement on the 25th July. On arrival there, on the 29th July, he sent the Secretary and Mr. Morrison, the Chinese Secretary, with an explanatory address, to the city gates, purposely leaving the paper open to avoid the difficulty of the superscription, and instructed them to deliver the address to a mandarin. The address was received, and was conveyed to the Governor by the Commandant of Police, but was returned to Captain Elliot the same evening by the three senior merchants, with a message from the Governor to the effect that his orders from the Emperor were imperative, and that he could not take the address, unless it was submitted in the form of a petition. As a solution of the difficulty, the merchants proposed, in accordance (as they said) with the Governor's orders, that Captain Elliot should receive an "official address" from the Governor, stating that the three senior merchants were, in fact, mandarins, and that he ought not therefore to object to receive papers addressed to them for communication. Captain Elliot indignantly repudiated this suggestion, and announced his intention of returning to Macao, as the Governor had not thought fit to receive his explanation of the peaceful object of the Admiral's visit.

In the meantime, on the 28th July, a passage boat, which was on its way to Canton from Hong Kong, with a captain of a British ship, there anchored, and other passengers, was chased by two mandarin boats, and was fired at by the fort at the Bocca Tigris and compelled to heave-to. The boat was then boarded by an interpreter from one of the mandarin boats, who inquired whether "Admiral Maitland, or any of his soldiers, women, or man-of-war's men were on board," as, "if so, they would not be allowed to pass up the Bogue." The inquiry was answered in the negative; and one of the passengers asked if they wanted to seize opium, but this the interpreter denied. The boat was then allowed to proceed, but at Tiger Island she was again fired at and boarded, and the same inquiry was made.

Captain Elliot, on hearing of this incident, sent for the senior merchants and attempted to obtain from them an official disavowal by the Governor of any intention to insult the Admiral; but verbal protestations only were forthcoming, and he

accordingly proceeded to Tongkoo, and reported the occurrence to Sir Frederick Maitland.

Sir Frederick determined to demand a formal disavowal of the attack thus made upon him, and the insult offered to the flag, and moved at once to Chuenpee, near the Bocca Tigris, with the two ships of war, and H.M.S. "Larne," which had been placed on duty at the China Station. On arrival at Chuenpee on the 4th August, he sent the captain of the flag-ship to the Chinese war junks, with a letter addressed to the Governor of Canton. The Chinese were unwilling to receive the letter, though they did not actually refuse to do so; but while negotiations were proceeding a letter was received from Kwan, the Chinese Admiral, addressed to Sir Frederick Maitland, in which he inquired the reason for the movement of the ships of war, and explained that the Governor would have been glad to accord him an interview, were it not for the regulations of the Chinese Empire, which did not permit "Commanders-General of vessels of war" to enter the port, and that Captain Elliot's communications had been refused, merely because he had not submitted them as petitions in the customary manner.

Sir Frederick replied to this letter on the 5th August, stating that he had come to demand an explanation of the insult offered to the British flag, and that the movement of the ships was not connected with Captain Elliot's affairs, and requesting that officers might be sent to discuss the matter.

The Chinese Admiral sent at once the captain of a war junk and another officer, who disavowed in writing any intention to insult or annoy the Commander-in-Chief, and gave an assurance to the effect that the persons, who had fired on and boarded the passage boat, had acted without orders, and that they would be punished. Sir Frederick accepted this apology; said that, as no offence was intended, he did not wish anyone to be punished, and announced his intention of returning at once to Tongkoo, and of remaining there until the wind was favourable for his departure from China. He explained that frequent visits from British ships of war might be expected in future, as the Company had ceased to trade, and it was the custom of the British nation to look after its subjects in foreign countries, and see that they were not insulted and that disturbances did not take place among them. The Chinese officers made some complaint regarding the conduct of British subjects; and Sir Frederick informed them that merchant ships were subject to the civil authority, and referred them to Captain Elliot; and after an exchange of civilities the officers took their leave.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 13th Oct. 1838, and enclosures; pages 319 and 320 of the correspondence.

The satisfactory relations thus established continued up to the time of the Commander-in-Chief's departure. A Chinese officer visited the "Wellesley" in August to inquire when the ships would depart; and Sir Frederick, on the 29th of that month, wrote a letter to the Admiral repeating in handwriting the explanation he had already verbally given of the objects of his visit, and announcing his intention of sailing as soon as the wind should be favourable.

The Admiral sent a civil and courteous reply; apologised for his inability to infringe the rules of his country by paying him a visit; and informed him that he might remain in the "outer seas" for several weeks longer, if he felt so disposed. Officers also were sent by the Admiral on several occasions with complimentary messages to the English flag-ships.

Sir Frederick Maitland left China at the end of September 1838. No cause of offence was given by the officers or men of Her Majesty's ships, and no complaint was made by the Chinese; and Sir Frederick, before leaving, expressed to the Admiral his sense of the courtesy and civility with which he had been treated. The presence of the ships, however, did not induce the Governor to modify his attitude, or make any concession; and the Commander-in-Chief does not appear to have intervened in the matter of Captain Elliot's relations with the Government, or to have taken any action in regard to the river traffic in which many of the foreigners at Canton were at the time actively engaged.

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 30th March 1839; page 318 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot's conduct, in connexion with these proceedings, received the approval of Her Majesty's Government.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 8th Dec. 1838; page 323 of the correspondence.

The lax manner in which the orders, issued for the suppression of the opium traffic, had been executed at Canton brought down upon the Governor the censure of the Emperor; and towards the end of the year 1838, the Provincial Government began to display greater energy. On the 3rd December, two Chinese coolies, who were landing some boxes of opium belonging to Mr. James Innes, were arrested immediately in front of the factory where he resided. The coolies confessed, under torture, that the opium was the property of Mr. Innes, and were understood to say

that it had been brought by an American ship, the "Thomas Perkins." The Hong merchants were summoned by the Governor on the 4th, and were, it was said, kept before him for several hours upon their knees, with the instruments of torture laid out before them; and the merchant, who had secured the American ship, was sent down to Whampoa, and there suffered the punishment of the Cangue for his supposed complicity in the smuggling enterprise. The Governor also issued orders, which were announced in writing by the Hong merchants to all the foreign traders, requiring the departure from China of Mr. Innes, and of the American ship, which was supposed to have brought the opium, within three days, and directing that all foreign trade should be stopped until his orders had been complied with. The merchants at the same time announced their intention of pulling down the house in which Mr. Innes lived, if he did not depart within the time specified. The foreign traders, irrespective of nationality, with what Captain Elliot described as "becoming spirit," expressed their determination to resist any such proceeding; and the Hong merchants soon changed their minds, and recalled their threats. The period, fixed for the departure of Mr. Innes and of the American ship, was also subsequently extended by the Governor to ten days. All trade was, however, suspended with effect from the 5th of December.

Mr. Innes met the threat of destruction of his house with a notice to Howqua, the senior merchant, that he, on behalf of the owners, would hold the merchants liable, jointly and severally, for any damage that might result to the goods, there deposited, in consequence of their proceedings, and submitted officially a copy of the notice to Captain Elliot, in case any of the persons, whose property was in peril, should be disposed to seek the intervention of the British Government. Personally, however, he appears to have been content to arrange matters in his own way without any assistance.

Captain Elliot appealed to him on the 11th of December to place himself in communication with the Governor, and offer to abide by any decision which the officers of his nation might arrive at, after examination of the charges against him; but he declined to accede to the proposal, not doubting, as he said, that Captain Elliot would be glad to be freed from the trouble, provided that the coolies were saved from torture and the trade was not obstructed. He accordingly forwarded a declaration to the Governor, confessing that the opium was his and was landed from his boat, and absolving the coolies, on the ground that they were ignorant of the contents of the boxes; and left Canton for Macao, within the period specified, on the 16th of December 1839. The "Thomas Perkins" also was apparently constrained to leave the port.

In the meantime, on the 12th December, an attempt was made by the authorities to strangle a Chinese, who had been convicted of selling opium, in the square immediately in front of the foreign factories, with the evident intention of intimidating the foreigners, and inducing them to abandon the traffic. Preparations were made for the execution, but the foreigners determined to resist what was characterised by Captain Elliot as an "unprecedented and intolerable outrage." The apparatus was removed, and the Chinese officer in charge of the policemen present was requested to inform the higher authorities of the intention of the foreigners to prevent the execution. The officer offered no resistance to the removal of the apparatus; and the crowd of Chinese spectators which had collected was apparently not inimical to the foreigners. The crowd, however, was dense, and the injudicious attempts made by certain rash individuals to drive the people away, by pushes and blows, aroused their indignation, and led to a serious riot. The foreigners were assailed by showers of stones, and were driven into their factories, and the gate of one factory was forced open. The attitude of the crowd was for some hours very threatening, but it was eventually dispersed by Chinese soldiers; and no further disturbance occurred.

The Chinese, whose proposed execution had been the cause of the riot, was executed the same day at one of the usual places appointed for the purpose. Captain Elliot was at Whampoa, but as soon as the news of this affair reached him, he started at once for Canton. The riot was over, and the execution had taken place before he arrived; but, immediately upon his arrival, he sent word to the Governor, through the Hong merchants, that he was prepared to assist in the restoration of order; and if countenanced by him, would not allow any question of form to interfere with his endeavours to effect this result.

The British were supported in their resistance to the execution, as they had been in the determination to oppose the destruction of Mr. Innes' house, by some, if not all, of the other foreigners resident in Canton; but the fact was not stated clearly in the first reports, submitted by Captain Elliot, of the proceedings, from the seizure of

Enclosures 1 and 2 in letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd Jan. 1839; pages 329 and 330 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 3 in the above letter page 330 of the correspondence. Enclosures 4, 5, and 6 in the above letter; page 331 of the correspondence. Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd Jan. 1839; pages 326-329 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 13th Dec. 1839; page 324 of the correspondence.

Letter from
Lord Palmerston
to Captain Elliot,
dated 15th
April 1839; page
325 of the
correspondence.

Mr. Innes' opium on the 3rd December up to the time of his own arrival in Canton on the 13th. Lord Palmerston, therefore, on the receipt of these reports, desired Captain Elliot to state specifically, in case the point had escaped notice in his subsequent despatches, whether the foreigners who had resisted the execution of the Chinese were British subjects only, or the subjects of other countries also; and inquired "upon what alleged ground of right *they* considered themselves entitled to interfere with the arrangements made by the Chinese officers of justice for carrying into effect, in a Chinese town, the orders, of their superior authorities."

Letter from
Captain Elliot to
Lord Palmerston,
dated 2nd
Jan. 1839;
pages 326-329 of
the correspon-
dence.

The Governor of Canton does not appear to have vouchsafed any reply to the message sent to him by Captain Elliot on the 12th January; but the senior Hong merchants complained bitterly of the position in which they were placed, owing to the existence of the opium traffic within the river, not only at Whampoa, but also at Canton, and in the factories of which they were the proprietors; and declared that they would not carry on the legitimate trade, until this dangerous and objectionable traffic should have been effectually suppressed.

Enclosure 7 in
the above letter;
pages 331 and
332 of the corre-
spondence.

Captain Elliot resolved therefore to appeal to the whole foreign community, and convened a public meeting for the purpose on the 17th December. At the meeting, which was attended by other foreigners as well as by British subjects, Captain Elliot pointed out the danger and disgrace of the river traffic; explained that he proposed to issue a public notice, requiring all British boats engaged in it to leave the river within three days, and that if the notice were not complied with, he should offer his assistance to the Local Government to put the traffic down; and appealed to British subjects and to foreigners alike to support him in his attempt to suppress so serious an evil.

Enclosure 8 in
the above letter;
page 332 and 333
of the correspon-
dence

The appeal, does not seem to have produced much, if any, result; and on the 18th December Captain Elliot issued a notice of the nature indicated, requiring British craft employed in the traffic, to leave the river and desist from the business within three days, and warning British subjects engaged in it that any person feloniously causing the death of a Chinese would be liable to capital punishment, and that the British Government would not interpose, if vessels engaged in the traffic were seized and confiscated by the Chinese, and that forcible resistance to any such seizure would render the person concerned liable to the same penalties as resistance to duly constituted authority in England.

Captain Elliot's pacific policy, and readiness to submit himself to the orders of the Chinese authorities, were unpopular with many of his countrymen at Canton; and the persons engaged in the traffic were not disposed to abandon their profits without a struggle. The notice therefore was unheeded; and on the 23rd December, the smuggling boats were still lying at Whampoa, and some of them were flying the English flag.

Enclosure 9 in
the above letter;
pages 333 and 334
of the correspon-
dence.

Captain Elliot then addressed the Governor, informing him of the notice which had been issued, and of its failure to effect the removal of the boats engaged in the traffic, and requesting that he would issue such orders through the City Governor and the Commandant of Police, as would satisfy the persons concerned that the notice had received his authority. "The undersigned," he wrote, "is without doubt that the continuance of this traffic in the inner waters will involve the whole foreign community at Canton in some disastrous difficulty; and his gracious Sovereign would not interpose for the protection of their property, on the behalf of those British subjects, who continue to practise these dangerous disorders, after your Excellency's public warning shall be authentically made known to them through the officers of their own nation. It is further to be desired, that your Excellency would command the honourable officers, who may be employed on this occasion, to proceed to the station of the boats with the undersigned, in order that the peaceful and well-disposed may not be involved in the same consequences as the perverse.

"He can assure your Excellency, that he has not requested that the communications should be forwarded through the honourable officers from any vain or idle pretensions on his own part, but only that he may be able to impress on his own countrymen, in cases of emergency, that he is acting at your Excellency's requisition, that his representations may be more effectual, and that his own Government may see that he has had proper authority, as well as urgent occasion, for his proceedings.

"Neither does the undersigned desire to trouble your Excellency upon trifling affairs. So soon as the intercourse is renewed, all such matters can be conducted between the official Hong merchants and himself, agreeably to your Excellency's further arrangements."

Trade was suspended, and the emergency was great; and Captain Elliot subscribed the address as a petition, requesting the Governor to notify that this was the mode of address used by Chinese officers, even of the second (*sic*) rank, in order that it might be clear to the British Government that he had acted upon "admissible principles."

An appeal also was made to the Governor to pardon the two coolies who had been apprehended for landing the opium at Canton, on the ground that Mr. Innes' own statement showed that they were innocent.

The Governor, though he grandiloquently said that the smuggling boats did not trouble him one iota, was prepared to make some concession to secure Captain Elliot's co-operation in the suppression of the river traffic; and he accordingly, in an edict dated 26th December, directed the City Governor and the Commandant of Police to communicate his orders on the occasion, as a special case. "The request," he said in the edict, "is therefore granted, and the Prefect (City Governor) and Commandant of Kwang Chow shall be directed, in the adoption of modified measures suited to the occasion, to give you sealed commands, so that you may have authority for proceeding in obedience thereto. But hereafter, in any affairs wherein you are concerned, commands shall continue to be received through the medium of the senior Hong merchants. The present measure must not be drawn forward as a precedent."

Enclosure 10
the above letter :
pages 334-336 of
the corre-
spondence.

On the "petition" question the Governor evaded the point raised by Captain Elliot. "With reference," he wrote, "to documents presented by foreign countries to officers of the Celestial Empire, on any affairs, all others are required to use the term 'Pin.' This is one of the fixed statutes regarding intercourse between the central and foreign nations, and a rule, therefore, which it is, in an especial degree, impossible to overleap. The Superintendent aforesaid, not being a blind and unenlightened man, how can he plead ignorance of this? Besides, the Sovereign of his nation has ever been reverentially compliant. And if you, a subject and servant of that Sovereign, show that you indeed estimate the sentiments felt, and carefully and diligently fulfil your duties conformably to them, you will receive a high meed of praise. How can your well-doing be found fault with as being wrong?"

He gave, however, a distinct assurance that trade would be permitted as soon as the smuggling craft should have left the river; and informed Captain Elliot that it was unnecessary to intercede on behalf of the coolies, who had been sent for trial to the Commissioner of Justice.

The orders, issued on the subject of the river traffic, were communicated by the City Governor and the Commandant of Police in the following terms:—"The Prefect and Commandant having received this document proceed to give commands, which when the said Superintendent Elliot receives, he must forthwith conform to. He must direct that the foreign boats of all nations, every one of them, leave the river within three days; he must not allow them to linger thereafter for a single instant. Should any offer resistance, he must, on the one hand, expel them with severity, and, on the other hand, make representation, that measures may be taken in consequence. He must also, for the future, give pressing attention to the duty of restraining the foreigners of every nation, and of preventing boats and ships from bringing opium, or other prohibited commodities, into the river."

Captain Elliot acknowledged this communication on the 28th December. He again explained, that he had used the character "Pin" on his addresses, because by the rules of the Chinese Empire subordinate officers used that character in their addresses to their superiors, and it was therefore reasonable that he should conform to the usage; and requested that in future, in all matters of importance, communications might be made to him through the City Governor and the Commandant of Police, as otherwise he would not be in a position to act upon them.

Enclosure 11 in
the above letter ;
page 336 of the
correspondence.

To this request the Governor acceded. "With reference," he wrote in an edict to the Hong merchants, dated 29th December 1838, "to the matter of his present address, as above stated, when hereafter there shall be any really important matter, wherein it may be requisite for the said Superintendent to act in concert, it will of course be fitting to make an arrangement requiring the Prefect and Commandant aforesaid to give him directions. For such matters, as are of an ordinary nature, the old regulations still subsist, and in conformity with them, commands must still be received through the medium of the senior Hong merchants. The Superintendent aforesaid must not, indeed, in opposition to these regulations, make any idle requests."

Enclosure 12 in
the above letter ;
pages 336 and 337
of the corre-
spondence.

These orders were enjoined upon Captain Elliot by Howqua, the senior merchant, on the 30th December; but he, placed, (by command as he said), the edict with the Governor's seal in Captain Elliot's hands, to satisfy him as to its authenticity.

Letter from
Captain Elliot to
Lord Palmerston,
dated 2nd
Jan. 1839 ;
pages 326-329 of
the correspon-
dence.

Captain Elliot accepted the concession made as sufficient, hoisted again the British flag at Canton, and took action at once against the smuggling craft, with the result that, on the 31st December, he was able to report to the Governor, through the senior merchant, the departure of all the boats from Whampoa.

Enclosure 14 in the above letter; pages 337 and 338 of the correspondence.

On the same day also he issued an official notice to British subjects at Canton; informing them that the Governor had consented to communicate with him direct on all important business under the seals of the City Governor and the Commandant of Police; explaining once more the reason for his proceedings, and reminding them that the India and China Trade Act provided them with a legal remedy for any illegalities he might inadvertently commit, and that it was his duty to transmit to the Secretary of State any complaint, or appeal, they might wish to make against his proceedings. "After," he said, "the most deliberate reconsideration of this course of traffic, (which he heartily hopes has ceased for ever,) the Chief Superintendent will once more declare his own opinion, that in its general effects it was intensely mischievous to every branch of the trade, that it was rapidly staining the British character with deep disgrace, and finally that it exposed the vast public and private interests involved in the peaceful maintenance of our regular commercial intercourse with this Empire, to imminent jeopardy."

"Thus profoundly impressed, (and after the failure of his own public entreaties and injunctions,) the Chief Superintendent feels that he would have betrayed his duty to his gracious Sovereign and his country, if he had hesitated, beyond the period he had formerly fixed, effectually to separate Her Majesty's Government from any direct or implied countenance of this dangerous irregularity. Looking steadily at its effects on British interests and British character, he had further resolved to shrink from no responsibility in drawing it to a conclusion; and he will as firmly use all lawful means in his power to prevent its recurrence. It is a source of great support to him, that the general body of the whole community, settled at Canton, strongly concur with him in the deprecation of this peculiar mischief, and he has not failed to afford Her Majesty's Government the satisfaction of knowing that such is the case."

Letters from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd Jan. 1839; pages 326-329 of the correspondence.

It is significant of the feeling, with which Captain Elliot's policy was regarded by some of his countrymen at Canton, that he deemed it inexpedient to publish with the above notice those portions of his correspondence with the Governor, which referred to the manner in which his intercourse with the authorities should in future be conducted; and the request, which he made to the Governor, to direct the officers employed in the duty of removing the smuggling craft from the river, to proceed with him to their place of anchorage, brought down upon him, as he said, a torrent of censure in the Canton newspapers. Captain Elliot's presence on the occasion was no doubt required to prevent any possibility of a conflict between the smugglers and the preventive officers, but it was natural enough that men, who had identified themselves with Lord Napier's views and methods, should have seen much to criticise in Captain Elliot's proceedings.

Enclosure 13 in the above letter; page 337 of the correspondence.

Letters from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 31st December 1838 and 2nd Jan. 1839; pages 325-329 of the correspondence.

On the 1st January 1839, the senior Hong merchant announced to Captain Elliot the orders of the Governor to re-open the trade, and business was resumed.

In his letters to Lord Palmerston, describing the measures he had taken to suppress the river traffic and to induce the Governor of Canton to re-open the trade, Captain Elliot claimed that, in gaining the Governor's consent to communication with him on all important subjects under the seals of the City Governor and the Commandant of Police, he had obtained a substantial concession, and justified the submission of his addresses as "Pin," or petitions, upon the ground of expediency. "I made up my mind," he wrote, "to incur the responsibility of making my communications under the character 'Pin,' because I was sensible that it was vain to hope this Government would consent to give way upon such a point, so long as there was an absence of really pressing necessity; and, in that situation of affairs, I am as sure the change would pass without difficulty, and probably without comment. Indeed, I felt I could shape my own proceedings on the present occasion in such a manner as would necessarily involve the principle that British officers should inter-communicate upon a footing of equality with Native officers of the same ranks; and more than that, I am afraid it will be impossible to get from this Government without driving it to extremities upon matters of form."

He argued also once more that the idea conveyed by the word "Pin" was rather that of a "respectful report" than a petition.

He was not, as he showed, insensible to the fact that, in the communication which he received from the City Governor and the Commandant of Police, these

officers issued orders to him on their own account, and did not merely announce formally the Governor's orders; but he considered it expedient to make no objection on this score, and to wait for some more favourable opportunity to address these officers and set the matter right. "With," as he wrote, "the essential point in my hand, I felt that it would be unwise to risk its complete accomplishment by difficulties upon what, I am well aware, are the mere tricks of wordy assumption, so characteristic of Chinese negotiation, and which I can set to rights without hazard on some future and more favourable occasion."

The Governor's orders, it may be added, left the exact nature of the concession, which he was prepared to make, somewhat obscure; but, from the words used, it would seem that he contemplated an issue of orders by the City Governor and the Commandant rather than a formal communication by them of his orders. Captain Elliot, however, may possibly have been right in his interpretation of the Governor's intentions.

The explanation, which he gave of the reasons, which had induced him to co-operate in the suppression of smuggling by British subjects within the river shows clearly how strongly Captain Elliot felt in regard to this particular form of the illicit traffic. "It had been clear to me," he wrote, "from the origin of this peculiar branch of the opium traffic, that it must grow to be more and more mischievous to every branch of the trade, and certainly to none more so than to that of opium itself. As the danger and the shame of its pursuit increased, it was obvious that it would fall by rapid degrees into the hands of more and more desperate men; that it would stain the foreign character with constantly aggravating disgrace in the sight of the whole of the better portion of this people; and lastly, that it would connect itself more and more intimately with our lawful commercial intercourse, to the great peril of vast public and private interests. Till the other day, my Lord, I believe there was no part of the world where the foreigner felt his life and property more secure than here in Canton,* but the grave events of the 12th ultimo have left behind a different impression. For a space of near two hours the foreign factories were within the power of an immense and excited mob, the gate of one of them was absolutely battered in, and a pistol was fired out, probably without ball or over the heads of the people, for at least it is certain that nobody fell. If the case had been otherwise, Her Majesty's Government and the British public would have had to learn that the trade and peaceful intercourse with this Empire was indefinitely interrupted by a terrible scene of bloodshed and ruin. And all these desperate hazards have been incurred for the scrambling and, comparatively considered, insignificant gains of a few reckless individuals, unquestionably founding their conduct upon the belief that they were exempt from the operation of all law, British or Chinese.

"I owe it to myself to say that foreseeing the serious consequences that must arise from the further growth of this evil, I wrote more than a year and a half since to the General Chamber of Commerce, moving them to use their best efforts to put it down. It is also an act of similar justice to that body, (and to the great majority of the foreign community settled here,) to state that this peculiar form of the traffic has been practised or countenanced by very few amongst them. But it was extending itself widely amongst persons not forming part of the resident society, and in no long lapse it must have brought to Canton the refuse of all the countries in our neighbourhood."

The spirit of opposition to his proceedings, which had been evinced by a section of his countrymen in Canton, constrained him to append to his reports of these occurrences an appeal to Lord Palmerston to communicate for publication an assurance of his support, and to confer upon him, without delay, more extended and better defined powers for the control of his countrymen in China. "There is certainly," he wrote, "a spirit in active force amongst British subjects in this country, which makes it necessary, for the safety of momentous concerns, that the officer on the spot should be known to stand without blame in the estimation of Her Majesty's Government; and it is not less needful that he should be forthwith vested with defined and adequate powers for the reasonable control of men, whose rash conduct cannot be left to the operation of Chinese laws without the utmost inconvenience and risk, and whose impunity is alike injurious to British character and dangerous to British interests."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 2nd Jan. 1839; pages 339 and 340 of the correspondence.

* This may have been true in regard to the suburb of Canton in which the foreign traders were permitted to reside, and in which as tenants and lessees of the Hong merchants' houses, they were in a measure under their direct protection. The city, however, was closed to foreigners; and numerous cases occurred, during the time of the East India Company, in which foreigners were assaulted by natives in the neighbourhood of Canton without any provocation.

The tacit assent of the Chinese Government to any arrangements, that might be made, for the control of British subjects, was he said, certain; but any previous negotiation on the subject with the Governor would merely create suspicion as to the intentions of the British Government; and as an illustration of the difficulty and danger of the position, he added that, until he was differently instructed, he should hold it to be his "duty to resist to the last the seizure and punishment of a British subject by the Chinese law, be his crime what it might." "In fact, my Lord," he concluded, "if Her Majesty's officer is to be of any use for the purposes of just protection; if the well-founded hope of improving things honourable and established is not to be sacrificed to the chances, which may cast up, by goading this Government into some sudden and violent assertion of its own authority, there is certainly no time to be lost in providing for the defined and reasonable control of Her Majesty's subjects in China."

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Captain Elliot, dated 13th June 1839; page 344 of the correspondence.

Lord Palmerston's reply to these letters was written on the 13th June 1839. "With reference," he wrote, "to such of these despatches as detail the circumstances, which led to an interruption of the trade for a short period in December last, and the steps which you took in consequence, with a view to the re-opening of the trade and to the re-establishment of your official communications with the Chinese authorities, I have to signify to you the entire approbation of Her Majesty's Government of your conduct on those matters. But I have at the same time to instruct you not to omit to avail yourself of any proper opportunity to press for the substitution of a less objectionable character than the character 'Pin' on the superscription of the communications which you may have occasion to address to the Viceroy."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 21st Jan. 1839; page 342 of the correspondence.

The trade was not interfered with throughout January 1839, but a crisis was fast approaching. The Provincial Government continued its efforts for the suppression of the opium traffic, and proceedings were instituted against consumers as well as importers and vendors of opium. The severity of these measures produced, as Captain Elliot reported, a corresponding degree of desperate adventure upon the part of the smugglers, and the illicit traffic, though checked, was not suppressed.

Proclamation issued by the Governor and Deputy Governor to the foreign merchants of all nations, in Jan. 1839; pages 345-347 of the correspondence.

The unfortunate coolies, who were arrested for real, or supposed, complicity in Mr. Innes' attempt to smuggle opium into Canton, appear to have been executed, and the Emperor and his advisers were unquestionably, by this time, in desperate earnest. Towards the end of January, a proclamation was issued direct to the foreign merchants of all nations by the Governor and Deputy Governor of Canton; informing them that the Emperor had firmly resolved to suppress the importation and use of opium and had recently appointed an officer of high rank to take all measures that might be necessary for the purpose; ordering them to at once "wash out their past defilements," send away the receiving-ships, and abstain from all further dealings in the drug; and threatening that, if they did not comply, a proposal would be made to the Emperor for the permanent and complete prohibition of the foreign commerce. "The Great Emperor," they said, "has just now appointed a high officer as his Special Commissioner, to repair to Canton in order to examine and adopt measures in reference to the affairs of the seaports. From morn to eve his arrival may hourly be looked for. His purpose is to cut off utterly the source of this noxious abuse, to strip bare and root up this enormous evil; and though this axe should break in his hand, or the boat should sink from beneath him, yet will he not stay his efforts till the work of purification be accomplished."

Letters from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 30th Jan. and 8th Feb. 1839; pages 342-344 of the correspondence.

For reasons that can only be surmised, this proclamation was not officially communicated by the Governor to Captain Elliot, and the issue of orders direct to the foreigners by the Governor and the Deputy Governor, an unusual though not an unprecedented proceeding, was evidently intended to impress them with a conviction of the earnestness of the Government.

On the 30th January also Howqua, the senior Hong merchant, warned Captain Elliot that strong measures might be expected on the arrival of the Special Commissioner, and expatiated on the evils of the opium trade, particularly of the river traffic, which had been recently suppressed.

"There seems," wrote Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston on that date, "no longer any room to doubt that the Court has firmly determined to suppress, or, more probably, most extensively check the opium trade. The immense, and, it must be said, most unfortunate increase of the supply during the last four years, the rapid growth of the East Coast trade, and the continued drain of the silver, have no doubt greatly alarmed the Government; but the manner of the rash course of traffic within the river has probably contributed most of all to impress the urgent necessity of arresting the

“growing audacity of the foreign smugglers, and preventing their associating themselves with the desperate and lawless of their own large cities.

“In the excited temper of this extraordinary Government it would be unsafe indeed to speculate upon the particular measures they may pursue, but, at least, I am sure that my own altered position and the course I took, last month, with respect to the forced trade within the river, will give much weight to my remonstrances in any moment of emergency.”

Captain Elliot's conviction of the sincerity of the Chinese Government in its measures to suppress the trade was not, it may be added, shared by the opium traders, and the quantity of imported opium from India was apparently not diminished.

The proclamation to the foreigners was followed by the public execution at Canton of a Chinese for opium smuggling, in the square in front of the factories where they resided. The foreigners were overawed by the presence of a considerable body of troops, and the execution, though keenly resented, was not resisted.

The Superintendent was at Macao, where he had gone to confer with the Captain of H.M.S. “Larne,” but Mr. Johnston, the Deputy Superintendent, struck the English flag as a protest, and the flags of other European nations also were lowered. Captain Elliot started for Canton as soon as he received the intelligence, and arrived there on the 2nd March. On the 4th he issued a public notice to British subjects informing them that, in his opinion, the object of the execution was, “not only to intimidate, but to degrade, and render hateful, the whole foreign community in the sight of the native population,” and that he intended to represent the matter in this light to the Secretary of State; and submitted an address to the Governor requesting, on behalf of the British Government, that he would be pleased to direct the discontinuance of executions of native criminals in the vicinity of the foreigners' houses in the future. “The undersigned is afraid,” he wrote, “that it would be impossible to stay the hands of every excited individual, in such a crisis of intense agitation, as another execution before these factories would produce; and one fatal blow might lead to death, destruction of property, and disturbance of the lower orders of the native population, which the most anxious efforts of the honourable officers could not prevent.”

On the 9th March the Governor sent a message to the effect that he did not propose to reply to this address; and, as the trade was not interrupted, Captain Elliot, after again assuring British subjects of his intention to report the occurrence, with a strong expression of opinion, that the lives and properties of the whole foreign community would be imperilled by a repetition of such proceedings, returned to Macao, to which place, it was supposed, the measures of the Imperial Commissioner would be first directed. From Macao, on the 12th March, Captain Elliot again appealed to the Governor to forward to him, for the sake of the peace and goodwill, which had subsisted so long, a “calming declaration, in order that he might report to the high officers of his own nation the needlessness of immediate and direct appeals to the great Emperor for protection;” but no notice was taken of the communication.

A protest by the Canton Chamber of Commerce against the execution was met by a contemptuous denial of the right of foreigners to criticise the proceedings of the Government.

Lin, the High Imperial Commissioner, charged, as he said himself, with the settlement “of the affairs of the outer frontier,” arrived at Canton in the month of March, and, in a few days after his arrival, commenced his measures for the complete annihilation of the opium trade.

To the Hong merchants he issued an edict on the 18th of the month, pointing out that, since 1816, they had been made responsible, by the orders of the Emperor, for preventing the importation of opium in foreign ships; that bonds had been regularly given by them to the effect that ships arriving in the port had brought no opium, though they must have been well aware of its transshipment outside at Lintin, and of its clandestine importation even within the river; taunting them with their increasing civility and subservience to the foreign merchants, and directing them to communicate to the foreigners the orders, which he was then issuing, and to arrange for their execution within three days; threatening that, in the event of their failure to arrange matters satisfactorily, he would “solicit forthwith the Royal death-warrant, and select for execution one or two of the most unworthy of their number.”

The following passage in the edict shows clearly how closely the measures, taken at this time, to prohibit the introduction and use of opium, were connected with the drain

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on the 6th April, and finished on the 4th May, 1839; pages 385-391 of the correspondence.
Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on the 30th March, and finished on the 3rd April, 1839, pages 355-359 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 5 in the above letter; page 380 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 6 in the above letter; page 361 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 7 in the above letter; page 361 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 8 in the above letter; page 362 of the correspondence.

Evidence of Mr. Jardine before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the China Trade in 1840, Q. 1610.

Enclosure 2 in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 22nd March 1839; pages 352-355 of the correspondence.

of native and foreign silver, to which the trade in the drug gave rise. "Thus it is in regard to the exportation of the pure silver beyond the sea, a thing so very strictly prohibited. Did the foreigners really barter goods for goods, what silver would there be for them to carry away? But, more than this, the Hong merchants once represented, that each year, in addition to the interchange of commodities by barter, the foreigners require always to bring into the inner land foreign money to the amount of four or five millions of dollars. Were this really the case, how comes it that of late years the foreign ships have brought into the port no new foreign money, and that the foreign silver, existing in the country, has daily been diminishing in quantity? And how happens it, that among the Hong merchants there have been bankrupts, whose debts to foreigners have exceeded a million of money? It is clear that these four words 'goods bartered for money' are totally and altogether false.

"There is one thing yet more extraordinary. These Hong merchants, sheltering themselves under the memorial of a former Superintendent of Customs, Aa, which requested temporarily, as a trial, that three-tenths of any surplus foreign money should be allowed to be taken away, have acted as though this request had passed into an established law, and have yearly, under cover of this, solicited permission to embark money."

Lin's arrogance and hatred of foreigners also are clear from his taunt to the Hong merchants as to their subservience. "I have heard," he said, "that formerly, when the foreigners came to the factories, they would go in full dress, with swords by their sides, to wait upon the several Hong merchants, and would often meet with a denial, nor would they be seen, or have their visits returned, until after a second visit. But of late years there have been those who will sue to the foreigners for patronage, and will even pass beyond the Custom Houses, or go to Macao to meet them. . . . What sense of shame, indeed, does there yet remain? Though it be true that this has arisen from the conduct of probationary Hong merchants, who have shown the example of such artful demeanour, and that the original merchants, men of property and family, would never have descended to this stage of degradation, yet all now are equally involved in the stench of it, and truly I burn with shame for you."

Edict addressed to the foreigners of all nations; enclosure 1 in the same letter; pages 350-352 of the correspondence.

On the same day he issued his commands direct to the foreigners of all nations. "Let," he said, "our ports once be closed against you, and for what profits can your several nations any longer look? Yet more, our tea and our rhubarb, seeing that should you foreigners be deprived of them, you therein lose the means of preserving life, are without stint or grudge granted to you for exportation, year by year, beyond the seas. Favours never have been greater. Are you grateful for these favours? You must then fear the laws, and in seeking profit for yourselves must not do hurt to others. Why do you bring to our land the opium, which in your lands is not made use of, by it defrauding men of their property, and causing injury to their lives? I find that with this thing you have seduced and deluded the people of China for tens of years past; and countless are the unjust hoards that you have thus acquired. Such conduct rouses indignation in every human heart, and it is utterly inexcusable in the eye of Celestial reason.

"The prohibitions formerly enacted by the Celestial Court against opium were comparatively lax; and it was yet possible to smuggle the drug into the various ports. Of this the Great Emperor, having now heard, his wrath has been fearfully aroused, nor will it rest till the evil be utterly extirpated. Whoever among the people of this inner land deals in opium, or establishes houses for the smoking of it, shall be instantly visited with the extreme penalties of the laws; and it is in contemplation also to render capital also the crime of smoking the drug."

He directed them therefore to at once deliver up for destruction all the opium stored in ships at Lintin and other places; and to execute for the future a bond, containing a declaration in Chinese and in their own language, to the effect that no opium should again be brought to China, and that, in the event of any being imported, the goods of the parties concerned should be confiscated, and they should suffer themselves the extreme penalties of the law, and that such punishment should be willingly submitted to.

He had heard, he said, that foreigners attached great importance to the word good faith; and he promised that, if they would faithfully deliver up all the opium and prevent its future introduction, he would implore the Emperor not merely to condone the past, but also to confer upon them his "Imperial rewards" as an encouragement.

If, however, they should continue obstinate, it would be necessary to include them also "in the severe course of punishment prescribed by the new law."

"I swear," he added, "that I will progress with this matter from its beginning to its ending, and that not a thought of stopping half way shall for a moment be indulged."

"Good foreigners," who had not sold opium, were also invited to come forward, under the offer of rewards, and point out their offending countrymen, and compel them to deliver up their opium; and a term of three days was allowed for the submission of a reply to the edict, and for the execution of the necessary bonds.

Preparations also were made at Macao with the apparent intention of coercing the foreigners in the event of their refusing compliance. A considerable military force was assembled; a number of war junks and other vessels was collected, and a display of old junks for use as fire ships was made at the Bocca Tigris. Alarmed by these preparations, Captain Elliot wrote to the Governor of Canton, and to the Chinese Magistrate of Macao on the 22nd March, inquiring whether it was the purpose of the Governor to make war upon the subjects and ships of Great Britain in China, and asking for an immediate assurance as to the nature of his intentions. "He has," he added, "to declare his readiness to meet the officers of the Provincial Government, and to use his sincere efforts to fulfil the pleasure of the great Emperor, as soon as it is made known to him."

The Imperial Commissioner's orders of the 18th March reached Macao on the same day (22nd March), shortly after the despatch of these communications, with accounts of the measures which he had taken subsequently at Canton; and Captain Elliot at once issued a notice to British subjects informing them that he had no confidence in the disposition of the Government, and requiring all British ships, then at the outer anchorages, to proceed forthwith to Hong Kong, and to there place themselves under the orders of Captain Blake of the "Larne," and prepare to resist any act of aggression on the part of the Chinese. He obtained also a pledge from the Portuguese Governor of Macao, that he would protect, as far as possible, all British subjects, residing in, or resorting to, that settlement from attack, as long as they were not engaged in any traffic at variance with the laws of the Chinese Government. On the 23rd March, he issued at Macao a further notice to British subjects, advising them to leave Canton, as soon as he might be able to obtain passports authorising them to do so, and to remove their property from the ships at Whampoa to the Portuguese settlement, informing them of the assurance of protection given by the Governor, and warning them that if they remained at Canton, contrary to his advice, they would do so upon their own responsibility; and then started for Whampoa for the relief of the British subjects who were in Lin's power, in the provincial city.

The foreign merchants at Canton did not reply, within the prescribed period, to the edict of the Imperial Commissioner, and coercive measures were commenced even before the three days had passed. On the 19th March trade was stopped, and communication with Whampoa and the outside anchorages was prohibited by order; and, after the 21st, all boats were prevented from leaving Canton. The Commissioner's intentions formed the subject of much discussion; and on the evening of the 21st an abortive attempt was made, at the earnest solicitation of the Hong merchants, to satisfy him by an offer to surrender 1,030 chests of opium, on the understanding that the remainder should be sent back to India, and that the foreigners should abstain from trading in the drug in future. The proposal, however, was at once rejected; and on the 22nd the Hong merchants were sent to the house of Mr. Dent,* who was, as Captain Elliot said, one of the most respected of the British merchants at Canton, to request him to go into the city on the following morning. Mr. Dent raised objections, and demanded a guarantee for his personal safety; and the failure of the merchants to induce him to comply brought down upon them the wrath of the Commissioner. Howqua's son and two of the other principal merchants were put into prison, and, on the 23rd, Howqua and a mandarin brother of one of the imprisoned merchants were sent by the Commissioner, with iron chains round their necks, to Mr. Dent's house, to require him to at once appear before the Commissioner. Most of the foreign residents were assembled at the house; and, after some consideration, it was

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on the 30th March, and finished on the 3rd April, 1839; pages 355-359 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 9 in the above letter; page 362 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 22nd March 1839; page 349 of the correspondence; and Enclosure 10 in the letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on the 30th March, and finished on the 3rd April, 1839; pages 363 and 364 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on the 6th April, and finished on the 4th May, 1839; pages 385-387 of the correspondence.

Evidence of Messrs. Inglis, A. Daniell, and A. Matheson before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the China Trade in 1840; and Notes of Proceedings at Canton on 23rd March by Mr. Elmslie, Secretary to the Superintendents; pages 365-367 of the correspondence relating to China; presented to Parliament in 1840.

* Mr. Dent appears to have been popular with the Chinese at Canton, and was Chairman of the Committee, which settled the debts of the Hingtae Hong. The firm of Dent & Co. had taken no part in the river smuggling, but Mr. Dent, it may be noticed, was the third person named by the Sub-Censor Heu Kew. Mr. Jardine, the first, left China at the end of January 1839; and Mr. Innes, the second, was at Macao.

unanimously resolved that Mr. Dent should not comply with the order without a written and sealed guarantee to the effect, that he would be treated with respect, and would be permitted to return to the factories after the interview. The unfortunate Howqua, and the mandarin who accompanied him, expressed their inability to apply for any such guarantee, and a deputation of foreigners was sent to the City Governor, who was at the Consou House, to explain the reasons why Mr. Dent could not comply with the orders. Three subordinate mandarins were then sent, who reiterated the orders for his attendance, and called heaven to witness that they would conduct him to the Commissioner's presence and back again in safety. The opinion of all the foreigners present was again taken, and was again unanimous, to the effect that he should not enter the city without a sealed guarantee from the Commissioner himself. Finding argument useless, the mandarins declared that they could not leave without Mr. Dent, and must use force to compel him to accompany them. Threats, however, were not more efficacious than arguments; and, after waiting some time, the mandarins proposed that a deputation should accompany them to the presence of the City Governor. This was agreed to, and several gentlemen went with them to the Consou House, and explained to the City Governor, and other mandarins, that Mr. Dent could not be permitted to enter the city without a guarantee. This, the City Governor and others said, could not even be asked for; and they then suggested that Mr. Morrison, the Chinese Secretary to the Superintendent, should accompany them to the city. Mr. Morrison, however, had already been detained for some time against his will at the Consou House, and, as there was reason to believe that he would be kept as a hostage, the suggestion was negatived.

Mr. Inglis, one of Mr. Dent's partners, was then approached, and he and three other gentlemen agreed to enter the city with the City Governor. Mr. Inglis, and the other gentlemen, one of whom, Mr. Thom, was acquainted with the Chinese language, were taken to a temple in the city, and, after, some delay, were ushered into the presence of the Chinese Commissioners of Finance, Justice, Salt, and Grain, the four officers of the Local Government who were next in rank to the Deputy Governor. The City Governor* also was present.

The Commissioners inquired why Mr. Dent had not attended, and Mr. Inglis and Mr. Thom replied frankly that he was afraid to enter the city for fear that he would be detained to force him to surrender his opium, of which he had a large quantity. The Judicial Commissioner said that Lin, the Imperial Commissioner, knew Mr. Dent was a large capitalist, and he accordingly wished to admonish him, and inquire into his business, and that if he did not willingly attend, he would be dragged out of his house by force, and would assuredly be killed. Eventually, after a detention of some hours, the deputation was permitted to leave, and returned safely to the factories under an escort, arriving there between nine and ten o'clock at night.

The Hong merchants were waiting at the factories, when Mr. Inglis and the others arrived, and insisted that Mr. Dent must comply with the order, and go into the city on the following day. The 24th, however, was Sunday; and a plea to this effect was successful in procuring a respite; and 10 a.m. on the Monday was fixed as the hour for his attendance.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on the 30th March, and finished on the 3rd April, 1839; pages 355-359 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot reached Whampoa, at 4 p.m., on the 24th, and learnt there that all intercourse with Canton had been cut off for two days. He, therefore, put on his uniform; sought out the principal mandarin on duty; informed him that his boat was unarmed, and that he was resolved to proceed to Canton, even at the sacrifice of his life, and requested that he would instruct the officers under his orders not to fire upon him. The mandarin tried to dissuade him from the attempt, but abstained apparently from any active opposition, and Captain Elliot proceeded in the Superintendent's cutter to the usual anchorage, about four miles from the factories. He then got into the gig of the "Larne," and, partly by the aid of argument, and partly by the speed of his boat, passed successfully through the blockading junks, and landed at the factories about 6 p.m. on the same evening.

His first act was to hoist the British flag, which had been struck since the execution on the 26th February. He then took Mr. Dent under his own personal protection, informing the Hong merchants that he was prepared to allow him to enter the city, provided that he was permitted to accompany him, and that the Commissioner would give a sealed guarantee that they should not be separated for a moment.

* The status of this officer, through whom, or by whom, orders were to be issued on important occasions to the British Superintendent, may be estimated from the fact that he did not on this occasion sit in line with the four Commissioners, but occupied a bench in a different part of the room.

No notice was taken of this communication, and after Captain Elliot's arrival, Lin appears to have turned his attention to him, and to have abandoned the idea of proceeding against Mr. Dent. A persecution of the entire foreign community also was commenced. On the evening of the 24th supplies of food and drinking water were cut off; the native servants were taken away, and a rigorous blockade was enforced. An arc of boats was formed in the river in front of the factories; the square and the ground in rear of the factories were occupied by a military force, and the whole body of Hong merchants, and a strong guard with swords drawn, were stationed in front of the hall occupied by the British Superintendent. Many of the old residents, however, had laid in a stock of provisions, in anticipation of a stoppage of supplies; and it was customary to keep jars of drinking water in the factories, so that no actual privation from want of food or water appears to have been experienced. The number of persons confined was about 230.

On the 25th March, Captain Elliot applied to [the Governor for the grant of passports within three days, permitting all British subjects to leave Canton, and to remove their property with them, within 10 days of the date of issue of the passports. "Elliot," he wrote, "cannot conceal from your Excellency his deep and sorrowful conviction, that the peace between the two countries is placed in imminent jeopardy by the late unexplained and alarming proceedings of this Government."

The Governor, whose authority appears to have been entirely superseded, forwarded this address to the Commissioner, and thought it expedient to make a more than ordinarily extravagant display of arrogance. "In regard," he wrote, to the style "of the address, there is much that cannot be understood. Thus, for instance, the words 'the two countries,' I know not the meaning of. While our Celestial Court has in humble submission to it ten thousand regions, and the heaven-like goodness of the great Emperor overshadows all, the nation aforesaid, and the Americans, have by their trade at Canton during many years, enjoyed, of all those in subjection, the largest measure of favours. And I presume it must be England and America that are conjointly named 'the two countries.' But the meaning of the language is greatly wanting in perspicuity."

The Commissioner, on receipt of the address, briefly directed the City Governor and Commandant of Police to issue orders requiring implicit obedience to the mandate already given; and these officers then ordered Captain Elliot to take the opium from the receiving ships, and deliver it up to the Government, and said that, when this was done, passports might be applied for.

These orders were issued and received on the 25th March; and, on the same date, Captain Elliot again addressed the Governor; declared himself to be sincerely anxious to meet, as far as possible, the wishes of the Emperor, and requested that an officer might be at once deputed to discuss and peaceably settle the question. He asked also that the supply of provisions might be permitted, and that the native servants might be allowed to return, so as to restore confidence and tranquillity, and that he might be permitted to communicate with the British subjects and ships at Whampoa. "Elliot," he wrote, "has, in all respects, since he filled the station of Superintendent, manifested his earnest desire to keep the peace, and fulfil the pleasure of your Excellency; and, as an officer of his country, he now asks for reasonable treatment for himself and all the men of his nation, and claims your Excellency's confidence in his peaceful dispositions. on this occasion of perilous jeopardy."

The Commissioner appears to have expected that the Superintendent would visit the Consol house and confer personally with the Chinese officers there; and on the evening of the 25th or morning of the 26th March, he issued further orders, admitting that Captain Elliot's request for the deputation of an officer "to enable him clearly and minutely to state matters," was not unreasonable, but complaining of his having remained in concealment throughout the day, though officers had been specially deputed to confer with him, and accusing him of having attempted to abscond with Mr. Dent, and of having persuaded the foreigners not to surrender their opium.

"Had not," he said, "the precautionary measures been most strict and complete, almost had the hare escaped, the wolf run off. Elliot's conduct being thus exactly the same as that of an artful schemer, can he yet be regarded fit for the office of Superintendent." . . . "At this time, the offence of contumacious resistance and opposition is turned away from Dent and fixed on Elliot."

"It is needful," he continued, "that he (Elliot) should come to have a fear of crime, and a purpose to repent and amend; that he should give clear commands to all the foreigners to obey the orders, requiring them to take the opium on board the store-

Evidence of Messrs. Inglis and Daniell before the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon China trade in 1840.

Enclosure 13 in the letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston commenced on the 30th March, and finished on the 3rd April 1839; page 367 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 15 in the above letter; pages 368 and 369 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 14 in the above letter; pages 367 and 368 of the correspondence.

Enclosures 16 and 17 in the above letter; page 370-372 of the correspondence.

“ ships, and speedily to deliver it up. Then not only the compradores of individuals and of ships will be all restored as usual; but I, the Commissioner, with your Excellency, the Governor, and the Lieutenant-Governor, will assuredly cease to go back into the past, and will lay our entreaties before the great Emperor, that favours may be shown beyond the bounds of law.”

Enclosure 18 in the above letter; page 373 of the correspondence.

These orders were communicated to Captain Elliot by the City Governor and two other magistrates, with further commands from them directing him to pay immediate obedience. Harassed by anxiety and responsibility, and impressed also, apparently, with the conviction that the Chinese Government had put itself entirely in the wrong by Lin's proceedings, Captain Elliot decided to comply with the requisition, and surrender the opium; and on the 27th March he announced this decision direct to the Commissioner. “ Elliot,” he wrote, “ has now had the honour to receive, for the first time, your Excellency's commands, bearing date the 26th day of March, issued by the pleasure of the great Emperor, to deliver over into the hands of honourable officers, to be appointed by your Excellency, all the opium in the hands of British subjects. Elliot must completely fulfil these commands; and he has now respectfully to request that your Excellency will be pleased to indicate the point, to which the ships of his nation, having opium on board, are to proceed, so that the whole may be delivered up.”

Enclosure 19 in the above letter; pages 373 and 374 of the correspondence.

This reply was said by the Commissioner to manifest a “ respectful sense of duty and understanding;” and the City Governor, at his direction, issued orders requiring Captain Elliot to ascertain and report the exact amount of opium in store with a view to its delivery.

Enclosure 20 in the above letter; page 374 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot then issued what he himself described as a “ most momentous circular” to British subjects, requiring them to deliver up to him, for the service of Her Majesty's Government, all the opium which was in their possession, or under their control at that time, upon the coast of China.

“ Now I, the said Superintendent,” he wrote, “ thus constrained by paramount motives affecting the safety of the lives and liberties of all the foreigners here present in Canton, and by other very weighty causes, do hereby, in the name and on the behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, enjoin and require all Her Majesty's subjects now present in Canton, forthwith to make a surrender to me, for the service of Her said Majesty's Government, to be delivered over to the Government of China, of all the opium belonging to them, or British opium under their control; and to hold the British ships and vessels engaged in the trade of opium subject to my immediate direction, and to forward to me, without delay, a sealed list of all the British-owned opium in their respective possessions. And I, the said Chief Superintendent, do now, in the most full and unreserved manner, hold myself responsible, for and on behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, to all and each of Her Majesty's subjects surrendering the said British-owned opium into my hands to be delivered over to the Chinese Government. And I, the said Chief Superintendent, do further specially caution all Her Majesty's subjects here present in Canton, owners of, or charged with the management of opium the property of British subjects, that failing the surrender of the said opium into my hands at or before 6 o'clock this day, I, the said Chief Superintendent, hereby declare Her Majesty's Government wholly free of all manner of responsibility or liability in respect of the said British-owned opium.”

“ And it is specially to be understood that proof of British property, and value of all British opium, surrendered to me agreeably to this notice, shall be determined upon principles and in a manner hereafter to be defined by the British Government.”

Enclosure 21 in the above letter; page 375 of the correspondence.

The notice was complied with by all British subjects then in Canton, and also, it may be said, by Americans who had the control of British opium, and on the following day, March the 28th, Captain Elliot informed the Commissioner that he held himself responsible to deliver up, in such manner as might be appointed, 20,283 chests of opium belonging to the people of his country; and asked him to accept his solemn pledge that each chest should be delivered up as received, as considerable quantities of the opium were at a distance from Canton. He added, however, that he had no power to require men of other nations to surrender any opium that might be in their possession.

Enclosure 22 in the above letter; pages 375 and 376 of the correspondence.

The Commissioner commended the “ sincerity and faithfulness” exhibited, but observed that his orders required the surrender of all opium then in China, and not merely of that stored in the receiving-ships, and that any opium, which was in Canton, or at Whampoa, must also be given up. Orders were issued at the same time to the American, French, and Dutch Consuls to arrange for the surrender of the opium possessed by the merchants of their nations; and Captain Elliot, as

"Superintendent in the foreign factories," was instructed to admonish them, and induce them to comply promptly.

Rules, framed by the Commissioner, Governor, and Deputy-Governor to regulate the time and manner of delivery, were communicated on the same day (28th March). All opium in the foreign factories at Canton was to be made over on the 29th; all at Whampoa on the 30th; and all in the receiving-ships at Lintin, and Macao and at other places in the outer anchorages, between the 31st March and the 2nd April. The British Superintendent and the foreign Consuls were required to write letters, which would be conveyed to the receiving-ships by Chinese officers, directing the persons in charge to make over the opium there stored; and the Commissioner and Governor announced their intention of taking delivery in person of this opium at the Bocca Tigris.

Enclosure 23 in the above letter; page 377 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot, on the receipt of these Rules, wrote to the Commissioner, promising to arrange for the faithful delivery of the opium in the receiving-ships, as soon as he should be set at liberty, and asking him to trust to his "justice and truth, for the proper fulfilment of his engagement." He requested also that the native servants might be allowed to return; that British subjects might be allowed to purchase supplies of food, and that communication between Canton and Macao and the outer anchorages might be permitted; guaranteeing that he, personally, would remain in Canton until all the opium was delivered.

Enclosure 24 in the above letter; page 378 of the correspondence.

"With regard," he said, "to opium at Canton and Whampoa, Elliot and all the men of foreign nations have already taken most severe proceedings, as your Excellency will find by reference to the late records, when it was faithfully reported that all was gone. Elliot has now respectfully to announce to your Excellency, that whilst he, and all the men of his nation, continue prisoners, the disposal of these matters is not in his hands. For according to the customs of his country, the orders of persons in confinement are of no avail; thus the ships will not obey his injunctions' until it be known that he and all the people of his nation are set at liberty."

The Commissioner appears to have been content to drop the question of opium at Canton and Whampoa; but was evidently incensed at the objections made to comply with the orders issued on the subject of the receiving-ships, and directed him to "command plainly all the foreigners with instant speed to prepare letters, and hand them in to Government, to enable it to give commands to all the storeships to deliver up in orderly succession the opium." "The address," he said, "talks too of close restraint, as if it were imprisonment, which is still more laughable. I find that from the 18th March, when the commands were given to all the foreigners to deliver up their opium, everything remained as usual, until the 24th, when you came in a boat to Canton, and that night wished to take Dent and abscond with him. It was after this that cruisers were stationed to examine and observe all that went in and out. It was because you were void of truth and good faith, that it became unavoidably necessary to take preventive steps. As to the compradores and others they are in fact Chinese traitors, who would also suggest absconding and escape. How, then, could the withdrawal of them be permitted? Yesterday, too, when you had made a statement of the amount of opium, I at once conferred upon you a reward of sundry articles of food. Is this the manner in which prisoners are ever treated?"

Enclosure 25 in the above letter; pages 378-380 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot replied, on the 30th March, to this communication, that he had instructed Mr. Johnston, the Deputy Superintendent, to proceed to Lintin, and there make over to the officers of the Chinese Government 20,283 chests of opium; and requested that the licensed passage-boats might be allowed to run, in order that he might proceed to Lintin and carry out the orders.

Enclosure 26 in the above letter; page 380 of the correspondence.

The Commissioner at first demurred to this arrangement, arguing that as Captain Elliot had been able to require British subjects to deliver up all the opium in their possession, he could have no difficulty in issuing orders to the receiving-ships without Mr. Johnston's intervention; directed that the foreigners should write orders for delivery of the opium, as they were in the habit of doing in the ordinary course of business, and that Captain Elliot should see that the letters were written, and should submit them to Government covered by a general order from himself; and promised that trade should be allowed to resume its ordinary course, as soon as the delivery of opium was completed.

Enclosure 27 in the above letter; pages 381 and 382 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot explained that the merchants had made over the opium to him, and had therefore no power to give any orders in regard to it; that Mr. Johnston's assistance was indispensable to enable him to fulfil his engagement, and that the receiving-ships would be brought to the place required, as soon as he was allowed to proceed to Macao and communicate with the officers in command. The Commissioner

Enclosure 28 in the above letter; page 382 of the correspondence.

was requested to accept the immediate surrender of a certain quantity of opium, as evidence of sincerity, and to withdraw the embargo on the trade, and the restrictions which had been placed upon the liberty of foreigners at Canton; and a promise was made that, as soon as this was done, Mr. Johnston should deliver from time to time all the opium in the receiving-ships to the full amount of 20,283 chests.

Enclosure 29 in the above letter; page 388 of the correspondence.

This explanation, and the offer which accompanied it, satisfied the Commissioner; and upon the 2nd April he agreed to allow Mr. Johnston to leave Canton, in charge of Chinese officers, to communicate with the receiving-ships and arrange for the delivery of the opium. His previous orders from the 27th March to the 1st April had been communicated under orders by the City Governor or Prefect in this form—"Choo, Prefect of Kwang Chow Foo, issues commands to the English Superintendent Elliot for his full information," but on this occasion he took the unusual course of addressing Captain Elliot direct, and announced himself the terms he was prepared to make, if the 20,283 chests of opium were duly surrendered in accordance with the Superintendent's assurance. "Having reference," he wrote, "to the request that an amount should be named for prior delivery, as an evidence of sincerity, I have considered that the English opium to be delivered up, amounting to 20,283 chests, cannot indeed be completely surrendered in one or two days, and I have therefore determined on the following terms: that when one-fourth part shall have been delivered, the compradores and servants shall immediately be restored; when one-half shall have been delivered, consideration being had thereto, the passage-boats shall be allowed to apply for passes, and upon examination to run to and fro; when three-fourths shall have been delivered, the removal of the embargo and freedom of trade shall be at once granted; and when the whole shall have been surrendered, everything shall return to its ordinary condition, and a request shall be laid before the throne that encouragement and reward may be conferred.

"Should the said Superintendent, &c. be unable rightly to give commands to the storeships, and should error and breach of faith so result, it is requisite, in view of such a case, to prescribe terms of warning. If there be any erroneous delay for three days, the supply of fresh water shall be cut off; if for three days more there be like delay, the supplies of food shall be cut off; and if such delay continue still three days longer, the laws shall forthwith be maintained and enforced. There can be no indulgence shown."

Enclosure 30 in the above letter; page 394 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot accepted these conditions on the understanding that Mr. Johnston should proceed first to Macao, with the Chinese officers, and should then be set at liberty, and allowed to make his own arrangements for bringing the receiving-ships, two at a time, to the prescribed anchorage for delivery of the opium.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on 30th March, and finished on 3rd April, 1839; pages 355-359; and Enclosures 8 and 9 in letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on 6th April, and finished on 4th May, 1839; pages 398 and 399 of the correspondence.

Throughout the whole of this time the foreigners were kept in close confinement and were not permitted to communicate either with Whampoa or with Macao, where the families of Captain Elliot and of many others among the imprisoned merchants were naturally in a state of much anxiety. News, however, was conveyed to and from Canton by Chinese upon scraps of paper concealed in cigars, and in other similar methods. After the 30th March they were permitted to purchase whatever food they required, and to procure supplies of fresh water; but they had no servants, and the rigour of the confinement was in other respects not relaxed. On the 12th April Captain Elliot tried to obtain the release of a British subject, whose child was seriously ill at Macao, but his application was contemptuously rejected.

Writing to Lord Palmerston, on the 30th March 1839, Captain Elliot explained briefly the reasons which had induced him to require the surrender on Her Majesty's service of all opium owned by British subjects in China.

"The justification," he wrote, "of this immense responsibility will need more full development than it would be desirable, or indeed practicable, to make in my present condition. I am without doubt, however, that the safety of a great mass of human life hung upon my determination. For if I had commenced with a denial of my control over the subject, the High Commissioner would have seized that pretext for reverting to the measures of intimidation against individual merchants, obviously the original purpose, but which my sudden appearance had disturbed. If I had persevered in this course of representation, he would have forced the whole into submission by the protracted confinement of the persons he should determine to seize; and, judging from the tenor of his proclamation and general conduct, I am fully warranted in saying by the sacrifice of their lives.

"The forced and separate surrender of all this immensely valuable property by individual merchants, without security of indemnity and protection, must have led to

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on 30th March, and finished on 3rd April, 1839; pages 355-359 of the correspondence.

"some desperate commercial convulsion in India and England, which might have embarrassed the Queen's Government in an incalculable degree.

"In a few words then, my Lord, I may say, that I plainly perceived the moment had arrived for placing the whole weight of the immense difficulties to be encountered on the only foundation where it could safely rest, namely, upon the wisdom, justice, and power of Her Majesty's Government."

On the 6th April, Captain Elliot informed Lord Palmerston that he had made up his mind before leaving Macao to "incur very heavy responsibilities" in regard to the ships engaged in the opium traffic; and had seriously considered the expediency of requiring them to leave China, though he had finally decided to refrain from such a measure. He was, he said, convinced that the time had arrived when merchants engaged in the legitimate trade should sever their connexion with that traffic; and thought "that the continuance of the shipping on the spot might enable them all frankly to meet any advances on the part of the High Commissioner, with plain and respectful statements, setting forth their readiness to abandon the further pursuit of the trade entirely; but soliciting time and reasonable opportunities, upon the ground of the long course of connivance it had enjoyed, and upon the great impulse it had so lately received by the public preparations of the Imperial Government to legalise it."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston commenced on 6th April, and finished on 4th May 1839; pages 385-391 of the correspondence.

"Up to a very late date, my Lord," he continued, "no portion of the trade to China has so regularly paid its fees to the officers of this and the neighbouring provinces, high and low, as that of opium; and under all the circumstances of the case, I am warranted in describing the late measures to be those of public robbery, and of wanton violence on the Queen's officers and subjects, and all the foreign community in China"

"It was my fixed purpose, when I left Macao, to afford every reasonable satisfaction concerning the immediate withdrawal of this property, unquestionably drawn here by a long course of encouragement on the part of this Government, and either to cause the merchants of my country in trade at Canton, to make solemn promises that they would abstain from connexion with the opium traffic in future, or myself, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to undertake that no reclamation should be made, if they were forthwith expelled."

The proceedings of the Imperial Commissioner, however, compelled him to abandon all hope of effecting any settlement of the question by the means which he had contemplated.

"His purposes," he wrote, "were plain; and it was my clear duty to let them reach me, and not the merchants, acting principally for absent men, and therefore wholly incapable of taking consentaneous courses, or any other than those which would lead to separate and ruinous surrenders of all this immense mass of property." "The surrender," he continued "of the property at the first public summons was founded upon the clear perception that the demand without alternative of any kind, under the circumstances of strictest and most unprovoked restraint, faithfully described in my public notice, was an act of forcible spoliation of the very worst description, justly leaving to Her Majesty the right of full indemnity and future security."

"The situation of this peculiar property has been entirely altered by the High Commissioner's proceedings; and his continuance of the state of restraint, insult, and dark intimidation, subsequently to the surrender, has certainly classed the whole case amongst the most shameless violences which one nation has ever yet dared to perpetrate against another.

"It is not by measures of this kind that the Chinese Government can hope to put down a trade which every friend to humanity must deplore; great moral changes can never be effected by the violation of all the principles of justice and moderation. The wise course would have been to make the trade shameful, and wear it out by degrees in its present form. The course taken will change the manner of its pursuit at once, cast it into desperate hands, and with this long line of unprotected coast, abounding in safe anchorages, and covered with defenceless cities, I foresee a state of things terrible to reflect upon.

"Perhaps, indeed, the chief mischief of the actual proceedings is the evil feeling of revenge they will unquestionably produce in the minds of the class of men, otherwise disposed to engage in the traffic for the mere love of gain; they will seem to justify in the consciences of such persons, every species of retaliation. Indeed, I feel, assured that the single mode of saving the coasts of the Empire from a shocking character of warfare, both foreign and domestic, will be the very prompt and powerful interference of Her Majesty's Government for the just vindication of all wrongs, and the effectual prevention of crime and wretchedness by permanent settlement."

Writing some days later, on the 22nd April, Captain Elliot expressed a confident opinion that the Chinese Government was itself prepared to make some reparation for the forcible confiscation of property, which had been effected; and suggested that the opium surrendered might possibly be made the means of defraying an indemnity. "In my judgment," he wrote, "the main body of this opium, in fact, all that is saleable, will be turned to the most advantageous account; I confess I have a suspicion that the present spoliatory measures will end in the legalization of the trade, upon the footing of a Government monopoly, with probably some provision for the cessation of imports for one year, and perhaps a limited and annually decreasing amount after the expiration of that period. . . . However, without prolonging this course of speculation, I may say that there is no doubt at all of the intention to pay something by some means.

"Let Her Majesty's Government then think fit to respond to these tidings with an immediate and strong declaration that it will exact complete indemnity for all manner of loss; and I am well assured that such a communication alone will so hasten the purposes of the Chinese Government, and so extend the measure of remuneration (certainly already intended), that there will be nothing to seek for under that head by the time that force can reach these coasts. The demand of all others which the Chinese would least wish to meet at such a moment is one involving money payment."

The delivery of the 20,283 chests of opium, much of which was not at Lintin, but had been sent for sale along the coast, occupied Mr. Johnston, the Deputy Superintendent, for a considerable time.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Mr. Backhouse, dated 3rd July 1839, and Enclosures; pages 5-7 of additional papers (12 pages).

The merchants and their agents surrendered the full quantities of opium, specified in their replies to Captain Elliot's notice of the 27th March, with the exception of two Parsees, whose deliveries were for some reason short of the proper amount by 523⁵⁸₁₀₀ chests. The opportune arrival of a ship with opium from India, consigned to Messrs. Dent and Company, enabled Captain Elliot to fulfil his obligations; and the firm, at his request, supplied, under a promise of indemnification, the opium required to make good the deficiency. The other opium ships from India remained at Singapore to await the result of the Imperial Commissioner's proceedings, and the arrival of the ship was a fortunate coincidence. Whether the agents of the defaulters sold the opium in ignorance of the arrangements made for its surrender, is not clear; but several of the opium traders were at Macao, and the traffic in the drug does not appear to have been entirely stopped even during the continuance of the Commissioner's violent proceedings.

Enclosure 10 in the letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced April the 6th, and finished May the 4th, 1839; pages 399 and 400 of the correspondence.

On the 19th April the Commissioner and Governor issued an edict to Captain Elliot direct, informing him that four of the receiving-ships, which had arrived at the delivering-station on the 18th, had apparently disposed of a considerable portion of their cargoes, and that a Chinese smuggler, who had been apprehended by a preventive boat in the act of selling opium, had admitted, upon examination, that he had purchased the opium on board a foreign vessel on the 10th April. They ordered him therefore to give instructions to Mr. Johnston to bring the remaining receiving-ships at once to the appointed anchorage, and "to restrain the people and seamen of the vessels from diminishing in the least degree the amount of opium." "The said Superintendent," they wrote, "must not presume on his having at first reported a certain full amount to let them clandestinely dispose of any quantities, there may be in excess, thereby occasioning a return of the pervading poison, and so drawing on himself criminality and cause of sorrow. Tremblingly consider this."

Enclosure 11 in the same letter; page 400 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot issued orders, as directed, to Mr. Johnston; but pointed out that the business was extensive, and that many persons of low degree were concerned in it, so that it was difficult to entirely prevent irregularities of the nature complained of, while he personally, owing to his confinement at Canton, was unable to exercise any supervision. "When the communications are constantly open," he wrote, "Elliot will himself be enabled to exercise a more vigilant control. In all his proceedings he has manifested truth and sincerity, and Your Excellencies will find that to repose entire confidence in him, so that he may act with effect, is the surest mode of completing the whole delivery of 20,283 chests, and preventing future irregularity. Much disorder will always take place when the chief authority cannot exercise constant control."

This explanation was apparently accepted; and although free communication was not permitted, no further complaints were made regarding the manner in which the delivery of the opium was effected.

Commissioner Lin, who had shown his mendacity by the assertion that the foreigners had only been shut up in Canton in consequence of Captain Elliot's arrival

and attempt to escape with Mr. Dent, did not adhere at all closely to his own promises. In Captain Elliot's words:—"The servants were not faithfully restored when one-fourth of the opium was delivered; the boats were not permitted to run when one-half was delivered; the trade was not really opened when three-fourths were delivered; and the last pledge, that things should go on as usual when the whole was delivered *was* falsified by the reduction of the factories to a prison with one outlet,—the expulsion of 16 persons, some of them who never dealt in opium at all, some clerks, one a lad,—and the proposal of novel and intolerable regulations."

Public declaration by Captain Elliot, dated 21st June 1839; Enclosure 1 in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 17th Nov. 1839; pages 37 and 38 of additional papers. (52 pages).

In the terms which he fixed on the 2nd April, for the withdrawal of all restrictions upon the liberty of the foreigners and for the resumption of trade, the Commissioner said nothing about bonds. As soon, however as the delivery of the opium had been arranged for, he brought forward the question, which was (it must be said) distinctly mooted in his proclamation to the foreigners of the 18th March. On the 4th April, the day following Mr. Johnston's departure, the two senior Hong merchants were deputed to suggest to Captain Elliot, that he and the merchants of the British nation and its dependencies should sign a bond, binding themselves, to "plainly address" Her Majesty the Queen, so that orders might be issued prohibiting the manufacture of opium and the exportation of it to China, and to agree in their own behalf and on behalf of their countrymen to a penalty of confiscation and death in the event of any transgression of the prohibition issued by the Chinese Government against the introduction of opium. The clause containing this drastic proviso was as follows:—"From the commencement of autumn in this present year any merchant vessel coming to Kwangtung that may be found to bring opium shall be immediately and entirely confiscated, both vessel and cargo, to the use of Government; no trade shall be allowed to it, and the parties shall be left to suffer death at the hands of the Celestial Court; such punishment they will readily submit to."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on the 6th April, and finished on the 4th May 1839; pages 385-391; and Enclosure 1 in the same letter; pages 391 and 392 of the correspondence.

Several of the foreign merchants of all nations had, it may be noticed, replied on the 25th March to the Commissioner's proclamation of the 18th, pledging themselves, as individuals, neither to deal in opium, nor import it into China, but pointing out that questions, affecting national interests, could only be settled by the representatives of their respective nations; but the Commissioner took no notice of the communication.

Enclosure 7 in the same letter; pages 397 and 398 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot, who was evidently taken aback by this demand, returned the draft of the proposed bond to the merchants, and sent no reply to an order, which he received on the following day, from the City Governor, directing him to require all the foreigners to execute bonds at once. On the 6th April, however, the Imperial Commissioner issued commands to him direct, commending his conduct in regard to the surrender of the opium, and ordering him to arrange for the execution of the bonds required by all British subjects at Canton.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston; pages 385-391 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 3 in the same letter; pages 393 and 394 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot replied on the 8th April that he was unable consistently with the laws of his country to require the execution of any such instruments. "The bonds," he said, "have relation to the future, and would involve terrible responsibilities in any possible case of disobedience to the prohibitions. They would involve, too, not alone parties themselves, but others also. Such bonds it is impossible even for his honoured Sovereign to require; and how much more must it be out of the power of Elliot himself to require them."

Enclosure 4 in the same letter; page 394 of the correspondence.

Further correspondence ensued, but Captain Elliot was firm in his refusal, and, on the 20th April, he tore up in the presence of the Hong merchants a direct communication from the Imperial Commissioner and Governor, which they had been ordered to deliver, reiterating the demand for the execution of the bonds; and desired the merchants to inform the Commissioner and Governor, "that they might take his life as soon as they saw fit; but that it was a vain thing to trouble themselves or him any further on the subject."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston; pages 385-391; and Enclosures 5 and 6; pages 395-397.

"Elliot," he wrote, in reply to the Commissioner and Governor, on the 20th April, "has been appointed by his Government for the special purpose of superintending the people of his country resorting hither for trade. But finding now that the high officers absolutely require compliance with new regulations and terms, which they have fixed for the trade of his country with China, and these being such as it is impossible for him to consent to, he has therefore the honour to request that he may be enabled, at the head of the men and ships of his country, to take his departure and sail away. Elliot still most faithfully pledges himself to deliver up to the high officers all the opium which he lately took from the English people in Her Majesty's name."

Enclosure 12 in the same letter; page 401 of the correspondence.

This reply, and the message sent through the Hong merchants, apparently convinced the Imperial Commissioner that Captain Elliot was determined not to yield the point, and the demand was accordingly dropped for the time.

The Americans and other European traders to Canton were also required to execute similar bonds; and although the Consuls at first objected, the Americans at any rate eventually yielded and complied with the requisition.

Letter from Captain Elliot to the Portuguese Governor of Macao, dated 13th April 1839; pages 406 and 407 of the correspondence.

The proceedings of the Imperial Commissioner soon satisfied Captain Elliot, that there was no hope of the peaceful re-establishment of British commerce at Canton upon any reasonable footing, and on the 13th April he contrived with some difficulty to send a letter to the Governor of Macao, in which he placed himself and all Her Britannic Majesty's subjects, ships, and property under the protection of the Portuguese Government, and offered assistance, both in men and money, to place the settlement and harbour in a state of defence, and to equip a sufficient number of armed vessels to keep the coast clear from the Chinese.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, dated 16th April 1839; pages 408 and 409 of the correspondence.

On the 16th April also he wrote to the Governor General of India, informing him of the recent occurrences at Canton, and of the offer to co-operate in the defence of Macao which he had made to the Portuguese Governor, and applying for the immediate despatch from India of as many ships of war and armed vessels as could be spared, for the protection of the life and property of British subjects in China.

Letter from the Portuguese Governor to Captain Elliot, dated 15th April 1839; page 408 of the correspondence.

The Portuguese Governor was unwilling to commit himself with the Chinese Government, by accepting assistance for the defence of the settlement without more satisfactory proof of its necessity; and on the 15th April he replied to Captain Elliot, declining politely his offer of co-operation, on the ground that he was bound to maintain a strict neutrality, but repeating the assurance, which he had given on the 22nd March, to the effect that he would protect, as far as he was able, the lives and property of British subjects in Macao as long as they were not engaged in any contraband traffic.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 6th May 1839; pages 405 and 406 of the correspondence; and evidence of Mr. Matheson before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Chinese Trade in 1840.

The Portuguese took advantage of the pre-occupation of the Imperial Commissioner at Canton to send away their opium, of which they possessed about 2,000 chests, to Manilla; and when his attention was turned to Macao, they were able to satisfy him by executing bonds, binding themselves to bring no more opium into the settlement. The opium sent to Manilla was said to have been subsequently sold at a large profit on the east coast of China.

Order by the Prefect or City Governor of Canton and other magistrates to Captain Elliot, dated 4th May 1839; pages 401-403 of the correspondence.

By the 4th May, the greater part of the 20,283 chests of opium owned by British subjects had been surrendered; and the Imperial Commissioner and Governor of Canton directed that the blockading vessels, and the guards stationed at the factories, should be removed, and that boats, registered as "obedient" should be allowed, subject to examination by officers deputed for the purpose, to pass to and fro between Canton and Whampoa; and issued orders, permitting Captain Elliot and other foreigners to leave Canton, with the exception of 16 persons, who were said to have been for a long time habitual traders in opium, and who therefore were detained. Merchant ships at Whampoa were allowed to trade and to leave the port; but ships which had arrived in the course of the proceedings and were then in the "outer-seas," were required to remain there, pending settlement of the business in hand, and were not permitted to enter the port.

Public notice by Captain Elliot to British subjects, dated 4th May 1839; page 403 of the correspondence.

Captain Elliot, on receipt of these orders, drew the attention of British subjects to the notice, which he had issued on the 23rd March, advising them to proceed with their property to Macao, but announced his intention of remaining at Canton until he had fulfilled completely his obligations to the Chinese Government.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 6th May 1839; pages 405 and 406 of the correspondence.

On the 6th May also he wrote to Lord Palmerston, informing him of the rumoured intention of the Imperial Commissioner to occupy Macao with Chinese troops, and recommending that an arrangement should be effected with the Government of Portugal for the cession of the settlement to the British Government, or for its effectual defence by British arms, and "appropriation to British uses." "The safety of Macao," he wrote, "is, in point of fact, an object of secondary moment to the Portuguese Government; but to that of Her Majesty it may be said to be of indispensable necessity, and most particularly at this moment."

Enclosures 2-5 in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on the 18th and finished on the 29th May 1839; pages 412-415 of the correspondence.

On the 8th May the City Governor, under the direction of the Imperial Commissioner and Governor of Canton, ordered Captain Elliot to expel Mr. Innes from the Chinese Empire, as a seizure of opium made by the Portuguese at Macao showed that he was unmindful of the lenity that had been shown to him, and was still engaged in smuggling.

Captain Elliot considered that the demand for Mr. Innes' expulsion was justified by the circumstances; and on the 9th May he submitted an address to the Commissioner and Governor informing them of his intention to require him to depart forthwith.

He then on the same day issued an order charging Mr. Innes by his duty to the Queen to leave China as soon as possible, and wrote to the Portuguese Governor, requesting him to withdraw his protection, and to require Mr. Innes to leave Macao within 24 hours.

This order led to a sharp controversy between Captain Elliot and Mr. Innes, which need only be briefly referred to. Mr. Innes did not deny that he had continued to sell opium at Macao up to the 11th April, but disputed the accuracy of the facts as stated by the Chinese, and protested strongly against the order which Captain Elliot had issued for his expulsion, urging that, although he did not expect protection from the British Government for any loss or inconvenience he might sustain in the course of his contraband dealings, the Superintendent had no right to use his influence to assist the Chinese, and bring pressure to bear upon the Portuguese Governor. Captain Elliot, however, would not withdraw his order; and Mr. Innes was compelled to leave Macao. On the 8th June 1839, he submitted a petition from Macao roads to Her Majesty the Queen in Council, on the subject of Captain Elliot's proceedings, which contained a remarkable account of the manner in which he had carried on his business in opium in China.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 14th June 1839, and enclosures; pages 420-427 of the correspondence.

"That your petitioner," he wrote, "has been 13 years resident in China, during which period he has traded considerably in opium, which traffic has been likewise followed by at least nine-tenths of your Majesty's subjects resorting to China. That your petitioner in the above period has sold opium to the licensed Hong merchants, and has delivered opium to the boats of His Excellency the Governor of Canton and to many other Government officers, &c., &c."

Captain Elliot, it appears, was prepared to arrest Mr. Innes, if a continued defiance, on his part, of the authority of the Chinese Government should endanger the safety of British subjects in China, but the necessity for such a measure did not arise; and whether Mr. Innes left China, or conducted his business in the future with greater caution and moderation, the incident, so far as it affected the relations between the Chinese and the British Government, was closed by the issue of Captain Elliot's orders of May 9th, and by the expulsion of Mr. Innes from Macao.

On the 10th May an edict was communicated to Captain Elliot, and to the American and Dutch Consuls, announcing formally the law of the Chinese Empire on the subject of the importation of opium. "By this law," said Captain Elliot, in a notice issued to British subjects, "the ships and crews of all nations, henceforward arriving in China, are liable to the penalties, the first of confiscation, and the last death, upon the determination of this Government that they have introduced opium. . . . It will be particularly observed that persons remaining are understood by the Government to assent to the reasonableness of the law."

Public notice by Captain Elliot to British subjects dated 11th May 1839; pages 410 and 411 of the correspondence.

This edict was followed by a series of drastic measures, designed to control and repress the foreigners effectually for the future. A strong paling was constructed round the factories, shutting off the foreigners from access to the river, and leaving open only one avenue of communication with the city, at the head of which a strong guard was posted; the pleasure boats used for excursions on the river were taken away, and a number of intolerable* regulations, which were said by Captain Elliot to be inconsistent with any possibility of carrying on trade at Canton, were introduced. Measures also were taken to prevent entirely all unlicensed trading, and to re-establish in full vigour the Hong monopoly. The houses near the factories of the outside (*i.e.*, unlicensed) merchants and shopkeepers, with whom the foreigners had often extensive dealings, were ordered to be thrown down, and the streets in which these merchants and shopkeepers resided were to be closed and built over.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston commenced on the 18th and finished on the 29th May 1839; pages 409-411 of the correspondence.

Orders at the same time were issued for the expulsion from China of six of the sixteen persons detained at Canton as being noted traders in opium, Mr. Dent, four gentlemen connected with the firm of Jardine, Matheson, and Co., and a Parsee.

On the 18th May the delivery of the 20,283 chests of opium was completed by Mr. Johnson, and a formal acknowledgment of receipt was given to him by the City Governor. News of this transaction reached Captain Elliot at Canton on

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 8th July, 1839, and Enclosure 1; pages 427 and 428 of the correspondence.

* One regulation appears to have prescribed the manner in which Chinese trading junks should be built and appointed; and the name of every sailor in a junk was to be written in clear characters upon the sail. (Evidence of Mr. Inglis before the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon the China Trade in 1840. —Q. 621.)

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on the 18th and finished on the 29th May, 1839; pages 409-411 of the correspondence.

the 21st, and an edict was issued by the Governor soon after, permitting the merchant ships, which had arrived in the "outer-seas," to enter the port, but stating that the regulations, under which the trade was to be conducted, would be announced after their arrival at Whampoa, and requiring the ten remaining proscribed persons to leave China, and to give a promise in writing not to return. The promise was given, by Captain Elliot's advice, on the understanding that the matter should form the subject of special negotiation with the Chinese Government, in the event of any opportunity arising; and the gentlemen in question left Canton, and proceeded to Macao.

None of the British merchant ships that were in the outer seas entered the port to avail themselves of the Governor's permission to trade, and Captain Elliot, as soon as he heard of the Governor's edict, which was not officially communicated to him, issued a notice to the commanders enjoining them not to enter.

Enclosures 7 and 8 in the above letter; page 417 of the correspondence.

On the 24th May Captain Elliot left Canton for Macao, informing the Governor of his intention, and mentioning the fact that he was in bad health. The Governor, in his reply, showed that he was not insensible to the efforts which Captain Elliot had made to meet the wishes of the Chinese Government. "Before, at the time of removing the guard," he wrote, "it was directed that the said Superintendent should leave Canton, in order to conduct the delivery of the opium; but, on the ground that all the foreigners remaining at Canton still required to be controlled and restrained, he did not at once prefer his request to depart. At this time, being in bad health, he has presented his address of leave. It is surely right that he should be permitted to go to Macao, that he may be enabled to receive medical treatment.

"At present, although the opium has been all delivered to the amount before stated, yet the High Commissioner and I, the Governor, have still many matters regarding which to direct him to act. The Superintendent having a respectful sense of duty, and being able in action, must hasten to recover his health speedily. He must not delay, and while he has been ready at the first, he found lacking at the last.

"Let him also, on his arrival at Macao, faithfully and truly examine, and, if the foreigners, of every nation, residing at Macao are guilty of secreting any opium, he must instantly command them, one and all, to deliver up the entire quantity."

Memorial from British subjects to Lord Palmerston, dated 23rd May 1839; pages 418-420 of the correspondence.

The British merchants in China followed Captain Elliot's advice and example, and withdrew in a body to Macao. Before leaving Canton, Dent & Co., and other English firms, and a number of Parsees, submitted a temperate and well-reasoned memorial to Lord Palmerston, urging upon Her Majesty's Government the importance of an early recognition of their claims on account of the opium surrendered for Her Majesty's service, "and the pressing and paramount necessity of placing the general trade of British subjects upon a secure and permanent basis." The memorialists, after drawing attention to the facts, that no penalties had ever been enforced against foreigners importing opium into China, and that the laws prohibiting its importation were admitted by the Imperial Commissioner himself to have been "comparatively lax," continued as follows: "We may further state that the peculiar character of the opium trade was distinctly recognised in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1830, and that, in the subsequent Report, in 1832, the Committee expressed their opinion that it does not seem advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue as the East India Company's monopoly of opium in Bengal. We conceive it will, therefore, be admitted that British subjects have carried on this trade with the sanction, implied, if not openly expressed, of their own Government; and at the same time with an advantage to the revenue of British India, varying of late years from one to one and a half millions sterling.

"We do not attempt to deny the unquestionable right of the Chinese Government to put a stop to the importation of opium, and have readily signed an agreement to abstain from that trade at Canton on the first requisition of the Government to that effect; but we think your Lordship will perceive that long prescription had hitherto given foreigners ample reason to question the sincerity of the Chinese Government with regard to the discontinuance of the importation; and that under any circumstances that Government cannot be justified by the lax observance of prohibitions and open connivance of its officers, in at one time fostering a trade involving several millions sterling, and at another rendering its pursuit a pretext for spoliation.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, commenced on the 18th and finished on the 29th May 1839; pages 409-411 of the correspondence.

An order received from the Imperial Government, on the day that Captain Elliot left Canton, directing that the opium surrendered should be sent to the capital, increased his suspicions as to the manner in which it would be disposed of. The expense of the transport to Peking would, he said, be at least a quarter of a million

of dollars, and it naturally seemed incredible that such expense would be incurred for no purpose. The opium, however, was destroyed effectually at Canton under the Imperial Commissioner's own supervision, and Mr. King, an American gentleman, who objected on principle to the opium trade, and took therefore no part in it, appears to have witnessed a portion, at any rate, of the process. Captain Elliot also, on the 21st June 1839, said that the measures of the Imperial Commissioner had given an "immense impulse to the traffic in opium," and the remark can only be explained, on the supposition that the opium was destroyed, and that the price of the drug in China rose largely in consequence.

The departure of the English to Macao appears to have increased the tension, which already existed, between Captain Elliot and the Imperial Commissioner. The proscribed persons did not at once leave China, and the receiving-ships, which had delivered opium, were not removed from the outer seas; but the real cause of the rupture appears to have been Captain Elliot's refusal to agree to the bonds required. Captain Elliot tried to carry out his idea of establishing the headquarters of British trade at Macao, and successfully exerted his influence with his countrymen to keep British ships outside the Bocca Tigris. The Imperial Commissioner, not unnaturally, resented this, and although Captain Elliot offered further protestations of his readiness to separate the licit from the illicit trade, the Commissioner refused to receive his addresses, presented sealed in the manner agreed to by the Governor of Canton on the 25th April 1837, and attempted to induce the British merchants, captains, and seamen to disregard Captain Elliot's injunctions, and proceed to Canton. He attached also public proclamations to the walls of Macao giving his version of the occurrences, which had led to the suspension of trade and intercourse, and sent copies of the proclamations to the British ships.

Captain Elliot responded by publishing a manifesto to the Chinese, explaining his conduct on the 21st June, and communicated a copy of it under a public notice to British subjects. "The merchants and ships of the English nation," he wrote in the manifesto, "do not proceed to Canton and Whampoa, because the gracious commands of the Emperor for their protection are set at nought; because the truth is concealed from His Imperial Majesty's knowledge; because there is no safety for a handful of defenceless men in the grasp of the Government at Canton; because it would be derogatory from the dignity of their Sovereign and Nation to forget all the insults and wrongs which have been perpetrated, till full justice be done, and till the whole trade and intercourse be placed upon a footing honourable and secure to this Empire and to England. That time is at hand: the Gracious Sovereign of the English Nation will cause the truth to be made known to the wise and august Prince on the throne of this Empire; and all things will be adjusted agreeably to the principles of purest reason."

The trade between Great Britain and China was not interrupted. British merchant ships remained outside the port, and the Americans, who had executed bonds as required by the Imperial Commissioner and had therefore remained at Canton, acted as carriers both of British goods and China produce between Hong Kong and Canton. Captain Elliot did not regard this form of trade with any favour, and moved the Governments of Great Britain and India to prohibit the importation of tea and other produce of China in British ships entering the port of Canton in violation of his injunctions, or in foreign vessels, until such time as he should declare the port of Canton safe for British trade. Circumstances, however, were too strong for him. The uncertainty, which existed, stimulated speculation in China, and the prices of foreign goods were high, and British merchants, though unwilling to enter the port and place themselves in the power of the Chinese, were not prepared to sacrifice their commercial interests to political considerations.

The stringency, with which the policy of prohibition was enforced at Canton, merely had the effect of transferring the traffic in opium to Fuhkien and other parts of the Chinese coast, which were less efficiently protected, and the destruction of the opium surrendered caused the price of the drug to rise and increased the profits of the smugglers.

At this juncture an affray took place, on the 7th July, at Hong Kong between a party of British and American seamen and the natives, and a Chinese named Lin Weihe was killed. Captain Elliot recognised at once the danger of the position, and tried vainly to take such measures as would satisfy the authorities, and prevent any demand for the surrender of an Englishman for trial, or, in other words, for execution. He advanced, at his own risk, a sum of 1,500 dollars to the family of the deceased, an act of liberality, which at once produced

"The Middle Kingdom," by Dr. Wells Williams; and evidence of Mr. Inglis before the Select Committee of the House of Commons upon the China Trade in 1840.

Public declaration by Captain Elliot, dated 21st June 1839; pages 37-39 of additional papers (52 pages).

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th Aug. 1839; pages 433 and 434 of the correspondence; and address from Captain Elliot to the Imperial Commissioner and Governor of Canton, dated 2nd Sep. 1839; page 450 of the correspondence.

Public declaration and notice to British subjects by Captain Elliot, dated 21st June 1839; pages 37-39 of additional papers (52 pages).

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 28th Nov. 1839; page 43-45 of additional papers (52 pages).

Public notice by Captain Elliot, dated 25th July 1839; pages 451 and 452 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 28th Nov. 1839; pages 43-45 of additional papers (52 pages).

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 18th July 1839, and enclosure; pages 431 and 432 of the correspondence.

unsolicited a written declaration that the man's death had been caused by accident; and offered rewards on behalf of the British Government to any person, who should adduce evidence leading to the conviction of any British subject or subjects for causing the death of the Chinese, or for instigating or promoting the riot.

Official communications from Captain Elliot to the officers deputed by the Imperial Commissioner, dated 13th and 21st July 1839; pages 440 and 441 of the correspondence.

Officers were deputed to Macao by the Imperial Commissioner to make inquiries in regard to the occurrence; and Captain Elliot at once opened communication with these officers, informed them of the steps he had taken, and assured them that the offender would, if discovered, be tried in accordance with the laws of Great Britain. "The Government of the English Nation," he said, "would hold Elliot deeply guilty if he failed to prosecute this affair with the utmost severity."

The Chinese officers, however, appear to have intentionally affronted Captain Elliot, and published edicts inciting the British merchants and seamen to disregard his authority; and on the 21st July Captain Elliot informed them that he would not receive any communications, until he should be satisfied that there would be no repetition of such proceedings, and until the higher officers of Government should think fit to receive his "sealed addresses according to custom."

He continued, at the same time, his own inquiries; and, as six British seamen were apparently concerned in the fatal affray, he ignored all difficulties of jurisdiction, and proceeded to try the men himself, so as to afford all possible satisfaction to the Chinese Government.

Letter from Captain Elliot to the Macao District Magistrate, dated 3rd Aug. 1839; page 441 of the correspondence.

The Chinese Magistrate at Macao was informed that the trial would be held on the 12th August at Hong Kong, and that, if any officers were deputed to attend, they would be received with the respect due to their rank; but the Magistrate took no notice of the intimation, and no Chinese officers attended.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th Aug. 1839; pages 433 and 434 of the correspondence.

At the trial a boatswain, to whom suspicion attached, was indicted for murder, but the grand jury constituted for the occasion ignored the bill. Five other seamen were found guilty on charges of rioting and of rioting and assault, and were sentenced, two of them to imprisonment with hard labour for three months and to a fine of 15*l.* each, and the other three to imprisonment with hard labour for six months and to a fine of 25*l.* each.

Communication from Captain Elliot to the Chinese Magistrate of Macao, dated 16th Aug. 1839; pages 441 and 442 of the correspondence.

The result of the proceedings was communicated to the Macao Magistrate on the 16th August; and Captain Elliot declared solemnly that he had not been able to discover the person, or persons, who had caused the death of the Chinese. He made it clear, however, that the trial had been held in order that the guilty persons, if discovered, should be punished in accordance with the laws of Great Britain, and that the surrender of any British subject for trial by the Chinese was out of the question.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th Aug. 1839; pages 433 and 434 of the correspondence.

The Imperial Commissioner was not satisfied. He moved to Heangshan, 40 miles from Macao, with 2,000 men; stopped the supply of provisions to the English at the Portuguese settlement; compelled their Chinese servants to leave them, and threatened to cut off the supplies of the Portuguese also, if they should continue to assist and protect the English.

Captain Elliot, therefore, after consultation with the Portuguese Governor, left Macao, on the 24th August, for Hong Kong, in the hope that his departure would induce the Imperial Commissioner to adopt a less threatening attitude.

Enclosures 2-7 in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th Aug. 1839; pages 435-439 of the correspondence.

A British passage-boat the "Black Joke," which was on its way from Macao to Hong Kong, was attacked, on the evening of the 24th, while at anchor at Lantao, by seven Chinese rowing boats manned and armed like those of the mandarins. Seven of the eight lascars who composed the crew, were killed, and the tindal (or captain) only saved himself by jumping overboard and clinging to the rudder. A British subject, named Moss, who was on board as a passenger, was brutally maltreated; and the Chinese, after carrying away several cases containing goods and personal effects, tried to blow up the vessel with gunpowder. They failed, however, in this attempt, and the unexpected appearance of another English vessel caused them to leave the schooner and depart. Mr. Moss had one of his ears cut off and received three stabs in one arm, and the ear, which was severed, was thrust into his mouth. A mandarin cap was found on board the "Black Joke" after the departure of the Chinese, and the vessel was not completely plundered, some cash, besides other property, being left on board. It was, therefore, supposed by some persons that the attack was made under official direction; and Captain Elliot, in December 1839, mentioned a rumour that the mandarin in command had been specially rewarded by the Imperial Commissioner for his services. Subsequent events lent some colour to this theory, but at the time that the outrage occurred Captain Elliot and others were of opinion that it was the work of pirates, who had been rendered daring by the confusion which existed; and the Chinese authorities are entitled to the benefit of the doubt,

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 6th Dec. 1839; pages 45-47 of additional papers (52 pages).

Another British schooner was, it may be added, chased by Chinese boats on the same evening, and in the same neighbourhood.

Captain Elliot's departure from Macao failed to appease the Commissioner. Edicts were posted on the walls of the town on the 25th August, which announced once more the laws, which had been enacted to prevent the importation of opium; insisted upon the immediate surrender of the murderer of Lin Weihe, and on the departure from China of all ships, which were not prepared to enter the port and discharge their cargoes at Whampoa; and threatened severe punishment to Chinese boatmen in the event of their supplying provisions to foreign ships lying outside Canton. Ships bringing opium to China in ignorance of the law, within 18 months of the date of the edicts, were to be allowed to trade on surrender of the opium; but any person concerned in the importation of opium after that time was to be punished with death; if a principal by decapitation, and if an accomplice, by strangulation.

The Portuguese Governor and Procurador were ordered to expel the English from Macao, and were informed that Chinese soldiers and police had been deputed to seize and punish any that remained. "So soon," it was said, "as the English be brought to repentance, and deliver up the murderer, and when their merchant ships shall have gone up to Whampoa, and the storeships and the foreigners (the 16 proscribed), shall have returned to their country, their Excellencies will certainly grant them the special favour of continuing their trade as formerly; and you, the Portuguese, when you receive permission to trade with the English, you can then rent them your houses as heretofore."

Another order followed, which contained a threat that the houses of British subjects would be surrounded on the night of the 25th August; and although the Portuguese Governor announced his intention of resisting forcibly any such measure, he was so much intimidated that he professed himself unable to afford protection to the English any longer. The English, therefore, were forced to fly from Macao on the morning of the 26th August, leaving their sick only behind in the Portuguese hospital, and to take refuge at Hong Kong, where Captain Elliot was anxiously awaiting their arrival, and a fleet of nearly 50 sail of British merchant ships was already assembled. H.M.'s sloop "Larne" had left China some time before, and Captain Elliot accordingly assumed military command, and made such preparations as were necessary to prevent a surprise of the fleet by Chinese war junks or fire-ships.

The departure of the English was said by the Chinese Magistrate of Macao, with evident satisfaction, to have been "precipitate and confused;" and the Portuguese Governor and Procurador were commended for the assistance which they had given in their expulsion, and were prohibited from supplying provisions to them at Hong Kong, under pain of severe punishment.

The "respectful sense of duty" shown by the Portuguese was also specially commended by the Imperial Commissioner and Governor in a subsequent order.

The Portuguese Governor (according to his own account), replied to the Macao Magistrate's communication that the English had departed of their own free will; and although he was naturally afraid to offend the Chinese, he appears to have done as much as he could, up to the end of August, to assist the English without committing himself to one side or the other in the quarrel.

The Imperial Commissioner and Governor, on receiving the news of the departure of the English from Macao, issued a proclamation, on the 31st August, to the inhabitants of the Chinese villages along the coast, informing them that orders had been issued to cut off all supplies of water and provisions from the English, and directing them to arm themselves and prevent the English from landing to obtain either food or water, or to create disturbance. "If," it was said, "any of the said foreigners be found going on shore to cause trouble, all and every of the people are permitted to fire upon them, to withstand and drive them back, or make prisoners of them."

The proclamation summed up effectively enough the grievances, real and supposed, of the Chinese against the English. "Whereas," it was said, "the English foreigners, in their overbearing pride and impracticability, have withstood the prohibitory enactments, those depraved individuals, who deal in opium, have continued to linger at Macao; the empty storeships, which have surrendered their opium, have thus long remained anchored in the outer seas; and newly arrived merchant vessels, neglecting to surrender what opium they have brought, have collected together at Hong Kong and the neighbourhood, neither entering Whampoa nor yet sailing back again, whereby occasion was given in a drunken brawl to cause the death of Lin Weihe, one of the people of the Empire; and whereas we, the Commissioner and the Governor, having reiterated issued commands to the Superintendent Elliot justly

Enclosure 3 in the letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th August 1839; page 436 of the correspondence. Edicts dated 25th August 1839; pages 439 and 440 of the correspondence.

Enclosures 1, 2, and 6 in the letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th August 1839; pages 436 and 438 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 27th August 1839; pages 433 and 434 of the correspondence.

Official communication from the Keun-Min-Poo to the Portuguese Governor of Macao, dated 25th August 1839; page 441 of the correspondence.

Official communication from the Chinese officers at Macao to the Procurador, dated 29th August 1839; page 8 of additional papers (12 pages).

Proclamation by the Imperial Commissioner and Governor of Canton to the Chinese people, dated 31st August 1839; pages 455 and 456 of the correspondence.

“ to investigate and take proceedings therein, he has still withstood us, has not received our commands, and has sheltered and failed to deliver up the murderer, &c., &c.”

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 3rd-7th Sept. 1839; page 442 of the correspondence.

The merchant ships were not left long without protection; as Her Majesty's ship “Volage,” with Captain Smith in command, arrived opportunely at Hong Kong a day or two after the flight from Macao, bearing despatches from the Naval Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies, authorising Captain Elliot to offer the Portuguese Governor any assistance, he might require, to place Macao in a state of defence and repel any act of aggression, that might be attempted, by the Chinese. Captain Elliot accordingly, with the concurrence of Captain Smith, wrote to the Governor of Macao on the 1st September, proposing that British subjects should return to the settlement, and offering to place a force of 800 or 1,000 men at his disposal at once for the defence of the place.

Enclosure 1 in the above letter; page 443 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 3 in the above letter pages 445 and 446 of the correspondence.

The Governor was evidently glad to be rid of a disagreeable and dangerous responsibility; and in his reply, dated 3rd September, he declined politely the proffered assistance, informing Captain Elliot that, as the English had left Macao of their own accord, they could not be permitted to return, until their difficulties with the Chinese should have been satisfactorily adjusted.

“The British subjects,” he wrote, “retired of their own accord from Macao, with a view of not compromising this establishment, and by this step have placed themselves under the necessity of not landing here so long as all the difficulties now existing shall continue unsettled; which difficulties the undersigned hopes to see terminated satisfactorily for all parties, it not being allowable for him to vary in anything from the maintenance of the neutrality above stated, until he shall receive express orders from his Government in that respect.”

Enclosure 1 in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 5th Sept. 1839; page 448 of the correspondence.

On the 2nd September a notice was found posted on shore at Hong Kong to the following effect: “Poison has been put into this water, which will destroy the bowels if it be drank. Let none of our people take it to drink.” Captain Elliot accordingly issued a proclamation to the natives, informing them that he would be responsible for the preservation of the peace as long as provisions and water were supplied, but that a conflict would inevitably result, if provisions were not forthcoming and the water was poisoned, and pointing out that such inhumanity was an unworthy return for the kindness, which had been frequently shown by the British to shipwrecked Chinese, of whom “several hundreds” had been saved and restored to their homes since he had been in China.

Postscript to the above letter, page 447; and enclosure 5 in the letter; page 450 of the correspondence.

An edict from the Imperial Commissioner and Governor, which reached Captain Elliot about this time, was refused in consequence of his resolution to receive no more official communications; but he took the opportunity to forward in reply by the messenger, who brought the edict, a strong remonstrance in writing against the recent proceedings of the Chinese Government. “Is it,” he wrote, “consistent with peace, or with the dignity of the Empire, to drive forth from their houses, and to deprive of supplies of food, and of attendance, women in the pains of child-birth, sick persons, and young children, upon the pretext that Elliot does not deliver up a man to be killed, although he has solemnly and repeatedly declared that he has strictly investigated, according to the laws of his country, and that he is unable to discover who the guilty man is; and although it is most certain that the seamen of American ships were on shore, and engaged in the riot which led to this disaster. Is it desired that Elliot should deliver up any man indiscriminately, and involve the higher officers, as well as himself, in the guilt of murdering an innocent man?”

The hostile spirit, which had prompted the attack on the “Black Joke,” and the poisoning of the water at Hong Kong was, he suggested, a result of the incitements to violence contained in the inflammatory proclamations recently published at Macao; and the interruption of official communication was ascribed to the refusal of the Imperial Commissioner to receive his sealed addresses, and to the measures which he had taken to deprive the English both of servants and food, and to inflame the Chinese people against them.

“Let these things,” he concluded, “be adjusted, and Elliot is ready immediately to open honourable and friendly communication with the officers, and use his sincerest efforts to settle all things according to the principles of reason and justice, upon the basis of effectually separating the lawful trade from the unlawful, and of securing the faithful payment of the Imperial duties by the British ships.”

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 5th Sept. 1839; and enclosures 2, 3.

On the 4th September Captain Elliot proceeded with Captain Smith to Kowlune, a place about four miles distant from the anchorage of the British ships at Hong Kong, where four men-of-war junks were stationed, which prevented a regular supply of

provisions. Captain Elliot was in his own cutter, and was accompanied by a small armed vessel, named the "Pearl," and by the pinnace of the "Volage." The junks were found at anchor under the cover of a battery; and Captain Elliot sent the Rev. C. Gutzlaff to the largest of the junks to explain that several thousand British subjects at Hong Kong were in want of supplies of food, and that "frequent conflicts" must ensue, if they were not permitted to procure them. Mr. Gutzlaff was received without rudeness; but after a discussion, which lasted for five or six hours, he was informed that nothing could be done without the sanction and orders of the Imperial Commissioner. A promise was indeed held out that some food would be supplied, as a present without payment, to relieve their immediate necessities; but, in Mr. Gutzlaff's opinion, this was merely a ruse to gain time to man the fort, where numbers of Chinese were seen to be assembling. Captain Elliot then sent some men in a boat to a distant part of the bay to purchase food; and this they successfully accomplished, and were in the act of bringing their purchases away when some mandarin peons arrived and prevented them from doing so.

Captain Elliot's patience was exhausted, and he opened fire upon the junks from his cutter and the other two vessels. The Chinese replied to the fire, both from the battery and from the junks; and after an engagement, which lasted nearly half an hour, Captain Elliot was obliged to haul off for want of ammunition, as no preparations had been made for hostilities. The junks, however, had suffered considerably, and made sail and tried to escape. Captain Smith went off in the pinnace to fetch the "Volage," and Captain Elliot again engaged the junks with the cutter and the "Pearl," and beat them back to their former anchorage. Night then began to fall, and Captain Elliot again drew off, and joined Captain Smith, who was entering the bay in the "Volage" for his assistance.

During the night Captain Elliot repented of his rashness, his action having, as he said himself, been difficult of vindication under any less aggravating circumstances; and decided to discontinue hostilities. Captain Smith was apparently prepared to destroy the battery and the junks; but, on Captain Elliot's recommendation, he took the "Volage" back to Hong Kong, and remained there upon the defensive against any attack, that might be organised by the Imperial Commissioner, upon the merchant ships.

On the 5th September Captain Elliot published another notice to reassure the people at Hong Kong as to his intentions. "The men of the English nation," he said, "desire nothing but peace; but they cannot submit to be poisoned or starved. The Imperial cruisers they have no wish to molest or impede, but they must not prevent the people from selling. To deprive men of food is the act only of the unfriendly and the hostile."

The Imperial Commissioner and the Governor responded to this affair by a proclamation to the merchants and seamen, urging them once more to disregard Captain Elliot's authority, and trade upon the conditions approved by the Chinese Government. "The English foreigner, Elliot," they said, "having in repeated instances withstood and opposed the laws; having concealed and failed to deliver up a murderer, having prevented the merchant vessels from entering the port; having ruled and, directed extensive sales of opium; the charge of crime against him is most clearly established, as by our reiterated proclamations and clear commands we have already shown." "Now on the 4th September he had the daring presumption to send a number of vessels of various size to Kowlung (*sic*), and directed them to fire upon and attack the naval cruisers. Between noon and 8 p.m. they had several encounters, and wounds were inflicted on the Government soldiery. In this, since he has come forward to seek a quarrel, we, the Commissioner and the Governor, cannot but command the assembling of the powerful companies of the army and navy from the several regiments and squadrons, that they may combine in an attack of extirpation, and place his life in our hands."

The engagement, however, had the effect of inducing the Chinese to relax the rigour of their preventive measures, and provisions were subsequently supplied, on payment, to the ships at Hong Kong in sufficient quantities, and the notices regarding the poisoning of the water were removed.

On the 7th September a number of the British merchants in China submitted another memorial to Lord Palmerston, complaining of their expulsion from Macao, and of the violence and injustice of the Imperial Commissioner's proceedings in regard to the affray at Hong Kong, and urging again the necessity for the interposition of the British Government, to convince the Chinese that outrages upon British subjects would no longer be tolerated, and to place the trade upon a satisfactory footing.

and 4: pages 448-449 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 4 in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 30th Sept. 1839; pages 11. and 12 of additional papers. (12 pages).

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 23rd Sept. 1839; pages 454 and 455 of the correspondence

Enclosure in a letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 8th Sept. 1839; pages 452 and 453 of the correspondence.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 8th Sept. 1839; pages 450 and 451 of the correspondence.

In a letter to Lord Palmerston, dated 8th September 1839, Captain Elliot complained of the manner in which his attempts to re-establish the British trade had been thwarted by the action of the Americans at Canton; firstly by their submission to the intolerable conditions imposed upon foreign traders by the Imperial Commissioner, and secondly by their denial of any participation by American seamen in the riot in which Lin Weihe was killed. He recommended therefore that a representation should be made to the American Government in regard to their proceedings; and expressed a hope that Her Majesty's Government would take such steps, as might be necessary, to prevent the entrance of cargoes of China produce into the United Kingdom in foreign vessels, until such time as the trade should be placed upon a basis which would permit British merchants to carry on British business.

Captain Elliot was piqued, not unnaturally, with the Americans for not supporting the policy he had thought it necessary to adopt, as he had in the earlier stages of the Imperial Commissioner's proceedings assisted the Consul to the best of his ability. Their submission also on the question of the bonds undoubtedly increased the difficulty of effecting any arrangement with the Chinese Government upon terms different from those which they had agreed to; and their conduct in throwing the whole blame of the Hong Kong riot upon the English, as Lin himself in a subsequent communication said that they had done, was ungenerous and apparently also unjust.

It is, however, most improbable that any compromise, which Captain Elliot could have effected, would have averted war for any length of time; and the British merchants, and also, it may be said, the people of Great Britain profited by the trade which the Americans were able to carry on. The Board of Trade also was of opinion that tea and other produce of China, water-borne at Canton, and received on board a vessel bound for Great Britain at Hong Kong, or any other place on the coast of China, were properly admissible for consumption in Great Britain; and no action was consequently taken to prevent the entrance of cargoes transhipped from American vessels.

Copy of directions to the Commissioners of Customs for the admission of goods from China, brought in foreign vessels from Canton and transhipped into British ships; presented to Parliament on 19th March 1840.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 23rd Sept. 1839; pages 454 and 455 of the correspondence.

On the evening of the 8th September, the master of a British ship, "The Psyche," at Hong Kong left the harbour in a boat, with a party of 15 men, to reconnoitre a passage in the vicinity, which was said to be occupied by war junks. The boat was caught by an adverse tide, and the party pushed on to Macao. Captain Elliot and Captain Smith, on hearing of the departure of the boat, despatched search-parties under the command of officers of the "Volage," and offered rewards to the natives for news; but such information, as they were able to obtain, led them to suppose that the boat had been cut off, and that the whole party had either been killed, or were prisoners at the Bocca Tigris.

Enclosure 1 in the above letter; page 455 of the correspondence.

Enclosure 3 in the above letter; page 456 of the correspondence.

Enclosures 4 and 5 in the above letter; page 457 of the correspondence.

The proclamation of the Imperial Commissioner and Governor of the 31st August, calling on the natives to arm themselves and prevent the English from landing, which fell into Captain Elliot's hands about the same time, increased his anxiety and irritation; and he accordingly wrote to Captain Smith, requesting him to declare a blockade of the port and river of Canton. At the same time to make it clear that the British Government was in no way countenancing or protecting the contraband traffic, he issued a Memorandum to the commanders of British vessels at Hong Kong and to all Her Majesty's subjects, informing them that the Imperial Commissioner had justified his proceedings by the allegation that some of the British subjects at that anchorage were still trading in opium, and requiring all British vessels engaged in the traffic to immediately leave the harbour and coast.

Captain Smith fully concurred as to the necessity for the blockade in the interest, as he said, of self-preservation; and gave formal notice of his intention to establish it on the 10th September. Ships actually within the port, or entering it within six days from the date of the notice, were however to be allowed to leave.

The anchorage at Hong Kong was open to attack from several points; and the enforced residence of ladies and children on board ship was doubtless attended with considerable inconvenience. Captain Elliot therefore, on the 12th September, informed the Portuguese Governor of Macao of the intended blockade; and requested him once more to give an asylum to British merchants and their wives and children, and to permit British cargoes of goods specified in the Chinese tariff to be landed at Macao on payment of the usual duties. "In the name," he wrote, "of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, he takes this occasion once more to request refuge for the British merchants and their families at Macao; neither can he think that the Chinese authorities would seriously consider the protection of a handful of men, women, and children to be a breach of that neutrality which your Excellency desires to observe in the struggle between the British and Chinese Governments, or incur the risks of serious disputes both with the Courts of Great Britain and Portugal, by acting upon

Letter from Captain Elliot to the Governor of Macao, dated 12th Sept. 1839; pages 8 and 9 of additional papers. (12 pages.)

"pretensions so hostile to both, and so flagrantly insulting to your Excellency's Government."

The Portuguese Governor replied, somewhat indignantly, that he could not conceive how Captain Elliot had again requested that British subjects should be permitted to return to Macao, in the face of his communication of the 3rd September, and of the fact that they had withdrawn in the first instance of their own accord; and declared that there were abundant reasons for continuing "the same line of conduct, alike salutary, convenient, and necessary for both Nations." He regretted also that it was not in his power to assent, without permission from the Chinese authorities, to the proposal to land British merchandise in the settlement.

In the meantime, a Spanish brig, "the Bilbaino," which had arrived from Manilla and was lying in the Macao roads, was attacked before daylight on the morning of the 12th September by four war-junks and a number of mandarin boats, and was plundered and afterwards burnt. The captain was on shore, but the mate, a Spaniard, was on board with the crew, which was composed entirely of natives of Manilla. The Manilla men, with one exception, jumped overboard and were afterwards picked up by the Chinese. Six of them were put on shore, and ten were left in the ship's long boat without oars or rudder. Four men, however, were either killed or drowned; and the mate and the one Manilla man, who remained with him, were carried off as prisoners to the Bocca Tigris.

The "Bilbaino" was flying the Spanish flag; but was attacked by the Chinese, apparently under the impression that she was the "Virginia," one of the British receiving-ships, from which opium had been delivered to the authorities in accordance with Captain Elliot's notice. This impression had no foundation. The brig, as Captain Elliot reported, had been in the Macao and Manilla trade for three years, and had never belonged to any persons other than subjects of Spain; and apparently had not been at any time engaged in the opium traffic.

On the 13th September Captain Elliot, before receipt of the reply to his letter from the Portuguese Governor, proceeded with Captain Smith to Macao, and fell in on the way with a British ship, which was conveying the missing reconnoitring party back to Hong Kong. Both officers, on being assured of the safety of the party, were agreed that no further measures of hostility should be taken; and Captain Smith, on their return to Hong Kong, published on the 16th September a notice to the effect that the projected blockade would not be established. The blockade would of course have prevented all foreign trade, and some of the Americans at Canton appear to have protested against it, and to have informed Captain Smith that they would hold the British Government, and him personally, responsible for any lives that might be sacrificed, or losses that might be sustained, by American citizens, in consequence of its institution; but the protest was not referred to by Captain Elliot in his official explanation of the reasons, which had induced him to abandon the project, and there is nothing on record to show that he was in any way influenced by it.

Captain Elliot, moreover, hearing that the Imperial Commissioner was alarmed at the protracted continuance of the disagreement, and thinking that the mistake made in regard to the "Bilbaino" might make him more desirous of an understanding, reopened communication with the Chinese authorities at Macao, and made another earnest effort to avert the hostilities that were impending.

"Elliot," he wrote to the District Magistrate on the 14th "September, has now arrived at this place in the cruiser of his nation, and desires to open communications with the honourable officers concerning affairs of importance. For many years Elliot has transacted business with the high officers of this province with faithfulness; and what can he desire but peace and goodwill."

The Portuguese Governor and Procurador also appear to have been asked to use their good offices with the local Chinese officers to promote an understanding.

Captain Elliot at the same time offered to assist the consignee of the "Bilbaino" in obtaining the release of the mate and seaman, who were in the hands of the Chinese; but the consignee, who was a Spanish merchant at Macao, was unwilling to avail himself of the offer, partly because he had already appealed to the Portuguese Governor, in whose jurisdiction he considered that the outrage had occurred, and partly because he feared that the interference of the British Superintendent might furnish the Commissioner with a pretext for insisting that the men were British subjects.

The negotiations opened with the Macao Magistrate were continued for more than five weeks. The Imperial Commissioner and the Governor communicated on the

Letter from the Governor of Macao to Captain Elliot, dated 14th Sept. 1839; pages 10 and 11 of additional papers. (12 pages.)

Letter from Mr. Castro to Captain Elliot, dated 13th Sept. 1839; page 6; and letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 6th Dec. 1839, and enclosures; pages 45-52 of additional papers. (52 pages.) Conditions of amicable arrangement forwarded in the name of the Commissioner and Governor; pages 7 and 8; and letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 6th Dec. 1839; pages 45 to 47 of additional papers (52 pages).

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 23rd Sept. 1839; pages 454 and 455 of the correspondence.

Speeches made in the House of Commons by Sir J. Graham and Lord Palmerston, on 7th and 9th April 1840. Hansard's Parly. Debates, 3rd Series, Vol. LIII.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 16th Nov. 1839; pages 3-5 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

Enclosures 2 and 3 in the above letter; page 6 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 6th Dec. 1839; pages 45-47 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

Enclosures 3 and 4 in the letter from Captain

Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 16th Nov. 1839; pages 6-8 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

20th September through the Magistrate three conditions, upon the fulfilment of which they would be prepared to effect some arrangement, as proposed by Captain Elliot, for the resumption of trade, pending the receipt of instructions, which he was expecting, from England :—

1. That all opium in the ships at Hong Kong should be at once surrendered ;
2. That the murderer of Lin Weihe should be given up, or that the seamen, who were known to have been engaged in the riot, should be sent to the officers of the Celestial Empire for trial, on the understanding that one only should answer for the crime, and the others should be sent back ;
3. That the opium receiving-ships should be removed beyond the Great Ladrone, and that all the persons who had been banished from China, but had not yet complied with the order, should depart immediately.

“If,” they said in conclusion, “there be delay, and no answer be returned beyond the middle decade of this eighth month (the end of September) then shall the martial valour of the naval and military forces be all led forth, the offence proclaimed, and its punishment required. Repentance will then be fruitless.”

Enclosures 5-7 in the same letter; pages 11 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

Captain Elliot, on receiving this communication, proceeded at once to Macao, and replied to it from that place on the 24th September.

1. As to opium, he urged that there ought not to be any on board of any English ship at Hong Kong, as he had already taken measures to require the departure from the coast of all English vessels engaged in the traffic; and promised that, if the Chinese wished to search any ship or ships, he would arrange that they should be accompanied by officers of his establishment, and if opium was found, he would not offer any objection to the seizure and confiscation of the cargo of the ship concerned. He agreed further that if it should be proved that any English merchants were secretly deriving a profit from the sale of opium from any English ship, he would not intercede in their behalf, if the whole firm should be expelled from China.

To prevent an illicit trade in opium in the future, he proposed : (a.) That no English firm should be permitted to transact business, or to reside in China, unless each member of it should sign a declaration that he would have no concern, direct or indirect, with the opium traffic; that he would not permit any person under his control to be concerned in it, and that he was aware of the existence of a regulation, authorising his expulsion from the country, in the event of his breaking faith; and that all such declarations should be countersigned by him, or by some other officer of the British Nation, and should be submitted by him to the Chinese Government. (b.) That no British ship should be permitted to trade with China, unless the commander and consignee should, on the day of its arrival, deliver to Captain Elliot a solemn declaration to the effect that there was no opium on board, and that none would be received during the stay of the ship in China; and unless he should submit this declaration to the officers of the Chinese Government with a certificate, that he believed it to be true.

“If,” he said, “the high officers will thus far confide in the good faith of an English officer, Elliot assures them that this regulation will effect the separation of the lawful from the lawless trade.”

(2.) As to the case of Lin Weihe, he again stated that there were many sailors—American and English—on shore at the time, and that he had been unable to discover the guilty person. He promised, however, that inquiries should be continued, and that the guilty person, if discovered, should be placed on his trial in accordance with the laws of Great Britain, before officers of the Chinese Government. “But now,” he added, “let a sure and satisfactory mode of joint investigation be determined upon, congenial with the customs of the Empire and of his own nation. Thus will all future matters of the like nature be arranged agreeably to prescribed rule; and perpetual peace will be preserved.”

(3.) Finally, he undertook to arrange that the proscribed individuals then remaining, and the ships that were formerly used for the storage of opium, should leave China as soon as the first northerly wind, which was expected in a few days, should set in. He interceded, however, for two of the sixteen, who, as he said, had not traded in opium, Mr. D. Matheson, then a youth, and Mr. Henry; and suggested that the order of banishment should in their case be rescinded.

He expected, he added in conclusion, to receive instructions from England in about four months; and, until these instructions were received, it would be impossible for the ships to proceed to Whampoa.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 16th Nov. 1839; pages 3-5; and

The submission of this reply was followed by discussions with the Chinese officers at Macao in regard to the case of Lin Weihe. Captain Elliot promised to offer a reward of 2,000 dollars for information, which would lead to the discovery of the man

who had caused his death, but declined to countenance any pretext for hushing the matter up. The corpse of a British seaman had been found in Hong Kong Harbour some days before; and on the 27th September the mandarins questioned Captain Elliot about this, and tried in vain to induce him to declare that this was the corpse of the guilty man. This attempt to act on the precedent established by the "London" case having failed, the Chinese were prepared to repeat the infamous procedure adopted on the occasion of the Cumsingmoon affair in 1833; and repeated suggestions were made, during the negotiations, to the effect that the Hong merchants should be permitted to persuade some lascar, or to purchase some Macao slave, to personate the offender. There is nothing to show how far these suggestions were authorised; but from the tenor of Lin's communications, there is reason to believe that the Chinese would have contentedly executed any person whom Captain Elliot might have been pleased to surrender, without any scruples as to whether he was really guilty.

enclosures 8
9 in the letter
pages 11 and 12
of additional
papers. (52
pages.)

On the 28th September a movement of the Chinese fleet from Chuenpee caused Captain Elliot to return to Hong Kong to look after the shipping, but the negotiations were not interrupted on this account; and on the day of his departure the Imperial Commissioner and Governor announced, direct to him, their orders on his reply to their communication of the 20th September.

Enclosures 10
and 11 in the
above letter;
pages 12-15
additional
papers.
(52 pages.)

1. Captain Elliot was directed to examine the ships at Hong Kong again, as it appeared most improbable that there was no opium on board, and two Chinese had deposed to the purchase of opium from a vessel there at anchor; and Chinese officers would, it was said, be deputed to search the ships after he had completed his examination. If at this search the ships were found to be free from opium, an arrangement would be made to enable them to discharge their cargoes at some place, (other than Macao), appointed for the purpose. The declarations, proposed to prevent illicit trade in the future, were regarded as satisfactory; but it is said, "it will still be requisite to state clearly, that obedience shall be paid to the new law declared by the Emperor: if any bring opium, the parties shall be immediately executed, and the vessel and cargo confiscated to Government."

2. A period of 10 days was allowed to Captain Elliot to discover the murderer of Lin Weihe, and deliver him up for trial and punishment; and measures of extermination were threatened in the event of further delay and evasion. "The brave forces," it was said, "naval and military, that are now everywhere stationed, are assembled as clouds upon the various waters. There must be no more glossing pretexts for delay, drawing down measures of extermination."

3. The proscribed persons then remaining were allowed six days to return to Macao and settle their affairs; and they, and also the receiving-ships, were then to leave China at once, as the northerly wind had set in.

4. All "Chinese traitors," other than the compradores and working-men engaged through the Hong merchants, who were then in concealment in the vessels at Hong Kong, were to be made over to the officers of Government.

"The Celestial Empire," they concluded, "is a great one, cherishing as its children the small. All outer foreigners, who come to China to trade, and pay implicit obedience to the laws, look up to invite the Imperial grace to show tenderness towards men from afar. It is not allowable carelessly to bring forward such expressions as 'mutual harmony,' and insert them in addresses, to the infraction of the requirements of dignity, whereby severe commands are called forth."

Captain Elliot replied, on the 5th October, that the ships at Hong Kong might be searched at once; that orders from England regarding the words required in the bonds might be expected in four months; that of the sixteen proscribed British subjects, six had gone and four others were on the point of departure; that of the English receiving-ships, eight only remained, of which one had been sold to the Americans, and three were to be broken up; that he had not been able to discover the murderer of Lin Weihe, but would continue to make strict inquiry, and that he knew nothing about the Chinese said to be concealed on the British ships, and thought it probable that they had all absconded. "The English nation," he said, "is the equal of any other on the face of the earth in justice and power; and in using expressions suitable to her station, there is no desire to offend the dignity of this Empire. Elliot requests that the language of the high officers towards him, the officer of his nation, may no longer be contumelious."

Enclosure 12 in
the above letter;
page 16 of addi-
tional papers.
(52 pages.)

Other correspondence followed with the Macao District Magistrate, principally regarding the departure of the proscribed individuals and the receiving-ships; and on the 8th October the Imperial Commissioner and Governor, in consideration, as they

Enclosures 13-17
in the above
letter; pages 16-
22 of additional
papers.
(52 pages.)

said, of the delay from which British ships had already suffered, sanctioned a modification of their original orders in regard to the execution of bonds.

1. Ships, of which the commanders were prepared to execute bonds in the prescribed form, were to be allowed to trade as usual; and all other ships were to be searched at a place outside the Bocca Tigris, the cargo being removed into lighters for the purpose. If any opium were found in a ship, the offender was to be executed and the ship and cargo confiscated; but if no opium were discovered, the ship would be allowed to trade. Three days were allowed for the departure of all vessels neither giving bonds, nor submitting to search, and after that time fire-ships would, it was said, be sent to destroy them. "As to vessels with cargoes hereafter arriving," they said, "they will all, without reference to their having, or not, executed the obligations, (or) to their having or not been searched, be required always, each time that they come to Canton, to execute an obligation in the same form. If they will not execute an obligation, or do not execute it according to the prescribed form, they shall, upon no terms whatever, be admitted to trade."

2. A further period of ten days was allowed for the surrender of the murderer of Lin Weihe; and after the expiration of this period they threatened that they would waste no more words upon the Superintendent, but would send ships to take the master, merchant, mates, and seamen of the vessel concerned, and would then select from them the principal offender to atone for his crime, and send the others back.

3. The remaining receiving-ships and proscribed persons were to leave without further delay. Mr. Henry, however, was permitted to remain under surveillance, as Captain Elliot said he had never dealt in opium. Mr. D. Matheson was required to depart as being a member of Mr. Jardine's firm. "In conclusion," they said, "the commands which we, the Commissioner and the Governor, have at various times given, have been no otherwise than in pursuance of the principles of justice, or for the complete exhibition of needed instruction and monition. Where has been the contumelious language? As to what may be the power of that nation in comparison with other nations, the Celestial Empire cares not to inquire over much. Let not any thoughtless bragging representations be confusedly made."

On receiving these orders, Captain Elliot rather hastily came to the conclusion that the Commissioner and Governor intended to drop the question of the surrender of a British subject for execution, and informed them, in reply, that it would be easy for him to arrange everything in accordance with their wishes, and that he would proceed again to Macao on the 15th October for the purpose. "Concerning," he wrote, "the apprehension of the murderer of Lin Weihe, he can only repeat that he will continue to use all diligence, and report to their Excellencies, as soon as he is discovered, to the end that he may be placed on his trial." He proceeded accordingly to Macao, and after some days of discussion effected an arrangement, on the 20th October, with the Hong merchants, which provided that the British trade should be carried on outside the Bocca Tigris at an anchorage near Chuenpee, without execution of the required bonds, on condition that the ships and cargoes should be subject to examination, that the cargoes should be transported to and from Canton in Chinese boats, and that port dues, pilots' charges, and linguists' fees should be paid in the usual manner.

Captain Elliot appears to have been perfectly satisfied as to the authority of the Hong merchants to conclude an arrangement of this kind, and on the 21st October he wrote as follows to Lord Palmerston:—"In my despatch of the 23rd ultimo, I expressed the hope, that it would soon be in my power to put an end to the state of great danger and difficulty then existing; and I have now to report its realisation in an adjustment; temporary, indeed, but honourable. The British community is returning to Macao; the ships will proceed immediately to discharge their cargoes, and, in all respects, there is a restoration of the usual tranquillity; neither has there been any departure, as your Lordship will hardly need to be told, from the principles that it was impossible for me to deliver up a man in compensation for the native Lin Weihe, or to accede to signing of a bond of consent to the trial and capital punishment of the Queen's subjects by Chinese forms of proceeding."

British subjects were informed of the arrangement arrived at, and a committee of British merchants, deputed from Hong Kong for the purpose, met the Hong merchants at Macao, and discussed and settled with them the details of the scheme.

The arrangement was at the best a makeshift; and difficulties would probably have arisen in regard to the examination of cargoes and ships by the officers of the Chinese Government. It seems also somewhat doubtful whether it would have

Enclosure 18 in the above letter; page 23 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

Public Notice to British subjects, dated 20th Oct. 1839; pages 5 and 6 of additional correspondence (14 pages); and enclosures 19 and 20 in the letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 16th Nov. 1839; pages 23 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 21st Oct. 1839; page 1 of additional correspondence. (14 pages.)

Minute by the Committee of British merchants, dated 22nd Oct. 1839; pages 7 and 8 of additional correspondence. (14 pages.)

been accepted entirely by the Imperial Commissioner and Governor. Any prospect, however, that it might have had of success was effectually marred by the selfish and unpatriotic conduct of Captain Warner and Mr. Daniell, who had been one of the supracargoes of the East India Company, and was then a private merchant in China. Captain Warner arrived from Singapore in a ship, the "Thomas Coutts," consigned to Mr. Daniell, during the progress of Captain Elliot's negotiations; and although he was aware that the negotiations had reached an advanced stage, he applied for a pilot and proceeded to the Bocca Tigris, and there signed a bond in the form required by the Imperial Commissioner, and the ship was at once taken to Whampoa.

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston dated 5th Nov. 1839; pages 8-11 of additional correspondence. (14 pages.)

On the 22nd October Captain Elliot informed the Chinese Magistrate of Macao of the conclusion of the arrangement with the Hong merchants; and requested that orders might be issued, authorising pilots to take the merchant ships up the river for examination, and that no opposition might be offered to the return to the settlement of the British merchants and their families, several of whom had been emboldened by the favourable aspect of the negotiations to make their way back.

Enclosures 20-2 in the letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 16th Nov. 1839; pages 23-25 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

The Magistrate replied that the merchants and their families must wait until orders could be obtained from the Commissioner and Governor; but no action was taken to expel those who had returned.

Captain Elliot then requested that the servants might be restored and supplies furnished, and that communication with Canton might be permitted in the usual manner; and the Magistrate promised to apply for sanction to this request, if the Superintendent would arrange to send the merchant ships at once to the place appointed for their examination, and would comply with the other orders which had been issued.

On the 25th October, however, the Imperial Commissioner passed orders to the effect that at least two hundred days would be occupied in the search of the ships, and that until it was completed the English could not be allowed to return to Macao, and that their supplies must be strictly cut off, and any, who had returned, expelled. If, however, he said, bonds were given in the prescribed form, everything without exception might be permitted to go on as usual.

Enclosure 26 in the above letter; pages 29-31 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

These orders were communicated on the 26th October by the Macao Magistrate and an officer specially deputed by the Commissioner; and on the same day these officers announced in another communication further orders by the Imperial Commissioner and Governor in regard to the proposed arrangement for carrying on the trade outside the Bocca Tigris. "When I, the Commissioner," said Lin, "on the 20th September, first issued my commands, I set down in order these three things, in the prior place, the surrender of opium, the delivering up of the murderer, and the sending home of the empty store-ships and the depraved foreigners.

Enclosure 24 in the above letter; pages 27-28 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

"In all such parts of my commands as related to the entrance of the vessels, I stated that if they should act obediently in each of the three preceding particulars, it would then not be difficult to resolve on the granting of favours. Let me ask now, if at this moment these three particulars have indeed been duly arranged? And though, it may be said, that there is no opium to be surrendered, and that the depraved foreigners and the empty store-ships are being sent home, how is it that the principal murderer in a most important case of homicide has been set aside, as not to be inquired about? If indeed the said foreigners were to give the bonds in accordance with the prescribed form, it might yet be suffered, that time should be allowed to arrange that matter; but now, while it is far otherwise, how shall the granting of permits be at once sanctioned?

"Moreover, in my commands of the 9th October, and proclamation of the same date, it was declared that this was a modification beyond the bounds of rule, granted upon the present occasion, in consideration for the protracted delay which all the vessels had suffered; that vessels hereafter arriving would all be required to execute an obligation in accordance with the form prescribed; that, if not according to the form, they should upon no terms whatever be admitted to trade. But from what the foreign merchants now declare, it seems that hereafter also they will be equally unwilling to execute the obligation; that their idea is to continue selling opium. To what end, then, will the searching the cargoes upon the present occasion tend? Regarding the crowding back to Macao of the foreign merchants and their families, how can any encroaching be allowed, or indulgence be shown while these matters are yet in confusion? I require you immediately, in concert with the Commodore of the Heangshan Station and my deputed officer, to act faithfully in driving them forth, and to urge the Portuguese foreigners to join also in pushing them out of Macao; their stay must not be suffered. The cargo-ships, which do not give the

* i.e., 8th October.

" bonds on this occasion, must yet, in accordance with my former commands, be interrogated whether or not they will give the bond according to the prescribed form upon the next occasion; and they must be required, severally, to give certificates. Such as will express their willingness to give the bond may, on the present occasion, be allowed to await search. If they are unwilling, on any after occasion, to give the bond, it would be better they should on this occasion return home, and they shall be required within three days to take their departure. . . .

" Regarding the murderer in the case of homicide, Elliot must still, as in my former reply, be required to send up for trial the five men detained by him. If he continue to oppose and delay, I must call upon the Naval Commander-in-Chief to proceed at the head of his war vessels and fire-ships, as also of the land soldiery encamped at all the various points of ingress, that they may join in seizing the murderous foreigner, making it imperative on them to bring him up for trial and punishment; and at the same time to search for and apprehend all the traitorous Chinese in shelter and concealment on board the various ships. And when they are brought to submission, it will then be time to consider of regulations for their search and admission into the port.

" I, the Commissioner, am sworn on behalf of the Celestial Empire to remove utterly this root of misery; nor will I let the foreign vessels have any offshoot left for the evil to bud forth again."

The Governor also in his orders insisted on the necessity for the execution of bonds, as a guarantee of good faith, and on the difficulties which would attend any scheme for the examination and removal of cargoes outside the port.

" As soon as this communication reaches the said Superintendent," wrote the District Magistrate and Commissioner's Deputy, " when announcing these orders, let him immediately pay obedience in the matter of their Excellencies' replies, and speedily deliver up at once the murderous foreigner; let him also send home all the depraved foreigners and opium store-ships. If the cargo-ships will give the required form of bond in the same manner as Warner's ship has done, they shall then be permitted to proceed to Whampoa. Such as are unwilling to give the bond and proceed to Whampoa, are required within three days to start off home. All the foreigners and foreign women are instantly to leave" (Macao).

To this communication Captain Elliot again replied that he was not aware who had caused the death of Lin Weihe, and that the five men* who had been found guilty of rioting had been sent home to receive their punishment of imprisonment and fine: and asked for time to translate their Excellencies' orders, as they were of great importance.

This reply provoked a retort that whatever was contained in their Excellencies' commands was always of importance, and further orders followed fast; the Macao Magistrate and Commissioner's Deputy communicating commands from the Commissioner on the 27th October, and the Commissioner and Governor announcing further orders direct to the Superintendent upon the same day.

The tenor of the Commissioner's orders to his Deputy and the Macao Magistrate will appear from the following passage:—" That the English foreigners," he said, " should not be allowed hastily to return to Macao. I have in repeated instances declared, and commanded, and urged their speedy expulsion. How can you still prefer a request for their return, stating that all these foreigners say that all things are now arranged agreeably to my commands? Let it be asked, are the bonds given? Is the murderer delivered up? Of other matters I say nothing. I require that they be speedily, and with severity, driven out. Suffer no longer delay or addition to their numbers, that you bring not investigation on yourselves also."

In their orders issued direct to Captain Elliot, the Commissioner and Governor explained at some length the objections, (which were undoubtedly serious), to the scheme for unloading and searching vessels outside the Bocca Tigris. In the first place, as they said, there were not enough Chinese boats in the river for the purpose. Secondly, the operation would be tedious and difficult, and goods would be certain to suffer. And thirdly, the ships would not be able to spare men enough to look after their property, when on its way in Chinese boats from the Bocca Tigris to Canton. " We, the Commissioner and Governor," they continued, " loving and compassionating all the foreigners, and being unwilling that they should suffer this loss, therefore resolved to arrange for them a mode of operation, by which such as would execute

Enclosure 25
in the above
letter; page 28
of additional
papers.
(52 pages.)

Enclosures 27-29
in the above
letter; pages 31-
37 of additional
papers.
(52 pages.)

* The men were released on their arrival in England, in accordance with an opinion, expressed by the Law Officers of the Crown to the effect that it was doubtful whether Captain Elliot had the power to sentence them to imprisonment in England. Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. 3rd Series, Vol. 53, page 1,133.

“ the bond in the form prescribed should be allowed to escape the search, thus
 “ leading them in a path, short and convenient, and showing them the full weight of
 “ faithfulness and justice. Such a disposition would we extend, indeed, to all the
 “ foreigners; but these foreigners still will not understand, and are willing to
 “ undergo the trouble of being searched. And when we examine what are their
 “ stupid and obscure thoughts, we find only that they regard as ill-looking the
 “ words ‘the parties immediately executed.’ They will not consider that when
 “ ‘execution’ is spoken of, it is in sole reference to those persons who bring opium.
 “ If they, indeed, bring none, what obstruction or difficulty can there be to the execu-
 “ tion of the bond? Thus Daniell, having executed the bond and sent his ship to
 “ Whampoa, he was immediately at liberty to trade.” “The other
 “ day, the said Superintendent joined to himself several foreign merchants, to repair to
 “ Macao and deliberate. This would seem as though these men were such as had an
 “ acquaintance with affairs, and that this was the cause of consulting them. But I
 “ have heard that they had the daring presumption to carry forcibly their opinions,
 “ that they were foremost in contumacy and opposition, and that they employed
 “ coercion to prevent the smaller merchants giving the bond. How exceedingly
 “ hateful is such perverse and obstinate exercise of compulsion! There can be no
 “ doubt, from this, that they are depraved individuals engaged in the sale of opium.
 “ We, the Commissioner and the Governor, before did indeed determine to give a
 “ modified arrangement; but now, since we have become aware of these circumstances,
 “ we assuredly cannot bear with their contumacy and trifling. Those foreign
 “ merchants, who went to Macao, to lord it in the deliberations, being unwilling to
 “ give the bond, all of them must be refused permission to trade, and be compelled
 “ to take their departure to return to their countries.”

Four foreign vessels, they said, had recently visited Kwanghai, contrary to the regulations; and in an affray, which had occurred, one Chinese had been killed, and three wounded, and the pig-tails of seven others had been cut off; and then, on the appearance of the war junks, the foreign vessels had escaped and returned to Hong Kong. Three foreigners also had been seized for selling opium off Hainan, and had admitted upon examination, that the Captain of the “Hercules,” a British ship, was engaged in an extensive traffic in the drug. Captain Elliot, therefore, was ordered to ascertain and report the names of the foreigners, who had killed and wounded the Chinese at Kwanghai, to enable them to inflict punishment, and also to surrender the Captain of the “Hercules” for examination and trial.

“ For the rest,” they concluded, “ the traitorous Chinese on board the foreign
 “ vessels, we find more numerous the more we inquire. Before we commanded that
 “ they should be given up, and the said Superintendent gave it no thought. It seems,
 “ for the most part, that these foreigners cannot be aroused or influenced by good
 “ words. And we, the Commissioner and the Governor, have no course left but to
 “ send out war vessels to proceed to Hong Kong, to surround and apprehend all the
 “ offenders, those connected with murders, and those connected with opium, as well as
 “ the traitorous Chinese, concealed on board the foreign vessels. We take occasion
 “ distinctly to make this known to enable you to be prepared. We, the Commissioner
 “ and the Governor, conduct affairs open to the broadest light of equity, and are not
 “ willing to come on any unexpectedly.”

This was practically a declaration of war; and on the 27th October Captain Elliot wrote to Captain Smith, who was then off Macao in the “Volage,” calling his earnest attention to the menacing character of the communications, which he had received from the authorities, repudiating the arrangement effected in regard to the trade; informing him that he had received credible information to the effect that the Chinese Admiral had assembled a considerable force at the Bocca Tigris, and was contemplating measures of hostility against the merchant ships with the ostensible object of seizing the murderer of Lin Weihe; and suggesting that Her Majesty’s ships should be moved to the anchorage below Chuenpee, and that Captain Smith should submit in his own name “a moderate but firm address” to the Imperial Commissioner and Governor, as the only possible means of averting some “sudden disaster.” “Upon the
 “ other hand,” he added, “this measure will enable you to judge of the actual extent
 “ of preparation, and of the readiness to attack; and if it be intended, as I am
 “ strongly disposed to believe, Her Majesty’s ships can be in no more suitable or
 “ imposing situation, for effectually repelling such aggressive purposes, than in the
 “ sight of the batteries, and under the immediate observation of the Commissioner.”

Letter from
 Captain Elliot
 to Captain Smith,
 dated 27th
 Oct. 1859;
 pages 11 and 12
 of additional
 correspondence.
 (14 pages.)

Letter from Captain Smith to Captain Elliot, dated 28th Oct. 1839; page 12 of additional correspondence. (14 pages.)

Captain Smith replied, on the 28th October, that he had observed, with considerable uneasiness, the erection of batteries and the increase of the Chinese force in the vicinity of Hong Kong, and the military preparations at Macao, and was of opinion that a firm and decided stand should be made against any further encroachments. He concurred as to the advisability of submitting propositions direct to the Imperial Commissioner at the Bocca Tigris, and expressed himself ready to proceed to Chuenpee for the purpose. Captain Elliot accordingly joined him; and the "Volage" and H.M.S. "Hyacinth," which had also arrived in China, started for Chuenpee, where they arrived on the 2nd November.

Address from Captain Elliot to the Imperial Commissioner and Governor of Canton, dated 29th Oct. 1839; page 37 of additional papers. (62 pages.)

Before leaving Macao, Captain Elliot replied briefly, on the 29th October, to the communication from the Commissioner and Governor of the 27th October. "Elliot," he wrote, "has received the communication of their Excellencies, dated on the 27th instant, containing the statements of outrages committed upon the coast, which have filled him with sorrow and shame. He, again and again, declares that the British Government will give no protection to the men of his nation pursuing these guilty and sordid practices. But concerning these spoken of Elliot knows nothing. They have not taken place within the circle of his authority; and he can solemnly aver that he has used his best efforts to prevent them, wherever his power extends. It is utterly false to say that he has given these, or any other shameful deeds, his countenance. Concerning all other matters touched on in their Excellencies' communications, Elliot has already replied fully."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 5th Nov. 1839; pages 8-10; and Enclosure 3 in the letter; page 13 of additional correspondence. (14 pages.)

At Chuenpee the British ships were anchored about a mile below the first battery, where an imposing force of Chinese war junks and fire-ships was assembled, and a Lieutenant and Mr. Morrison, the Chinese Secretary, were sent on the 2nd November to the Admiral's junk, with an address from Captain Smith to the Imperial Commissioner and Governor, submitting for their consideration the following propositions:—

First.—That they should forthwith publish a proclamation, withdrawing the orders issued for the destruction of the British merchant ships by war junks and fire-ships in three days, because the commanders had not signed bonds, which they could not execute "consistently with the laws of their own country."

Second.—That the British merchants and their families should be allowed to reside on shore without fear of seizure, and should be furnished with servants and supplies, until the commands of the Queen of England should be "received for the adjustment of all difficulties, agreeably to the principles of peace and reason."

The Lieutenant and Mr. Morrison were civilly received; and the Admiral promised to forward the address to the Commissioner and Governor, who were then in the neighbourhood, and to send an answer the following day. He also expressed a wish that the ships should move a little further down the river; and this Captain Smith immediately did.

In the evening a linguist was sent to the British ships with a verbal message, requesting that Mr. Morrison might be sent to the Admiral's junk; but a reply was given to the effect that Captain Smith's address contained all that was to be said, and until it was answered, Mr. Morrison could not be allowed to attend.

In the forenoon of the 3rd November a Chinese junk, with an officer on board, anchored at a short distance from the British ships, and the linguist was again deputed to request that Mr. Morrison might be sent. The request, however, was again refused; and about the same time the Chinese squadron, consisting of 29 junks, stood out towards the British ships, which immediately got under weigh and advanced to meet them.

Captain Smith to the various Commanders of war junks, dated 3rd Nov. 1839; page 13 of additional correspondence. (14 pages.)

The Chinese, on seeing this, anchored in good order; and Captain Smith sent by the linguist a brief communication addressed to the Commanders, requiring them to withdraw to their former anchorage. "Smith," he said, "commanding the British naval force, hereby sends information to the various Commanders. He has peremptorily to request, that all their vessels instantly return to the anchorage north of Shakok. It will be well so to do."

Reply by the Chinese Admiral to the above communication, dated 3rd Nov. 1839; page 13 of additional correspondence. (14 pages.)

This communication was delivered to the Admiral, who was commanding in person; and in a short time he sent back by the linguist the following reply: "The linguist having returned on board, all that he had to represent for you has become known to me. At this moment, all that I, the Tetuh (Admiral), want is the murderous foreigner, who killed Liu Weihe, a single individual. If Elliot will name a period

"in which he will deliver up the murderer, I, the Tetuh, will be in no way apprehensive in my requirements. As soon as a time is given in which the murderer shall be delivered up, the force can be immediately drawn back to the Bogue. Otherwise by no means whatever will I accede. This in reply."

The linguist also brought back Captain Smith's address to the Commissioner and Governor, and a sealed order addressed to the Commander of the ship on board of which the five prisoners, sentenced to imprisonment for participation in the fatal affray, had been confined.

The Admiral's reply showed plainly that the Imperial Commissioner was determined upon hostilities, unless some individual should be surrendered for execution, in atonement for the death of Lin Weihe; but Captain Elliot addressed to him the following final communication:—"Elliot again and again solemnly repeats that he knows not the murderer of the native Lin Weihe; that he should have been punished, if he had been discovered; and that he shall be punished, if he be apprehended. Elliot is a sincere lover of peace, and is not responsible for the consequences of present proceedings."

Captain Smith was not disposed to retire in the presence of a force which (in Captain Elliot's words) had been "moved out with the palpable intention to intimidate;" and thought that the Chinese should not be left at liberty to slip by the ships of war in the night and attack the merchantmen at Hong Kong. He accordingly, with Captain Elliot's concurrence, gave the signal for attack and the British ships opened fire. The engagement, which followed, was of short duration. In less than three quarters of an hour, four of the Chinese junks had been destroyed, or sunk, and several were waterlogged; and the Admiral, who had personally displayed much bravery and spirit, retired with the remainder of the squadron to his former anchorage. The damage done to the British ships was slight. Captain Smith did not oppose the Admiral's retreat; and made sail for Macao to cover the embarkation of British subjects and to make provision for the safety of the merchant ships. The moderation displayed was, however, thrown away upon the Chinese; who, as Sir John Davis tells us, misconstrued Captain Smith's motives for not entirely destroying the squadron, and claimed that they had gained a victory upon the occasion.

Arrangements were made for the embarkation of British subjects wishing to leave Macao on the evening of the 3rd November; and Captain Elliot then proceeded with Captain Smith in the "Volage" to Hong Kong, leaving the "Hyacinth" at the Portuguese settlement.

At Hong Kong, the Chinese brought some troops and guns to the neighbourhood of the anchorage and opened fire on the ships; and although the fire was ineffectual, and the troops might easily have been dislodged, Captain Elliot and Captain Smith were both anxious to avoid any further measures of hostility. To safeguard the ships, however, from any possibility of surprise, Captain Elliot insisted on their removal, much against the wish of the Commanders and underwriters, from Hong Kong, to a safer anchorage at Tongkoo Bay. No trade was permitted after the affair at Chuenpee, and the transhipment of cargoes from American vessels was prohibited by the Chinese.

The Imperial Commissioner and the Chinese authorities, as might have been expected, absolutely refused to admit the mistake, which had been made in regard to the "Bilbaino." The appeal of the consignee for redress was met with a flat denial of the truth of his allegations, and with an injunction to the Portuguese to seize him, and forward him to the Commissioner for exemplary punishment. The Spanish mate and Manilla seaman were taken from the Bocca Tigris to Canton with chains round their necks, and the mate was there induced by threats and promises to sign a false declaration to the effect that the vessel, though she was Spanish at the time of her destruction, had belonged to the British and had been sold by them to the Spaniards.

In a letter to Lord Palmerston, dated 16th November 1839, Captain Elliot made a defence of his conduct in regard to the case of Lin Weihe and the opium traffic.

"I have proceeded," he wrote, "to the uttermost verge of my authority, if I have not exceeded it, in the attempt to discover and bring to justice the murderer of this innocent native, and in my deep public and private anxiety and distress, that consciousness is a support to me. The Commissioner's accusations to the contrary occasion me no uneasiness, and I am, in like manner, unaffected by his charge of countenancing the illicit traffic in opium."

"If my private feelings were of the least consequence upon questions of a public and important nature, assuredly I might justly say that no man entertains a deeper

Letter from Captain Elliot to the Chinese Admiral, dated 3rd Nov. 1839; page 14 of additional correspondence. (14 pages.)

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 5th Nov. 1839; pages 8-10 of additional correspondence. (14 pages.)

Sir John Davis' "China."

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 17th Nov. 1839 and Enclosures; pages 39-42 of additional papers. (32 pages.) Sir John Davis' "China."

Letters from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 16th Nov. and 6th Dec. 1839; pages 3-5 and 45-47 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

Letter from Captain Elliot to Lord Palmerston, dated 16th Nov. 1839; pages 3-5 of additional papers. (52 pages.)

“ detestation or the disgrace and sin of this forced traffic on the coast of China than
 “ the humble individual who signs this despatch.

“ I see little to choose between it and piracy; and in my place, as a public officer,
 “ I have steadily discountenanced it by all the lawful means in my power, and at the
 “ total sacrifice of my private comfort in the society in which I have lived for some
 “ years past.

“ But whilst I have endeavoured to fulfil my duty to Her Majesty’s Government in
 “ the public course of repression I have pursued, it did not consist with my station
 “ to sanction measures of general and undistinguishing violence against Her Majesty’s
 “ officers and subjects; and to a mode of working out objects, right or wrong, which
 “ set all the obligations of moderation and justice at defiance.”

The despatches submitted by Captain Elliot, reporting the circumstances under which the opium was surrendered, and the British merchants withdrew from Canton to Macao, reached England on or before the 21st September 1839; and several demands for settlement of claims on account of the opium were made upon the Treasury at the end of October and beginning of November.

Communications between the Board of Treasury and the holders of Bills or certificates granted by the Chief Superintendent at Canton for opium surrendered: presented to Parliament on the 23rd March 1840.

Correspondence between Her Majesty’s Government and the East India Company regarding the expedition for service in China: submitted to Parliament on 15th April 1840.

Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates; 3 Series, Vol. LIII. From 24th March to 11th May 1840, pages 6–11.

Page 920 of the above volume of Hansard.

Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the China Trade, dated 5th June 1840, with Minutes of Evidence.

Her Majesty’s Ministers were not at first disposed to accept the responsibility thrust upon them by Captain Elliot in regard to the opium; and on the 11th November 1839, the claimants were informed that no funds were available for the payment of compensation, and that the Government had no intention of submitting to Parliament a vote for the payment of any such claims. A demonstration, however, was decided on; and orders were issued, on the 4th November 1839, for the despatch of a naval expedition to the China Seas; and, on the 3rd April 1840, when the Government was in possession of the accounts of the proceedings, which followed the withdrawal of the English from Canton up to the time of the naval engagement at Chuenpee and the removal of the merchant ships to Tongkoo Bay, an Order in Council was issued authorising the Commanders of Her Majesty’s ships of war to seize and detain Chinese vessels and cargoes, so as to compel the Chinese Government to grant satisfaction and reparation for the proceedings of its officers at Canton.

Some of the merchants also, whose opium had been surrendered, petitioned Parliament; and on the 24th March 1840, Mr. Crawford brought forward a motion in the House of Commons for the appointment of a Select Committee of the House to inquire into the subject of their grievances. Her Majesty’s Ministers had at this time, (as stated by Lord John Russell), decided to include, in their demands upon the Chinese Government, an “indemnity for the loss of the property” of British subjects “incurred by threats of violence,” and the motion was not opposed. On the 3rd April, a Committee was nominated, which comprised among its members Lord Palmerston, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Gladstone; and on the 1st May, the correspondence relating to China, which had been presented to Parliament, and the Reports of Committees of the House upon the China Trade, and upon the affairs of the East India Company in 1830–32, were referred to it for consideration.

The Committee examined a certain number of witnesses, (among whom were Mr. Robert Inglis and Mr. Jardine), but little additional information of value was elicited, and no conclusion was arrived at; the Report, which was submitted on the 5th June, 1840, being to the following effect:—“That your Committee feel that they shall best
 “ discharge their duty by laying before the House, without any observation on their
 “ own part, the evidence which they have taken upon the subject.”

The opium trade, Captain Elliot’s proceedings, the paucity of the instructions issued to the Superintendents by Her Majesty’s Government, and the lawless conduct of some of the British residents in China, offered ample opportunities for hostile criticism; and the war was unpopular with many people in Great Britain.

Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates; 3 Series, Vol. LIII.

An attack upon the Government in the House of Commons was led by Sir J. Graham, who moved, on the 7th April 1840, the following Resolution:—“It appears to
 “ this House, on consideration of the papers relating to China, presented to this
 “ House by command of Her Majesty, that the interruption in our commercial and
 “ friendly intercourse with that country, and the hostilities which have since taken
 “ place, are mainly to be attributed to the want of foresight on the part of Her
 “ Majesty’s present advisers in respect to our relations with China, and especially to
 “ their neglect to furnish the Superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions
 “ calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic
 “ in opium, and adapted to the novel and difficult situation in which the Superintendent
 “ was placed.”

A long debate ensued. Mr. Gladstone, Sir Robert Peel, and several others spoke in support of the Resolution, and vigorously assailed the Government, which was eloquently defended by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, then Secretary for War, Sir J. Hobhouse, President of the Board of Control, and Lord Palmerston. Mr. Charles Buller also made an effective speech in defence of the Government, and several other members spoke on both sides. Sir J. Graham's motion, as Sir R. Peel said, did not pronounce any opinion as to "the opium trade, nor as to the policy and justice of the war;" but it offered an opportunity for an attack upon either or both, and the opium trade was strongly denounced by Mr. Gladstone and Viscount Sandon, and also by Sir George Staunton and others, who supported the Government. The necessity for war, or at least for a demonstration of force, was however generally recognised. Even Mr. Gladstone, who said that the war was more unjust in its origin and more calculated in its progress to cover the country with permanent disgrace than any he had ever read of, admitted that the despatch of an armament was required. The country, as he said, had been placed by the Ministers in such a position that it was a matter of certainty that terms of equity could not be demanded without a display of force. Sir Robert Peel also stated clearly, that he was not prepared to deny the necessity for a hostile demonstration. The attack, in short, was made more upon the real or supposed mistakes of the Government in the past than upon the measures which they contemplated in the future.

Captain Elliot's conduct met with more approval than condemnation. Mr. Gladstone, though he censured some of his proceedings, said, "that in the discharge of his duty he had throughout shown great courage, and in some part of it great tact and discretion;" and the other members who spoke in support of the Resolution, as Lord Palmerston observed, were, with few exceptions, more inclined to approve than to criticise. Lord Palmerston himself said that Captain Elliot had made a signal exhibition of "zeal, courage, and patience."

The division on the Resolution, which took place on the 10th April, resulted in a majority of nine in favour of the Government.

In the course of his speech, in this debate, Lord Palmerston stated frankly, that he did not believe, that the motive of the Chinese Government, in prohibiting the importation of opium, was "the promotion of the growth of moral habits." "The fact was," he said, "that this was an exportation of bullion question, an agricultural interest protection question. It was the poppy interest in China, and the practical economists, who wished to prevent the exportation of the precious metals, that led the Chinese Government to seek to put down this contraband trade in opium."

Mr. Gladstone also, (it is important to observe), remarked that there was a "broad and marked distinction" between the opium trade "as carried on before September 1836, and as carried on subsequent to that period." "A Report," he said, "of the Committee of the House of Commons had referred to the former period, and he could imagine that in the lax state of morals, which there prevailed both in this country, and in China, with respect to the smuggling of opium, that that Committee should have been unwilling to enter on the subject of the suppression of the opium trade, when it was supposed that the Chinese themselves were not in earnest in their desire to put it down. The quantity of opium raised and exported to China was, however, at that time much less than it had subsequently been. The trade had not then taken the enormous spring which it had since done; and besides, there was at that time a power in the supracargoes enabling them to put a stop to the opium trade whenever they might see necessary to adopt such a course, and that power it was the intention of Parliament to continue by the Act of 1833."

In the House of Lords the debate which took place turned more directly upon the opium trade, Earl Stanhope, on the 12th May 1840, moved the following Resolution, denouncing the trade and deprecating the war:—"That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty to express to Her Majesty the deep concern of this House in learning that an interruption has occurred in the friendly relations and commercial intercourse which have so long subsisted with the Chinese Empire; and to represent to Her Majesty that these calamities have, in the opinion of this House, been occasioned by British subjects having persevered in taking opium to China, in direct and known violation of the laws of that Empire; and to require that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take immediate measures for the prevention of such proceedings, which are so dishonourable to the character and so detrimental to the interests of her subjects; and to assure Her Majesty that if any additional powers should be found requisite for the purpose, this House will readily concur in granting them to Her Majesty."

Hansard's
Parliamentary
Debates; 3 Series
Vol. LIV.
From 12th May
to 22nd June
18

Hansard's
Parliamentary
Debates, 3 Series
Vol. LIII., pages
1158 and 1159.

In his speech, Earl Stanhope, who had admittedly presided at a public meeting at which it was resolved to send certain strongly-worded resolutions to the Emperor of China through Commissioner Lin, vindicated the sincerity of the Chinese Government in regard to the prohibition of opium, urged that British subjects were bound to respect that prohibition whatever might be its motive, and made what Lord Melbourne described as "a most severe, bitter, and in many respects unjustifiable attack upon Captain Elliot," whom he apparently regarded as a friend of the opium traders. His protection of Mr. Dent, his appeal to the Portuguese Governor of Macao, the affair at Kow Lune, the proposed blockade of the port of Canton, even his proceedings in regard to the case of Lin Weihe—all were condemned, and his conduct was said to have been characterised by a want of frankness and good faith.

Lord Melbourne replied on behalf of the Government. He agreed that the British Government and British subjects had no right to inquire into the sincerity of the Chinese Government, or to question its motives for the prohibition of the importation of opium, but pointed out the objections, which existed, to any co-operation on the part of the British Government in the enforcement of such a prohibition. "The law of that country being known," he said, "it should be respected, and no country should encourage or abet in its subjects the violation of the laws of another. At the same time, it was matter of question, how far one country could enforce the prohibitory laws of another, and how far the Government of the one could prevent the violation particularly of the fiscal revenue and protective laws of the other."

He admitted that the opium trade had been the immediate cause of the rupture, but observed that the trade had been carried on and increased by the connivance of the Chinese authorities at Canton; and, in defending the Government, defended also Captain Elliot, who had, as he said, "conducted himself throughout with the greatest coolness, ability, and judgment."

The Duke of Wellington supported the Government, and moved, as an amendment, the previous question. He was not satisfied as to the sincerity of the Chinese Government in regard to the prohibition of opium, and was doubtful how far the interruption of amicable relations had been due to this cause; and described Lin's proceedings as "an insult and injuries, such as he believed had never been before inflicted on this country." He passed also a warm encomium upon Captain Elliot's courage and self-devotion.

Earl Stanhope, when moving the Resolution, declared his intention of pressing the question to a division, however small the number might be, who were prepared to vote with him. He met, however, with no support. Lord Lyttleton and others, who spoke, were ready enough to admit that there had been faults on both sides, but held that under the circumstances war was inevitable, and that whatever might have been the merits of the quarrel in the first instance, the Chinese had put themselves in the wrong by Lin's proceedings subsequent to the seizure of the opium; and the Duke's amendment was agreed to without a division.

A description of the war is not required in this narrative, but some of the leading incidents may be briefly referred to. The first expedition despatched from India arrived in China in the summer of 1840; and a blockade of the port of Canton was declared in the month of June. The force then moved northwards, and Chusan was occupied on the 5th July. In the month of August Captain Elliot, who was associated with Rear-Admiral Elliot, as Joint British Plenipotentiary, proceeded to Taku, at the mouth of the Peiho River; and, after some discussion, Keshen, the Governor-General of Chihli, was deputed to negotiate with him at Canton. Rear-Admiral Elliot was compelled by illness to leave China in the month of November, and Captain Elliot became sole Plenipotentiary. Negotiations were commenced, but the intentions of the Chinese were secretly hostile; and in January 1841 a discovery of their perfidy led to the immediate capture of the forts at Chuenpee and Tykoktow. A cessation of hostilities followed, and a Treaty was negotiated by Keshen, which provided for the cession of Hong Kong, the payment of an indemnity of six millions of dollars, the establishment of direct official intercourse upon equal terms, and the immediate resumption of trade. Chusan was evacuated by the British troops in consequence of this arrangement.

The Treaty was repudiated by the Emperor; Keshen was degraded; and the Chinese troops were ordered to "root out the rebellious barbarians." Hostilities were accordingly resumed at Canton; and the forts at the Bocca Tigris were captured by Sir Gordon Bremer on the 26th February 1841. The British squadron then moved up the river. A fortified position at the first bar was stormed, and the river-side

Letter from Captain Elliot to the Earl of Aberdeen, dated 25th June 1842; presented to Parliament in March 1843; "China," by Sir John Davis; and Narrative of the Combined Naval and Military Operations in China," by W. D. Bernard, Esq., 1844.

defences of Canton were carried; but the city was not occupied, and on the 20th March an armistice was concluded, and terms were agreed to by Captain Elliot, which enabled the trade of the season to be disposed of. The Chinese, in the meantime, continued their military preparations, and the suspension of hostilities was temporary only. On the 21st of May another collision occurred, and the riverside defences of Canton were carried a second time, and the heights above the city were occupied by the British troops, under Sir H. Gough. The city, however, was again spared, though the people showed plainly that they were not cowed; and a Convention was concluded, which provided for the immediate payment of six millions of dollars as the ransom of the city, and for a further payment of 80,000*l.* as compensation for the burning of the "Bilbaino" and for losses sustained by British subjects in consequence of the destruction by the Chinese of the foreign factories at Canton; for the evacuation of the city by the troops from other Provinces and the departure of the Imperial Commissioners; and for the resumption of foreign trade upon the withdrawal of the troops. The trade at Canton appears to have been continued, in accordance with this Convention, without serious interruption, throughout the subsequent operations.

Sir H. Pottinger, who had been appointed to the charge of affairs as Minister Plenipotentiary by the British Government in May 1841, arrived at Canton in the month of August. Captain Elliot, who was superseded, returned to England; and from this time more effectual measures were taken to compel the Chinese Government to submit.

The scene of hostilities was transferred to the north-east coast. Amoy was taken, and the island of Koolangsoo, which commanded the town and harbour, was held by a British garrison. Chusan was occupied a second time on the 1st October 1841; and the army of the Tartar Governor Yukien, who had distinguished himself by flaying alive the master of a British ship, who had fallen into his hands, was routed with great slaughter at Chinhae. Ningpo was captured without resistance on the 13th October.

A period of comparative inactivity followed, and at the commencement of March 1842 the Chinese were emboldened to attempt an attack upon the British force at Ningpo. The attack was, however, easily repulsed, and the British troops resumed the offensive. The Chinese army of Chekeang was defeated at Segaon; the defences at Chapoo and Woosung were successively carried without much difficulty, and the British force, consisting of 15 ships of war, 10 steamers, and above 50 transports, then proceeded up the Yang-tse-Keang River. Chinkeangfoo, which guarded the openings of the Grand Canal below Nankin, was stormed on the 20th July, after a more determined resistance than had up to that time been offered. The defending force, which was composed of Manchu Tartars, lost heavily, and the British had more men killed than in any of the previous engagements. On the 4th August the "Cornwallis" flagship anchored off Nankin; and, on the 10th, the disembarkation of British troops was commenced.

The Chinese had by this time profited by experience, and Commissioners Keying and Elepoo, who were both men of ability and moderation, were appointed to sue for peace. During the negotiations some symptoms were shown of vacillation, and preparations were made for an attack upon Nankin. The Chinese, however, gave way, and an honourable treaty of peace was signed, on the 29th August 1842, on board the "Cornwallis" by Sir H. Pottinger and the Chinese Commissioners.

The principal provisions of the Treaty were:—

British subjects were permitted to reside, with their families, and trade at the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochowfoo, Ningpo, and Shanghai; and Superintendents, or Consular Officers, were to be appointed at each of the ports. The Hong monopoly was to be abolished at Canton; and the Chinese Government agreed that no system of the kind should be introduced at the other Treaty ports, and that British subjects should be allowed to carry on their business, at all the ports, with any persons they pleased. Three millions of dollars, which were due from some of the Hong merchants at Canton to British subjects, were to be repaid by the Chinese Government.

Hongkong was ceded in perpetuity to the British Government, to be governed by such laws and regulations, as should be thought fit.

The Chinese Government agreed to pay an indemnity of twelve millions of dollars on account of the expenses of the British expedition, in addition to the six millions already paid as ransom for the city of Canton; and to pay the "sum of six millions of dollars as the value of the opium, which was delivered up at Canton in the month of March 1839, as a ransom for the lives of Her Britannic Majesty's

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Emperor of China, signed in the English and Chinese languages at Nankin, on the 29th August 1842, with other documents relating thereto, presented to Parliament in 1844.

“ Superintendent and subjects, who had been imprisoned and threatened with death “ by the Chinese High officers.”

A fair and regular tariff of export and import customs and other dues was to be established and promulgated for general information at each of the Treaty ports, and British goods, paying import duty in accordance with the tariff, were to be admitted to any province or city in the interior of China, on payment of a further amount of transit duty ; which, by a subsequent declaration, signed on the 26th June 1843, (on the day that the Ratifications of the Treaty were exchanged at Hongkong,) was not to be raised above the rates then existing.

The forms of address to be used in official correspondence between representatives and officials of the two nations were fixed and prescribed.

The twenty-one millions of dollars were to be paid as follows : six millions at once, six in 1843, five in 1844, and four in 1845.

The troops were to withdraw from Nankin on payment of the first instalment and on receipt of the assent of the Emperor to the treaty ; and Koolangsoo and Chusan were to be held until the money payments and arrangements for opening the ports should be completed.

In regard to opium, as will be observed, the only stipulation in the treaty was that, which provided for the payment of an indemnity of six millions of dollars for the opium delivered up at Canton.

In the instructions issued to Rear-Admiral Elliot and Captain Elliot on the 26th February 1841, and to Sir H. Pottinger on the 31st May 1841, Lord Palmerston directed them to endeavour to obtain the legalisation of the opium trade, so as to prevent in the future the possible interruption of friendly relations between the two countries by opium smuggling. The instructions, which explain very clearly the attitude of the British Government in regard to the trade, are reproduced below *in extenso* :—

“ VISCOUNT PALMERSTON TO REAR-ADMIRAL ELLIOT and CAPTAIN ELLIOT.

“ GENTLEMEN,

Letter from Lord Palmerston to Rear-Admiral Elliot and Captain Elliot, dated 26th Feb. 1841 ; page 1 of Papers relating to the Opium Trade in China, 1842-1856 presented to Parliament in 1857.

“ HER Majesty’s Government having taken into their consideration the circumstances connected with the China opium trade, I have to instruct you to endeavour to make some arrangement with the Chinese Government for the admission of opium into China as an article of lawful commerce. In bringing this matter before the Chinese Plenipotentiaries, you will state that the admission of opium into China, as an article of legal trade, is not one of the demands, which you have been instructed to make upon the Chinese Government ; and you will not enter upon the subject of it in such a way as to lead the Chinese Plenipotentiaries to think that it is the intention of Her Majesty’s Government to use any compulsion in regard to this matter.

“ But you will point out that it is scarcely possible that a permanent good understanding can be maintained between the two Governments, if the opium trade be allowed to remain upon its present footing.

“ It is evident that no exertions of the Chinese authorities can put down the trade on the Chinese coast, because the temptation, both to the buyers and to the sellers, is stronger than can be counteracted by any fear of detection and punishment. It is equally clear that it is wholly out of the power of the British Government to prevent opium from being carried to China ; because, even if none were grown in any part of the British territories, plenty of it would be produced in other countries, and would thence be sent to China by adventurous men, either British or of other nations. But the present state of the Chinese law upon this matter makes the trade illegal ; and illegal trade is always attended with acts of violence, both on the part of those who are employed to prevent it and on the part of those who are engaged in conducting it.

“ But battles between Chinese war junks and British smugglers have a necessary tendency to produce unfriendly and embarrassing discussions between the British and the Chinese Governments ; or, at all events, to keep alive hostile feelings between the British and the Chinese people. It would seem, therefore, that much additional stability would be given to the friendly relations between the two countries, if the Government of China would make up its mind to legalise the importation of opium upon payment of a duty sufficiently moderate to take away from the smuggler the temptation to endeavour to introduce the commodity without payment of duty.

“ By this means, also, it is evident that a considerable increase of revenue might be obtained by the Chinese Government, because the sums, which, are now paid as bribes to the custom-house officers, would enter the public coffers in the shape of duty.

“ I am, &c.

“ (Signed) PALMERSTON.”

VISCOUNT PALMERSTON'S INSTRUCTIONS to Sir H. POTTINGER respecting OPIUM.

"It is of great importance, with a view to the maintenance of a permanent good understanding between the two countries, that the Chinese Government should place the opium trade upon some regular and legalised footing. Experience has shown that it is entirely beyond the power of the Chinese Government to prevent the introduction of opium into China, and many reasons render it impossible that the British Government can give the Chinese Government any effectual aid towards the accomplishment of that purpose. But while the opium trade is forbidden by law, it must inevitably be carried on by fraud and violence: and hence must arise frequent collisions and conflicts between the Chinese preventive service, and the parties who are engaged in carrying on the opium trade.

"These parties are generally British subjects; and it is impossible to suppose that this private war can long be carried on between British opium smugglers and the Chinese authorities without events happening which must tend to put in jeopardy the good understanding between the Chinese and British Governments.

"Her Majesty's Government make no demand in regard to this matter, for they have no right to do so. The Chinese Government is fully entitled to prohibit the importation of opium, if it pleases; and British subjects, who engage in a contraband trade, must take the consequences of doing so. But it is desirable that you should avail yourself of every favourable opportunity strongly to impress upon the Chinese Plenipotentiary, and through him upon the Chinese Government, by all the arguments which will naturally suggest themselves to your mind, how much it would be for the interest of the Chinese Government itself to alter the law of China on this matter, and to legalise, by a regular duty, a trade which they cannot prevent."

Sir H. Pottinger, on the 27th August 1842, addressed a memorandum to the two Chinese Commissioners and to Governor-General Newkeen, setting forth these instructions, and pointing out that as long as there was a demand for opium in China, it was certain to be imported, and that prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy in British India, even if that were possible, would not prevent a trade in the drug from the Native States in India, or from other countries in which the poppy was grown.

The Chinese Commissioners, were unwilling to make any representation on the subject to the Emperor, and returned the following reply:—"On the withdrawal of the prohibition against opium, it is not expedient at this time hastily to make any representations to the throne. But the officers of China shall certainly be enjoined to confine their jurisdiction in that respect to the soldiery and people of the country, not allowing them to make use of it. Whether the merchant vessels of the various countries bring opium or not, China will not need to inquire or take any proceedings with regard thereto."

CONCLUSION.

The preceding narrative is believed to be absolutely fair and impartial. Its object is to state facts, and any lengthy discussion of the causes of the war, or of the question how far the British Government and British subjects were to blame in connexion with it, would be out of place. In a matter also, which has been the subject of so much controversy, and upon which statesmen of such eminence differed so widely in their views at the time when the occurrences were fresh in memory, my personal opinions can hardly be of any consequence. The nature of the conclusions arrived at is, however, briefly indicated in the following paragraphs.

The opium trade was undoubtedly the immediate cause of the rupture between the two countries, though the attitude of the British Government towards the Chinese and towards opium was such that, if the Chinese Government had pursued a less violent and aggressive policy, hostilities might easily have been averted, even after the compulsory surrender of the opium owned by British subjects.

The measures, first taken by Lin to obtain the surrender of opium then on the coast of China, can conceivably be defended on the supposition that he did not intend to do more than confine or imprison the traders; and personally I cannot help thinking that Captain Elliot had no sufficient justification for requiring the delivery to him of the opium for the service of Her Majesty's Government. If we leave out of sight his gallant and chivalrous conduct, his proceedings on the occasion appear to have been at variance with the instructions communicated by Lord Palmerston in June 1838, to the effect that any loss which British subjects might sustain in consequence of the more effectual execution of the laws of China

Instructions from Lord Palmerston to Sir H. Pottinger respecting opium; page 2 of Papers relating to the Opium Trade in China, 1842-1856; presented to Parliament in 1857.

Pages 1 and 2 of Papers relating to the Opium Trade in China, 1842-1856; presented to Parliament in 1857.

Page 3 of the above Papers.

upon the subject of opium must be borne by themselves. It may of course be argued that Lin's proceedings were not in accordance with the laws of China; but the immunity, which foreigners had enjoyed, from the penal provisions of the Chinese fiscal laws, rested apparently more upon sufferance than upon any inherent or asserted right, and as nearly every foreign merchant in Canton was concerned in the opium trade, proceedings directed against them alone would not have been indefensible. The treatment accorded to the British Superintendent was, however, a national affront, which the Government could hardly have failed to resent.

Captain Elliot's "momentous circular" left three courses open to the British Government: to disavow his proceedings, to reimburse the merchants, who owned the opium, at the expense of the revenues of Great Britain, or to compel the Chinese Government to pay. As Lin's measures were a complete innovation upon Chinese practice, and, it may be said, upon Chinese law, it is hardly surprising that, when hostilities were forced upon the British Government, the third course was adopted.

The surrender and confiscation of the opium was, not, moreover, the only cause of the rupture. The demand made by Lin for the execution of bonds, binding the executants to agree on behalf of all British subjects, at that time and in the future, to submit, at the discretion of the Chinese authorities, to the punishment of death and confiscation of ship and cargo, in the event of the importation of opium in any quantity, was one that could not possibly be complied with; and this demand operated as much if not more than the surrender of the opium to produce the hostilities, that followed. The Americans certainly executed the bonds, but they probably knew well enough that the submission thus yielded would be temporary, and that the course of events would ere long deliver them from the dangerous responsibility which they had assumed.

The demand also for the surrender of a British subject for trial (so called) by the Chinese for the murder of Lin Weihe, was one which Captain Elliot was justified in resisting to the utmost. The immunity from punishment for criminal offences which had been enjoyed by the British subjects in China for many years was deplorable; but the Chinese were responsible for the state of affairs thus created. They only claimed to exercise jurisdiction in cases in which a native had met his death at the hands of a foreigner, and their law on the subject of homicide was so brutal, and their administration of it was so glaringly iniquitous, that British subjects cannot be blamed for refusing to submit themselves to it. Difficulties of jurisdiction prevented the effective establishment of British Courts of Criminal justice in China. Negotiation might have removed these difficulties, but the Chinese Government would not negotiate.

"A case of homicide, as your Lordship is aware," wrote Sir G. Robinson to Lord Palmerston, on the 1st December 1835, "will be the event most fraught with difficulty and anxiety In the event of so unhappy a catastrophe occurring as the death of a Chinese, we are helpless in Canton; we must give up a man or men, or certain individuals in the first instance, and finally the officers of the Commission are threatened, annoyed, insulted, and ultimately compelled to retreat without the river, as in the case of the Company's factory in 1821-22, and then perhaps, and not till then, is the affair brought to some termination."

Notwithstanding the opinion expressed by Captain Elliot in his letter to Lord Palmerston dated 21st October 1839, regarding the negotiations in September and October of that year, it seems most improbable that a man of Lin's character would have ever relinquished the Chinese claim of a life for a life. He was imperious and resolute, and was not likely to have given way upon a point to which all Chinese attached so much importance. He might possibly have been satisfied with a subterfuge, but this even is doubtful; and no proceedings of the kind were possible in the altered state of affairs in China. Even in 1833, the Company's servants had faced the risk of an interruption of the Company's trade rather than appear to assent tacitly to such proceedings.

As to the other events, which immediately preceded hostilities, even if we acquit Lin and the other Chinese authorities of any participation in the cruel attack upon the "Black Joke," the burning of the "Bilbaino," admittedly on the supposition that it was an English ship, was an indefensible outrage, which alone would have justified a peremptory demand for reparation.

In the affair at Kow Lune, Captain Elliot certainly fired the first shot, but the complete stoppage of provisions was an act of hostility; and the notice regarding the poisoning of the water at Hong Kong, provoked, if it did not entirely justify, retaliation. Neither this incident, however, nor the projected blockade of Canton was of vital importance. The Chinese were evidently satisfied with their supposed

Page 106 of the
Correspondence
relating to
China; presented
to Parliament
in 1840.

See above,
page 200

victory at Kow Lune; and the blockade was not once referred to by Lin or other Chinese officers during the progress of the final negotiations in September and October.

The negotiations do not require much notice. The consignee and captain of the "Thomas Coutts" acted, as British merchants in China often did, with a selfish regard for their own commercial interests, but Captain Elliot's scheme for carrying on the trade, outside the Bocca Tigris, contained the elements of failure.

On the 27th October, Lin practically declared war; and the naval engagement at Chuenpee, on the 3rd November 1839, was a necessary act of self-defence. The Chinese Admiral admitted in unmistakeable terms that he intended to seize "the murderous foreigner, who killed Lin Weihe," by force.

In respect to the opium trade there is, as Mr. Gladstone pointed out in his speech in 1840, a great difference between the conditions, under which it was carried on, when the Select Committee of the House of Commons submitted their reports in 1830-32, and the conditions which existed when the Chinese Government had, after a period of vacillation, decided finally, in 1836-37, to put it down. This decision was for the first time communicated to the representative of the British Government in the summer of 1837, and the first communication, that can be regarded in any sense as official, was made in November of that year. Captain Elliot's letters on the subject of this communication, were received in England on the 15th May 1838, and Commissioner Lin arrived in Canton in March 1839. Allowing five months, therefore, for the transmission of a reply, the British Government had about five months to consider the question and take action, with any possibility of their action averting the impending rupture.

It is, perhaps, unfortunate that a Special Commissioner was not despatched, as proposed by Captain Elliot, to discuss the opium question and other matters with the officers of the Chinese Government; but the contemptuous dismissal of Lord Amherst's embassy, and the manner, in which the communications of the Local Government at Canton were made to the Superintendent, were not calculated to encourage the British Government to attempt further negotiations with the Court at Peking. Captain Elliot himself also, when recommending the appointment of a Special Commissioner, clung to the idea that the trade would be eventually legalised, and Her Majesty's Ministers were even at this time distrustful of Chinese sincerity.

The remarkable growth of the opium trade subsequent to 1830, which forced the subject upon the notice of the Chinese Government, was not a matter for which either the Government of Great Britain or the Government of India was responsible. If the Indian Government had succeeded in its attempt to restrict the export of opium from the Native States, the quantity of Indian opium, reaching China, might have been permanently regulated and restricted.

The Chinese Government was, apparently, sincere in the first instance in prohibiting the importation of opium, as an article which was believed to be injurious to morals and health; but the connexion between the opium trade and the exportation of sycee silver, and the growing audacity exhibited by the foreigners, were the motive causes that induced the Emperor and his advisers to attempt in earnest to suppress the trade. Otherwise the interdict against opium would probably have remained, like the Imperial edicts which were issued against tobacco, a luminous, but useless, manifestation of Celestial benevolence. The extensive production of opium in the western province of Yunnan, which was referred to by Choo Tsun in 1836, appears to have been accepted with comparative equanimity.

The question, how far the British Government would have been justified in restricting the liberties and curtailing the pecuniary profits of its own subjects in India, and of the Rulers and subjects of feudatory States in that country, from a desire to meet the wishes of the Chinese Government, and how far such a policy, if adopted, would have been practically possible, is one upon which no opinion is expressed, owing to the circumstances under which this narrative has been written.

In respect to the more remote, but not less important causes of the war, it is necessary to remember that the interdict against opium was not the only law of the Empire that was disregarded and violated by our countrymen in China. Bringing foreign women to Canton, riding publicly in sedan chairs, the distribution of religious tracts, and the employment of native servants were all serious offences in the eyes of the Chinese; and the defiant attitude assumed by the Select Committee of supracargoes in 1829-32 and Lord Napier's proceedings in 1834 were eminently calculated to offend and alarm a haughty and suspicious government. Lin's measures at Canton were taken in pursuance of a deliberate policy, and were evidently intended to reduce the

foreigners to submission and to enforce obedience in the future to the laws and regulations of China in other matters as well as to suppress the trade in opium.

The following observations made by Mr. Charles Buller in the debate in the House of Commons in 1840 are worthy of reproduction. "The conclusion," he said, "at which he had arrived after the perusal," (of all the recent publications relating to China,) "was, that no sagacity on the part of Her Majesty's present Ministers could have averted, or even stayed off, what seemed to him to be the inevitable consequences of free trade with China established on the footing on which we placed it in 1833 Faults there had, undoubtedly, been on both sides, for he must frankly say that he was by no means convinced that the Chinese had been the only parties to blame; but the faults on our side had been faults of the general policy pursued by us as a nation. Our error dated from that period, when, having determined to throw open the trade to all our countrymen, we left it on a footing in which it was utterly impossible for it to continue with either honour or security. He would not say that we were wrong in taking away the East India Company's monopoly of the China trade; but if we were right in that, we were very wrong in not perceiving that that step was calculated to disturb all our existing relations with the Chinese, and we were wrong in not making that complete change, in our whole mode of carrying on the trade which ought to have accompanied the one that we did make. He must confess that when he looked back to the change which we made in 1833, and considered the footing upon which that change placed our relations with the Chinese, he could not but regret that our information at that time was so incomplete, that we did not perceive that continued and serious collision must be the immediate result of the position in which we placed ourselves."

In a few words, the withdrawal of the East India Company's monopoly made war, sooner or later, inevitable. As Mr. W. S. Davidson, the senior partner of one of the two leading private firms then at Canton, told the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1830, the country had then before it two alternatives: to give up drinking tea, or to insist upon the establishment of an amicable, reasonable, and mutually advantageous intercourse. A continuance of the Company's monopoly might possibly have prevented the war. The advantages which the Company derived from the China trade were so great, that the Directors were content to compel their servants to submit to much personal humiliation, and the extensive powers, possessed by the Select Committee, enabled them to control and keep in order the private traders. The supracargoes, however, were human, and the Company had often great difficulty in maintaining peace.

In 1833 the Government decided, with the assent of Parliament, that the powers possessed by the Select Committee should be continued to the Superintendents; but when it came to practice it was felt intolerable that any officer of Government should have the power of deporting, at his discretion, any British subject, or of ordering away any British ship from the Chinese coast.

It was not to be expected that British subjects, unaccustomed to such indignities in any quarter of the globe, should put up for ever with Chinese arrogance and insolence; and the commercial instincts of the nation, and the importance of the tea trade, precluded the possibility of withdrawal from so profitable and so necessary a market.

The circumstances, under which the collision eventually occurred, were not, it must be admitted, creditable to this country; but it is incorrect to say that the war was undertaken to force opium upon the Chinese.

R. M. DANE.

7th January 1895.

APPENDIX D.

DESPATCH FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

No. 7 (Revenue), dated 22nd January 1885.

China—Chefoo Convention.

IN continuation of my despatch No. 9 (Revenue) of 8th February 1883, and with reference to the telegraphic correspondence marginally noted, I forward, for the

Secretary of State to Viceroy, dated 24th December 1884.

Opium. Pedder's demi-official to Colvin of 10th October last. Chinese accept in effect Lord Granville's proposals of 27th April 1883, but insist on 80 taels. For political reasons I propose to agree. Have you any objection?

Viceroy to Secretary of State, dated 3rd January 1885.

Your Lordship's telegram dated 24th December. It should be made quite clear that British Government will have right to end arrangement at any time if Chinese Government fail to stop separate collection of li-kin; also that right of British Government to end engagement is not to depend on consent of other Treaty Powers. We think Chinese Government should have right to vary the duty for each port subject to the fixed maximum. In view of serious loss of revenue which we estimate at 25 lakhs of rupees minimum, and of uncertainty as to power of Chinese Government effectively to abolish internal collection of li-kin, we think 70 taels mentioned in your telegram of 6th December 1882, and agreed to in our telegram of 26th idem, sufficient concession, and we are consequently most unwilling to assent to proposed rate of 80 taels, finality of which, moreover, is very questionable.

1. Foreign Office letter of 17th March 1883, with accompaniment, being memorandum by the Marquis Tsêng, dated 12th March 1883.
2. India Office letter to Foreign Office of 29th March 1883.
3. Foreign Office letter of 16th April 1883, with annexure.
4. India Office reply of 25th April 1883.
5. Foreign Office letter of 30th April 1883, with two annexures, being memorandum and confidential note dated 27th September 1883.
6. Foreign Office letter of 8th December 1884, with annexure, being memorandum by the Marquis Tsêng, dated 27th September 1884.*
7. India Office reply, dated 28th January 1884.

the negotiations cannot be brought to a satisfactory termination if that rate is not conceded.

3. In the first place, should the present negotiations fail on the question of the rate, the Chinese Government will be able to, and in their present financial position certainly will, impose upon Indian opium, as soon as it leaves the custom house at each port, the highest rate of li-kin it can possibly bear, perhaps 100 taels or more. This is distinctly intimated in the Marquis Tsêng's memorandum dated 27th September last. In that case, Indian opium will be burdened at least as heavily as it would be under the 80-tael uniform rate, and none of the advantages (free circulation in the interior, etc.) will be secured, which that arrangement would give it. On the other hand, China would not obtain the advantages she anticipates from the proposed arrangement of her whole opium revenue being levied by one Imperial Department, of the li-kin revenue being taken out of the hands of the Provincial Governments, and of prevention of smuggling. Her Majesty's Government would therefore be represented as in the invidious position of refusing to China an arrangement which would benefit her, while not securing any real advantage to the Indian revenue.

4. Next, the calculation contained in paragraph 5 of this office letter to the Foreign Office, dated 20th instant, is based upon figures for the five years ending 1880-81, the last period for which there is any information as to the amount of the Chinese li-kin revenue. The gain to China which that calculation shows has probably been to some extent discounted by subsequent enhancements of the local rates of li-kin, which it is known have been effected in several places. It is thus possible that the actual increase of the Chinese taxation of Indian opium over the taxation which it now bears, and the consequent injurious effect on the Indian revenue, will be less than is anticipated by your Government, and I may remind your Excellency that Sir T. Wade has always been of opinion that Indian opium would bear a uniform rate of 110 taels (including tariff duty): Sir R. Hart, of over 120 taels, without the import being seriously diminished. It is not then, I think, certain that the difference of 10 taels in the uniform rate will cause so large a loss to India as is anticipated by your Excellency. But even should this loss

information of Your Excellency's Government, copy of correspondence which has passed on the subject of the negotiations with China on the opium question since the date of the despatch above cited.

2. These papers will fully inform Your Excellency of the present position of the negotiations. I have further only to explain, more fully than has been done in paragraph 4 of the letter to the Foreign Office, dated 20th instant, the reasons which have induced me to communicate to Lord Granville my assent to the conclusion of the agreement with China on the basis of a rate of 80 taels commuted li-kin, should His Lordship find that

* In China Papers 5 of 1885 (C.—4735) the date is given as 30th September.

amount to so large a sum as 25 lakhs annually, it appears to me worth while to incur this sacrifice in order to settle the opium question with China for at least five years: to give greater security to the future opium revenue, now in some danger on account of troublesome political questions which would be disposed of and to protect the in trade Indian opium against unequal, unexpected, and oppressive enhancements of the local li-kin duties.

5. Again, it will be seen from the Marquis Tséng's memorandum of March 12th, 1883, that the Chinese Government consider the commutation of opium li-kin a necessary preliminary to the abolition, which they have in contemplation, of li-kin on goods other than opium. It is true that no engagement is made that this measure will be immediately carried out. But the argument makes it difficult to refuse to accede to arrangements which are represented as indispensable to the contemplated reform. That reform is a measure which has always been urged upon China by the other Treaty Powers, especially by Germany and France, and it would be unfortunate that Her Majesty's Government should appear to be standing in its way. It would also be beneficial to the trade of the United Kingdom with China, and it is not desirable that Her Majesty's Government should be represented as preventing it for the sake of the Indian opium revenue.

6. Finally, the anti-opium agitation in this country, already serious and likely to be yet more formidable in a new House of Commons, is a factor in the present question to be taken into grave consideration. For some time past the leaders of that movement in Parliament have been chiefly insisting on the injustice of preventing China from doing what she desires as regards the taxation of Indian opium. If the present Chinese proposals are accepted, the answer to this argument will be obvious and conclusive. You will observe that the Chinese Minister's memoranda of March 12th, 1883, and of September 27th last, admit unreservedly that the agreement now under negotiation is of the Chinese Government's own proposing and includes all that they desire. But should the negotiation be broken off on the question of the amount of the uniform rate, an answer would not be easy to frame, and I need not remind your Excellency that the adoption by the House of Commons of a resolution, such as has been repeatedly moved, condemnatory of your opium revenue, would prove embarrassing to your Government.

7. For these reasons, and because I am strongly of opinion that, if this opportunity is allowed to pass, the chance of settling the opium question in concert with China is not likely to recur, I have decided, after careful consideration of the arguments adduced in your telegram of 3rd January, upon the course stated in paragraph 2 of this despatch.

(Signed) KIMBERLEY.

APPENDIX E.

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„ Pensioned	12	3	9
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Landowners and tenants	88	4	84
Planters	12	10	2
Merchants, mill-owners, and bankers	83	14	69
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„ medical missionaries	15	15	—
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„ „ private and pensioned	65	13	52
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Representatives of associations*	52	9	43
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Lawyers	27	—	27
Journalists	8	1	7
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„ Labour contractor	1	—	1
„ Municipal Commissioners	2	—	2
„ Actuary	1	1	—
„ Writer	1	—	1
„ College students	2	—	2
* Without occupation	2	2	—
TOTAL	723	257	466

* Out of the 52 Representatives of Associations, 47 return special occupations or means of subsistence. Of the rest, two represent the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, one an American Temperance League, and two are Natives of India, who only set forth on the record their connexion with the Association they represent.

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 Preventive and curative in malarial fever, 24,904.
 Generally regarded as a preventive against fever and rheumatism, 25,061.
 Consumed in malarious districts chiefly as a prophylactic, 25,227.
 Natives have profound belief in efficacy of opium, 25,297.
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 Use in malarious districts probably common on account of relief afforded from neuralgic pains, 25,361.
 Consumption very large in hill tracts of Jeypore; district highly feverish, but inhabitants very healthy, 25,371.
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 Good medicine for cholera; given as a prophylactic, 12,645.
 Only consumers believe in its medicinal properties, 12,661-64.
 Native physicians use opium as an anodyne, 12,811.
 Much used in cholera, diarrhoea, dysentery, asthma, eye diseases and rheumatism, 12,832.
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 Checks dysentery and diarrhoea, 13,661, 13,662, 13,666.
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 Prevents diarrhoea, 17,662.
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 Used for phlegmatic diseases, dyspepsia, and cataract, 18,427.
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 Often used as a remedy for syphilis, phthisis, scrofula, and rheumatism, 18,736.
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 Used in minute doses to alleviate suffering, 19,316.
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 Most useful drug in the country, except quinine, 19,442.
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 Medicine does not produce normal effect on opium eaters, *ib*.
 Powerful as an astringent in diarrhoea; useful in rheumatism, 20,131.
 Taken especially for dyspepsia, diarrhoea, bowel complaints, and affections of the lungs, 20,168.
 Passages from Sanskrit medical works, 20,179.
 Best, safest and cheapest drug for relief of pain, 20,263.
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 Taken for coughs and colds, 20,342.
 Best remedy for bowel complaints, spasmodic affections, rheumatism, cough, asthma, &c., 20,855.
 Prescribed for bowel complaints and chills, 20,877-80.
 Used for pneumonia and general uneasiness, 20,990.
 Serviceable in asthma if skilfully administered, 21,298.
 Largely used in bowel troubles, rheumatic pains, neuralgia, asthma, chronic cough, dyspepsia, &c., 21,418, 21,443.
 Cures piles, and other ailments, 21,577.
 Gives permanent relief from epileptic fits, 21,590.
 Valuable drug for the natives, 21,812.
 Used for rheumatic pains, dysentery, diarrhoea, and diabetes, 21,878.
 Decoction from poppy heads used with camomile as a local application, 21,989.
 Cures evil effects of cold and heat; cough, asthma, fever, bowel complaints, diarrhoea, rheumatism, dysentery, diabetes, &c., 22,167.
 Habitual use prevents cold, indigestion, asthma, diarrhoea, &c., 22,277.
 Commonly used as protection against colds, chills, &c., 22,359.
 Sovereign remedy in dysentery, diarrhoea, bowel and lung affections, and diabetes, 22,385.
 Used for chronic diarrhoea, cough, asthma, and chest affections, 22,496.
 Holds an important place in European and Native pharmacopoeias, *ib*.
 Prevents dysentery and diarrhoea, and invigorates the system, 22,579.
 Affords relief against dyspepsia, diarrhoea, asthma, diabetes, rheumatism, 22,654.
 Regarded as a valuable medicinal agent, 22,665.
 Useful in diseases like asthma, 22,806.
 Useful in asthma, consumption, and bowel complaints, 22,843.
 Used for colic, diarrhoea, rheumatism, asthma, dysentery, and neuralgia, 22,847.
 Beneficial in diabetes, bronchitis, diarrhoea, dysentery, 23,684.
 Prevents cough and bronchitis, helps to keep away disease, 23,751.
 Cure for rheumatism, asthma, diarrhoea, relieving pain, &c., 23,874.
 Some practitioners refuse to prescribe opium at all, 23,491a.
 Useful in dysentery, diarrhoea, diabetes, chest affections, rheumatism, and neuralgia, 24,075.
 Extensively prescribed by Native physicians, 24,115.
 Most useful drug in many organic diseases, 24,362.
 Checks dysentery, asthma, or weakness, 24,389.
 Beneficial effect on rheumatism, cough, and other maladies, 24,407.
 Largely used for diarrhoea, dysentery, cough, &c., 24,518.
 Freely used by non-consumers in cholera epidemic *ib*.
 Specific in diarrhoea, rheumatism, asthma, 24,566.
 Used in diabetes, asthma, sciatica, and such painful ailments, 24,675.
 Relieves pain; is a powerful anodyne, 24,714.
 Prophylactic against diarrhoea, ague, and cholera, 24,739, 24,777.
 Opium used subcutaneously in acute mania, 24,789-91.
 Used in asthma, diarrhoea, dysentery, rheumatism, spasms, and diabetes, 24,904.
 Specific in dysentery, diarrhoea, diabetes, rheumatism, and bronchitis, 25,227.

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Natives believe in opium as cure for diarrhoea and cholera, 25,297.
 Useful in bronchitis, lung disease, and dysentery, 25,306.
 Used for diarrhoea, coughs, asthma, bowel troubles, neuralgia, syphilitic and other inflammations, pains, cramps, sleeplessness, palpitation, uterine disorders, excessive urine, and spermatorrhoea, 25,395.
 True prophylactic action against disease unknown, 25,411.
 Valuable drug in relieving pain, particularly in unhealthy districts, 25,412.
 Used for diarrhoea, dysentery, fever, ague, rheumatism, &c., 25,583.
 Used in diabetes, diarrhoea, cholera, dysentery, rheumatic pains, &c., 25,663.
 Preserves lives of those subject to chest and intestinal complaints, 25,797.
 Used for relief of pain, checking diarrhoea, and asthma, 25,824.
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 Regulates the peristalsis of the intestines; prevents diarrhoea, 25,904.
 Used for cough, asthma, diarrhoea, colic, toothache, diabetes, dysentery, rheumatism, &c., 25,906, 25,988.
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Recruiting would be affected if opium prohibited,

14,176.

Recruits not questioned as to opium habit, 14,173,

14,204, 15,802-5.

Moderate dose of opium beneficial, 14,184.

Habit does not affect discipline, 15,757, 15,788, 17,563,

17,578.

Opium issued on medical certificate, 15,760-62, 15,783

-85.

Excessive consumers are stupid, 15,767-71.

Opium-eating no bar to promotion, 15,780, 15,781.

Opium not issued to the Commissariat on active

service, 15,855-61, 15,927.

Opium-eating soldiers and camp followers in the

Afghan War, 15,902, 21,782.

Consumption of opium in Sikh regiments, 15,903-6,

15,920-38, 15,940, 15,978-80, 15,987, 15,988, 17,528-

65, 19,160-74, 19,189-200, 19,212-24.

Consider opium necessary as they serve in different

climates, 16,080.

Prohibition would have bad effect on Sepoys, 16,220.

Opium taken to the Soudan, 17,144.

No bad effects from opium on active service, 17,266,

24,681.

Effect beneficial when men exposed to cold and damp

weather, 17,533, 17,564.

Prohibition would lead to great discontent, 17,535,

17,561, 17,584; and increased consumption of liquor,

17,536.

Two or three men invalided, possibly suffering from

opium, 17,539.

Four or five soldiers became useless through excess,

17,573.

Special arrangements for supply made in Afghanistan,

17,595-600.

Men generally complain if supply run short, 17,601.

No reason to suppose they would resent prohibition

more than other natives, 18,184-87.

Sikhs used opium during march to Kandahar,

18,410.

Opium-eaters possess as much endurance as non-

consumers, 18,652.

14th Sikhs attacked with pneumonia in 1878; fell to

pieces; whether due to opium habit or malaria

unknown, *ib.*

Opium taken with the regiment on active service,

18,657.

Opium-eaters if known would not be taken as recruits,

18,681-84.

Habit does not impair efficiency, 18,689.

More men take opium in the winter than summer,

18,691.

Many take it occasionally for hard work or excessive

cold, 18,698.

Habitual opium-eaters are marked men in the

regiment, 18,706.

Prohibition would excite very great discontent,

19,164, 19,223.

No foundation for report that 14th Sikhs broke down

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Opium-eating no drawback to enlistment, 19,225.

Consumption of opium in the Erinpura Irregular

Force, 21,439-61.

Opium-eaters in the Khas Cauki Irregular Infantry,

21,590, 21,621-23.

No difficulty arises from use of opium, 22,006.

Soldiers do not suffer either physically or morally

from opium, 22,009.

40 to 50 per cent. use opium in Indore State army,

22,334.

Opium not served out in Abyssinian campaign,

24,686.

No case of invaliding through opium, 28,141.

Correspondence respecting supply of opium on service,

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NATIVE STATES:

Native States have engaged so to manage their opium cultivation and production as to safeguard the the British revenue, and in exchange receive compensation or other concessions, 102, 103, 1562, 1563.

No agreement with Native States so to manage opium cultivation, 21,811-25.

Arrangements regarding opium, 876-81, 954-58.

Aggregate population of the opium-growing States about ten millions, 1547.

Policy of British Government, 21,833-39, 21,845-59, 21,863-66.

Bombay States refused to accept the 2-tola rule, 26,149, 26,220.

Introduction of a system of control and excise would bring consumption within narrower limits, 27,039-48, 27,059-61.

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Quantity imported, 1883-84 to 1892-93, ii, 353.

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Principles of interference, iv, 495.

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— CHARITY CESS:

Charitable institutions and works of public utility maintained by cesses levied on each chest of opium, 21,872.

Rs. $\frac{1}{4}$ per chest taken at all scales except at Indore, 22,098-103, 22,119-25.

Dispensaries would have to be shut up if China trade failed, 22,127.

— COMPENSATION:

Would be a matter of bargaining with the States, 2079.

Impossible to estimate loss to cultivators, 2080.

Compensation for loss of revenue 2524-26, 5774, 16,031.

Compensation in full would not allay dissatisfaction in the Native States, 16,225, 21,249, i, 143.

Government ought to pay compensation, not for a number of years only, but for ever, 16,415.

Compensation would have to be paid, 18,171, 24,813.

Estimated amount claimable by the States, 20,434.

Amount required cannot easily be ascertained, 21,816.

Claim should be made by States for loss of revenue and loss of profit to cultivators and traders, 21,872.

Impossible to estimate accurately amount required, 22,105, 22,118.

States dissatisfied with compensation for partial prohibition in 1878, 24,413.

Claimable by Bombay States for loss of revenue and imports, loss of internal revenue, loss of prestige, cost of preventive establishments, 26,153.

Inadequate return for abrogation of privilege, and loss of revenue, 26,430.

— CONCESSIONS:

Compensation for loss of duty and other concessions, 102, 103, 1562, 1563.

Have become obsolete, 1538.

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— CONSUMPTION:

Exceptional in Gwalior, Samthar, and Rewa, 22,113.

Quantities issued in the Bombay States, 1883-84 to 1892-93, 26,153.

— CULTIVATION:

Cultivation not interfered with by British Government, 1532, 21,811, 21,825.

Has not attempted to extend cultivation, 1533-35.

Perfectly free in every Native State, 1536-38.

Poppy largely grown in Indore, Gwalior, Bhopal, &c., 1546.

No treaty authorising interference, 1552.

Expense of irrigation tanks makes poppy land so valuable as to be unusable for a cheap crop, 1581.

Prohibition would make the people disloyal, 1611, 1612.

Regulation of poppy cultivation, 2498-507.

British Government cannot prohibit cultivation, 2709.

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Area under poppy cultivation, 21,869; assessment of land revenue, *ib.*

Average yield of poppy milk, *ib.*

Methods of agriculture and manufacture, *ib.*

Cultivators do not as a rule keep back opium; have to account for produce, 22,081.

Feeling decidedly in favour of opium cultivation, 27,469.

— CUSTOMS LINE:

Abolished by treaty, 22,106.

— DUTY:

System of taxing opium, 1530, 1531.

— EXPORT:

Opium sent direct under pass to Bombay, 1531.

British Government could prohibit export, 1541-43 1551; would ruin the States, cultivators, and merchants, 1544, 1548.

System in force, 21,871.

— LAND REVENUE:

Rates on opium land reduced largely in 1882-83, 1533.

Fixed settlement for a term of years in most States, 22,145.

Rate on irrigated land assessed on understanding that poppy most valuable crop grown on it, 22,147.

Prohibition of poppy cultivation would necessitate reduction of rates, 22,159.

— PRICE:

Opium not so good as excise in some States, but cheaper, 12,934.

Depends chiefly on the prices in China, 22,069-73.

Retail price in the Native States, 22,074-78.

— PROHIBITION:

Could not be enforced in Native States, 872, 16,225.

Prohibition would involve gravest political danger, 908.

Would be a capital political error to deprive States of their revenue, 1165.

Prohibition of export would make the States bankrupt, 1544, 1548, 1549; and disloyal, 1544.

Would be a most tyrannous act, 1551.

Would be resented by the general body of the population, 1609, 1611, 1612.

Prevention of smuggling would become impossible, 1610.

Prohibition would inflict heavy loss, 2058.

Attempted prohibition by compulsion would lead to war, 2936.

Interference with growth of opium would result in danger to the empire, 5176, 5231.

Would be considerable difficulty in abolishing cultivation, 12,940.

Prohibition would be unjust to Native States, 16,210.

Impossible to prevent cultivation, 17,231.

Great difficulty anticipated in inducing States to accept prohibition, 18,171.

Not desired by the people; would interfere with their domestic lives; would remain simply as a dead letter, 18,615.

Grumbling against prohibition very common, 18,725-31.

People of Jeypore would be thankful if authorities closed the shops, 20,345-51.

Compensation would not induce States to prohibit poppy, 21,620, 21,644, 21,682.

Prohibition except for medical use is impracticable, 21,814.

Amount of supervision and interference required would cause great friction, *ib.*

Would involve loss of revenue to Native States and cultivators; would ruin a number of merchants, 21,815.

Would be opposed to spirit of our treaties of friendship, *ib.*

Would be an unjustifiable act of oppression, *ib.*

Would be unpopular, notwithstanding compensation, *ib.*

Smuggling would become prevalent if export prohibited, 21,816.

NATIVE STATES, PROHIBITION—*continued*.

Distinction can be drawn between prohibition of cultivation in the States, and of import through British territory, 21,855.
 Prohibition in an independent Native State would be unjustifiable, 21,857.
 No precedent for any such interference, 21,858.
 States suspicious of interference in their affairs, 21,867.
 Would constitute a political danger, 21,873, 26,258.
 Prohibition of transit would be equally dangerous, 21,874.
 Would entail heavy loss on the cultivators, 21,946.
 People in a terrible state of mind regarding prohibition, *ib*.
 Would be impolitic, 22,282; exceedingly difficult and dangerous, 22,283; would lead to corruption in subordinate medical service, 22,284.
 Would be regarded by chiefs as unjustifiable to their own subjects, 22,699.
 Prohibition could not be extended to the States, 22,763, 22,783, 22,797, 22,835, 22,856, 22,869, 22,898, 22,936, 23,204, 23,628, 23,660, 23,732, 23,780, 23,826a, 23,856, 23,878, 23,942, 23,952, 23,976, 23,984, 23,989, 24,016, 25,267, 26,149.
 British Government would not be justified in preventing cultivation or export, 23,053.
 Prohibition would excite lawlessness among criminal tribes, 23,208.
 Arrangements regarding opium cannot justly be terminated, 23,564, 23,637.
 Extremely difficult to extend prohibition to the larger States, 24,219, 24,238, 24,250, 24,280, 24,377.
 Prohibition not desired, 24,365, 24,413, 24,428, 24,470.
 Would be unjust and unfair, 24,454, 26,967, 26,970.
 Arrangements regarding opium cannot be deviated from without consent of chiefs, 24,470, 24,498, 24,499, 24,514, 24,515, 24,555, 24,628.
 Nothing but a large armed force could prevent cultivation and sale of opium, 24,577.
 Hardship entailed on people in Native States where cultivation prohibited through increased price of poppy seed, 24,627, 24,660.
 Cultivation could only be prevented in smaller states, 24,813.
 Further restrictions would entail ruinous compensation, and would be neutralised by foreign illicit opium, *ib*.
 Prohibition of sale of opium wholly impracticable, 24,910.
 Present arrangements quite satisfactory; cannot be terminated without injustice, 24,970.
 States would not voluntarily prohibit opium, 25,022, 25,104-7, 25,138.
 Existing arrangements should not be interfered with, 25,225.
 Prohibition would lead to political complications, 26,006.
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 Difficult to extend prohibition to Native States, 27,735; difficult, if not impossible, v. 126.
 Curtailment of supply would create dangerous discontent, 28,051a.
 Impossible to interfere with agricultural operations, i. 143.
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— REVENUE:

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NATIVE STATES, SMUGGLING—*continued*.

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 System in force, 21,871.
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NIKHALIA:

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OCCASIONAL

30 or 35 per cent. of Rajputs are occasional consumers, 21,125, 21,443.
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Old people often kept going by opium alone, 20,269, 20,303.
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Habitually used by old men, 20,866-72, 21,920.
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Old people can keep their health without opium, 22,793, 22,799.
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 Habit is debilitating; consumers succumb to disease sooner than others, 10,614, 10,629-33, 18,736.
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 Excess does not produce any organic disease, 12,498, 19,361, 19,438, 22,025, 23,793, 24,184, 24,679, 24,722, 24,741, 24,778, 24,779, 25,296, 25,332, 25,909, 25,961, 26,058, 26,062, 26,616, 26,676, 27,140.
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 Consumers become ugly and thin; weak in mind, as well as body, 13,024.
 Causes prostration, emaciation, and impaired digestive organs, 13,099, 13,102.
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 Dries up the entire system, 13,379.

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Habit results in physical deterioration, 14,512, 14,623, 15,453.

Excessive consumers are miserable-looking and emaciated, 14,963, 18,736.

Young men of 16 or 20 become consumptive, 15,099.

Produces severe constipation, lowers circulation, and impairs functions of important organs, 15,150.

Excessive use injures the sight, 15,468.

Opium drunkards generally very thin and weakly, 15,991-96.

Stunts development among young consumers, 16,219.

Produces emaciation and debilitation; victims commonly die of diarrhoea induced by its use, 16,551, 16,598.

Injury depends upon feeding, 16,552, 16,553.

All break down ultimately, 16,552-55.

Smokers haggard, lean, and pale; like maniacs, 16,686.

A large proportion of smokers are emaciated, 16,716.

Opium smokers become mere skeletons in a short time, 16,776.

Opium-eaters cannot possibly be told by their looks, 16,849, 21,991, 21,999.

Produces no functional disorders in small doses, 16,871.

Medical description of ill-effects, 16,902.

Mortality from pneumonia high among opium-eaters, 17,297, 17,299.

Brings on emaciation, loss of appetite and energy, 17,616.

Habitual consumers suffer from purgation, 18,027.

If a consumer bathes he becomes ill, 18,064.

Habit leads to physical ruin in 15 to 25 per cent. of cases, 18,095, 18,096.

Causing the physical ruin of people of India, 18,210, 18,249.

Consumers become emaciated, lose muscular power, and become debilitated, 18,355.

Excessive opium-eaters are deplorable objects; succumb to trivial ailments, but are free from organic disease, 18,736.

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Habitual use is very injurious; shortens life, upsets digestion, and weakens nervous system, 18,959.

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Causes hebetude of mind, defective vision and irregular action of the bowels, 19,194.

First effect on vision is to improve it, 19,208.

Excessive consumers very thin, susceptible of cold, and afraid of bathing, 19,402, 19,419, 19,423.

Excessive consumers show extreme emaciation; no pathological changes, 19,438.

Excessive use brings on dryness of the heart, &c., 19,777.

Impairs appetite and digestion, leads to congestion, constipation, and diarrhoea, 19,907.

Consumers usually have disease independent of opium, 20,136.

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Consumers are dried up, 21,506.

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Excessive use accompanied by poverty produces deterioration, 22,745.

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Consumers generally weaker than other people, 22,898.

Habit is a real evil, causes emaciation, unfitness for work, &c., 23,309.

Smokers become very unhealthy and weak, 23,382.

Causes loss of strength and emaciation, 23,429.

Habit causes bleeding at the nose, asthma, impotency, diarrhoea, &c., 23,457.

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Entirely breaks down the constitution, 23,683, 23,702.

Habitual consumption produces general pallor, emaciation, weakness, premature old age; it shortens life, 23,791.

Excess brings on physical and mental debility, drowsiness, &c., 23,875.

Excessive use produces effeminacy of appearance and dulness, 24,013, 24,030.

Intemperate use causes deterioration, emaciation, gastric disorders, and shortens life, 24,075, 24,085.

Opium dries up the body and impairs memory, 24,595.

Excessive use causes loss of appetite, disordered digestion, emaciation, diarrhoea, and dropsy, 24,675, 24,905.

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Death through pneumonia and immoderate use of opium, 25,369.

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Excessive use produces extreme constipation, sleepiness, and apathy, 25,399; causes bowel disorders, 25,509; interferes with digestion, produces languor, lassitude, and wasting, 25,657; produces emaciation, inability to work, &c., 25,954.

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Regular consumers recognisable by peculiar alteration in form of eye, 26,542.

Poor habitual consumers unable to get strong food become dull, pale, and sleepy, 26,674.

Consumers can be told by peculiar brightness of eye, 26,703.

Excessive use deadens desire for food; body consequently becomes emaciated, and mind torpid, 26,711.

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 Few attempt to justify it, 16,093.
 Not considered disgraceful, except in excess, 16,690.
 Opium-eating regarded as disgraceful by upper and middle classes; smoking more so, 16,776, 16,822-26.
 Not considered disreputable, 17,230, 17,240.
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 Even moderate consumers looked down upon, 19,282.
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 Admitted to be disgraceful by users and non-users, 21,465-71.
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 Not recommended as a custom, 21,976.
 Excessive consumer does not suffer social opprobrium if health preserved, 22,385, 22,393.
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POPULAR VIEW OF HABIT—*continued*.

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 Non-medicinal use not disfavoured, 23,752.
 Decidedly considered disreputable, 24,114.
 Condemned by most devoted consumers, 24,122.
 Not looked down upon like liquor-drinking, 24,327, 24,519, 24,543.
 Regarded as something between tobacco and alcohol, 24,860.
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 Being general in China, is not regarded as demoralising, 25,027, 25,033, 25,067.
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 Some habitués defend the practice; others do not, 27,544.
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 Drinking post is very injurious, 16,476.
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PRECEDENTS FOR PROHIBITION :

Age of consent; Government interference not a precedent for prohibition of opium, 14,848-50; caused great excitement, 19,917; no precedent; Native States left free in the matter, 20,813, 20,825.
 Suttee; Government interference not a precedent, 14,848-50; being connected with religious rites cannot fairly be compared with opium, 19,918, 19,931, 19,965-67; prohibition not quite analogous to prohibition of opium, 20,773-76, 20,785, 20,808, 20,811; Government did nothing beyond pointing out objectionable nature of practice, 21,834.
 Abolition of salt monopoly not analogous to prohibition of opium, 20,773-81, 20,840-42; entirely a matter of arrangement with the States, 21,858.
 Precedent found in prohibition of various cruel religious rites, 19,917-22, 19,930, 20,021-26.
 No comparison between reforms in England and India, 20,036.

PREPARATIONS OF OPIUM :

Opium occasionally mixed with ganja; use very injurious, 1151.
 Various forms in which taken, 3803, 20,414, 21,128, 21,150, 21,156, 23,792, 23,874, 24,117, 24,185, 24,776, 24,904, 25,508, 25,565, 25,567, 25,903, 25,955, 25,987, 26,002, 26,040, 26,060, 26,613, 26,639, 26,675, 26,802, *ii.* 413.
 Restrictions should be put on sale, 4606.
 Kachin method of preparing opium for smoking, 7861, 7872.
 Method of preparing opium for smoking at the jade mines, 7978.
 Method of preparation, 14,971.
 Description of opium and its preparations, 20,323.
 Used in four forms by Rajputs, 20,990; by Marwaris, 21,073, 21,082.
 Form of consumption in Baroda, 22,577.
 Various preparations indulged in, 25,567.
 Correspondence respecting consumption in unlicensed places, *ii.* 392-97.
 Mode of preparing opium, *v.* 123.
 Morphine value of different smoking preparations, *v.* 195, 196.
See also AMAL PANI, BARSH, BEIENYE, BEINCHI, BEINSE, BHIAN, CHANDU, CHIK, FALAKSYAR, GALWAN, GHOLVA, GHOTEE, GOOLI, JADWAR, KASUMBHA, KUNBON, MADAK, MAJUM, MASALADAR, POST.

PREVALENCE OF HABIT :

Habit not generally prevalent in India, 711, 712.
 Common in all opium growing districts, 738.
 Opium consumed from time immemorial, 872, 898.
 Consumption of opium by the different races, 897.
 Not so prevalent in Bombay as in Rajputana, 1029.
 Large sections of the population do not use opium, 1041.
 Opium-eating not common; it is too expensive, 1555, 1556.
 Opium is not an Indian vice at all, 1601.
 Opium abused to a certain extent in the great cities of India and the East, 1637.
 Habitually used in moderation by tens of thousands, *ib.*

PREVALENCE OF HABIT—*continued.*

Smoking confined to cities and towns in India, 2322.
 Consumption greater in towns than in country districts, 2807, 2808, 8482.
 30 to 40 per cent. of Assamese Hindus smoke, 3166.
 More consumed in Behar than in Lower Bengal, 3602, 3605.
 Not confined to any special social stratum, 3676.
 Prevalence of the habit in Calcutta, 3774, 3775.
 Two per cent. of adult males use opium, 3886-90, 3921-28.
 Rural population rarely use opium, 3922.
 Smoking is diminishing, 3939, 3975, 3976.
 Comparatively rare among upper classes, 4124-30.
 Quite exceptional to find an agricultural labourer an opium-eater, 4280.
 Smoking not prevalent in Orissa, 4510-13, 4528-34.
 Consumption by the cultivating class in Balasore, 4615, 4635-37.
 Per-centage of races among consumers in Calcutta, 4705.
 Consumption by people in malarial districts, 5503.
 By non-agricultural portion of the community, 5504.
 Habitual takers mostly live in towns, 5548-52.
 Smoking confined to lower stratum of the middle classes, 5825.
 Prevalent among the upper and middle classes, *ib.*
 Cultivators, palkee bearers, and fishermen not in the habit of using opium, 5855-63, 8599, 8636.
 50 per cent. in some villages, 5942.
 Palkee bearers and fishermen take opium, 6204.
 More usual among middle and upper classes, 6386, 6387.
 Consumption about the same as it was 20 years ago, 7421, 7428.
 Labouring classes and those exposed to night air commonly take opium, 8437, 8476.
 Agricultural classes do not use it much, 8480, 8481.
 Generally used in Oudh, Murshidabad, and Calcutta, 8504.
 Not largely used in Bengal and Behar, 8506.
 Consumption not confined to any particular class, 8594.
 More prevalent among upper classes than lower, 8636.
 Consumed in moderation by all classes of Hindus and Mahomedans, 8763.
 Used to some extent among upper and middle classes, especially in towns, 8783, 8784.
 Opium much used as a narcotic, 8805.
 Used by all classes and grades of Native society, *ib.*, 8812-15.
 Habit growing steadily in Calcutta, 8860-68.
 Cultivators and fishermen do not as a rule take opium, 8922.
 Smoking confined to low class of Mahomedans, 9319.
 Large consumption in Orissa, 10,625-28, 10,646.
 75 per cent. of the people in Balasore use opium, 10,693.
 10 per cent. of adult males in the upper and middle classes, and one per cent. of the lower classes take opium, 10,725.
 Not confined to any particular class, 10,942.
 A few Mahomedans smoke chandu, 10,977.
 Hindus in Behar smoke madak, *ib.*, 10,998.
 Smoking is not a general practice with the people, 11,211, 11,222.
 Ryots not consumers as a rule, 11,313.
 Consumed by large number of the poor labouring class, 11,393, 11,394.
 Common among elderly people, 11,676, 11,704.
 Labouring classes seldom take opium, 11,881.
 Consumption by the various races of Bengal, 11,887, 11,888.
 Common among all classes, 12,515, 12,516.
 Consumption not confined to any class; very small among rural population, 12,563.
 20 per cent. in large towns use the drug, 12,564, 12,586.
 Per-centage of consumers among different races, &c., in Allahabad, 12,652.
 Hindu cultivators do not use opium as a rule, 12,809.
 30 per cent. of men, 4 per cent. of females, and 5 per cent. consume opium in Mirzapur, 13,008.
 Extensively used in the Punjab, Rajputana, Assam, Deccan, and Bengal, 13,085.
 90 per cent. habitual consumers, 13,091.
 Proportion of opium-consumers very large, 13,416.
 Polygamous races chief consumers, 13,841, 13,852.

PREVALENCE OF HABIT—*continued.*

Common among the martial races, 13,863, 13,864, 13,876.
 Use by cultivators in villages very small, 13,951, 13,952.
 More or less general in India, 13,978.
 Mahomedans form the bulk of opium-eaters, 14,225.
 Very common, in moderation, among the Sikhs, *ib.*
 Moderate use of opium is widespread, 14,303-5.
 Habit has grown notwithstanding reduction in number of shops and increased price, 14,976, 14,981-89, 14,981-99, 15,042.
 Very little consumption among the rural population, 15,324.
 Almost unknown in the villages, 15,384.
 Only 10 or 12 per cent. of opium-users take it habitually, 15,956-58.
 General among all classes, 16,055, 16,902, 22,779.
 Common amongst the poorer classes and small shopkeepers, 16,540.
 Smoking is not common in the North-West, 16,544, 16,585-90.
 Smoking not very prevalent; dens exist in Umballa, 16,684.
 Prevails amongst the uneducated, peasants, traders, and sepoys, 17,422, 17,443.
 Appears to be decreasing, 17,446, 17,464, 17,471.
 Opium largely used, 18,090.
 20 per cent. smoke in the North-West Provinces, 18,092-94.
 Smoking more prevalent in cantonments than cities, 18,264.
 20 per cent. of Lahore population eat opium, 18,429, 18,430.
 A certain proportion of respectable labouring men smoke, 18,552.
 Excessive use confined to the lowest classes, 18,957, 19,029.
 Prevalent among Hindus and Mahomedans, chiefly among lower classes, 19,066.
 Confined to no particular class or race, 19,353, 19,757, 19,777, 19,780, 19,837.
 Chandu smoked a good deal in Ghazipur, 19,389.
 Largely consumed by almost all Indian races, 19,434.
 Consumption much larger among urban than rural population, 19,527.
 Smoking restricted to small portion of urban population, *ib.*
 Depends upon surroundings rather than race, 19,528.
 More common in West than East, *ib.*
 Races possessing finest physique and martial character most addicted to opium, *ib.*
 Opium used mainly for non-medical purposes among all races of India, 19,719.
 Common among all races, 19,883, 19,890.
 Opium consumed by all classes in Jeypore, 20,268.
 Occasional or habitual consumption almost universal in Rajputana, 21,443.
 Very large per-centage of cultivating classes take opium, 21,942.
 Proportion varies greatly; much higher in malarious districts, 22,010, 22,041-49.
 Number of excessive consumers smoke, 22,016.
 Chiefly used by warlike and turbulent classes, 22,385.
 Educated people do not generally take opium, *ib.*, 22,441a-44.
 50 to 75 per cent. of the Talukdars of Ahmedabad use opium, 22,688.
 Number of habitual consumers considerably less than a generation ago, 22,700, 22,705.
 Habit does not appear to be dying out, 22,734-37.
 Numbers greatly diminished by enhanced price, and spread of education, 22,756, 22,768, 22,794.
 Decrease in number of consumers desirable, 22,767, 22,796.
 Most prevalent among Rajputs, Girasias, and Musalmans, 22,828.
 Decreasing with spread of education, 22,851, 23,690, 23,708, 23,767.
 Opium consumed by all castes, 23,261.
 Smoking comparatively rare in India, 23,309, 23,333.
 Consumption will become less as education advances, 23,612, 23,615.
 Rising generation not inclined to take opium, 23,664, 23,750, 23,767-69.
 Youths giving up opium and taking to alcohol, 23,864, 23,867-71.
 Not limited to any class, race, or age, 24,113, 24,118.
 Fewer consumers than 20 years ago, 24,195.

PREVALENCE OF HABIT—*continued.*

Consumption decreasing through spread of education and dearness of drug, 24,196, 24,222, 24,225, 24,239-43, 24,267, 24,283, 24,307, 24,384, 24,408-11, 24,523, 24,524, 24,551.
 Use decreasing, as habit does not find favour with rising generation, 24,408.
 Use of opium decreasing; probably due to increased indulgence in alcohol, *ib.*, 24,551.
 Not general among higher castes, 24,566.
 Smoking confined to a small and more or less degraded class, 24,590.
 Appears to be little used in Bombay, 24,670.
 Habit said to be decreasing, 24,926-36.
 Insurance statistics show that 2 per cent. of the people use opium, 24,952-58.
 All classes of Hindus and Mahomedans eat opium; a very small per-centage smoke it, 25,011.
 Consumption in malarious districts chiefly as a prophylactic, 25,227.
 Mostly confined to the poor and working classes in Bombay, 25,254.
 From childhood people taught to believe in opium, 25,300.
 Opium not used so commonly in Southern India as in the North, 25,350.
 All races and classes eat opium, 25,508.
 Less than 5 per cent. of population eat opium, *ib.*
 Madak smoked chiefly by lower classes, *ib.*
 Smoking increasing in Madras, 25,522, 25,534-45.
 Casually used to a large extent, 25,901.
 Not confined to any one class, 26,406.
 Two per cent. use opium in Gujarat, 26,923.
 Largely consumed in Rajputana, Malwa, Central India, Kathiawar, Gujarat, &c., 26,967, 26,970.
 Proportion of habitual eaters per mille amongst various castes, 27,132.
 Only a very small per-centage of people take opium, 27,461.
 Not confined to any class or race, 27,730.
 Statistics as to prevalence collected by missionaries, 27,825, 27,826.
 Smoking chiefly confined to the lower classes, 27,885.
 Old women and infants comprise most consumers, 28,047.
 No particular class abnormally affected by opium, *ib.*
 Smoking almost wholly confined to towns, 28,082.
 Only bad characters take to smoking, 28,097.
 Ten to 15 per cent. of population use opium, 28,124.
 Great increase in number of madak-smokers, 28,129.
 Madak and chandu-smoking much less resorted to than eating; chiefly among the poorer classes, 28,142.
 Increasing during last 20 years, 28,186.
 Extensively used in the Punjab, Deccan, Assam, Central, East, and South-west Bengal, *ii.* 444.
 Large numbers, especially of labouring classes, take opium, *iv.* 375.
 Proportion of consumers in the Native States of Rajputana, *iv.* 392-99.
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PRICE:

Price paid to cultivators, 3013-17.
 In Assam, 3103, 3107-13, 5648-50, 5659.
 Prices in various districts, 3195, 3201-3, 3205-8, 3235-37, 5036, 5064-68.
 Kept down through fear of smuggling, 3206-8.
 Government price in Orissa, 4523.
 Assam Government wishes price raised, 5068-77.
 Seriously affected by the change of currency, 5128-32.
 Government price of poppy too low, 10,796-98, 10,806-8.
 Government should not increase price paid, 10,844.
 Has not been raised during last five years, 10,914-19.
 Increased price would not render poppy cultivation more popular, 11,019-21.
 Government price does not allow cultivator a fair profit, 11,201-15, 11,220, 11,249, 11,250, 11,314, 11,315, 11,328, 15,063.
 Government price insufficient, 11,437, 11,438, 11,453, 11,455, 11,463, 11,472.
 Memorials from ryots asking for higher rate, 11,786, 11,787.
 Government should pay higher price or drop poppy-growing, 12,062, 12,063.
 Not sufficiently high to admit repayment of advances in bad seasons, 12,084, 12,085, 12,144-48.

PRICE—*continued.*

Government purchasing and selling price should be raised, 12,374, 12,394.
 Retail price at licensed shops, 12,945-52.
 Licensed vendors charge what they like and increase their profit by adulteration, 13,040, 13,043.
 Government rates too low, 14,473-80.
 Increase in Government price unnecessary, 14,854.
 Would lead to increased illicit dealing, 14,863-65.
 High price checks consumption, 14,907.
 Habit has grown notwithstanding increased price, 14,976, 14,977, 14,981-89, 15,042.
 Selling price in the Native States, 16,222.
 Policy of the Government to raise the retail price as high as possible, 18,154-57, 18,160.
 If pushed too high would promote smuggling, 18,154.
 Low price tempts consumers, 18,962, 18,981-88, 19,029.
 Maintained as high as possible having regard to risk of smuggling, 19,520-22.
 Sub-treasuries sell cheaper than licensed vendors, 19,574-79, 19,608-13.
 Enhanced price greatly diminishes number of consumers, 22,756, 22,768.
 Should be gradually increased to check habit, 22,805.
 Should be lowered to meet wants of poor consumers, 22,926-29.
 Should be made so high that people would gradually give up opium, 23,269, 23,471.
 Rise in price would inflict suffering on the poor, 27,433.
 Increase has greatly reduced consumption, 28,051.
 Government price gives good return to cultivator, *i.* 134.
 Cost price of Excise opium, 1880-1 to 1893-4, *ii.* 342.
 Estimated cost price per chest of provision opium, 1883-84 to 1892-93, *ii.* 345.
 Price to vendors and retail price, *ii.* 348-54.
 Treasury price in Bengal, *ii.* 427.
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See also under the various Provinces and Native States.

PRISONERS:

Allowed opium if health gives way, 1469-75, 1492-94.
 Stoppage of opium rarely does harm, 1736.
 Opium-eaters a perfect nuisance in jail, 1920, 1949-51.
 When opium stopped they howl all night, 1920.
 Native prisoners in India, 2138-42.
 Mostly addicted to opium, 2143.
 Opium forbidden except for medical use, *ib.*, 2144.
 Effect of deprivation of opium, 2219-24.
 Sometimes suffer considerably through stoppage of opium, 3411.
 Opium stopped immediately in every case, 3709-21.
 Opium-eaters compare favourably with drunkards and ganja smokers, 5170.
 Supply not always cut off from prisoners, *ib.*
 Deprivation has no bad effect beyond distress, 7380-86.
 Pains caused by cutting off opium soon pass away, 7424; diarrhoea is apparent for two or three days, 7448-54; accompanied by inability to work, 7450, 7506-8.
 Opium not given unless doctor orders it, 9660-64.
 Opium-eaters do not seem to suffer after three or four days' stoppage of drug, 9766-70, 9806-12.
 Opium only supplied on doctor's prescription, 10,428-38.
 Occasionally suffer very much through deprivation of opium, 10,673-77.
 Proportion of opium-eaters in Allahabad Central Prison, 12,459-63, 12,483, 12,484, 12,499-501.
 4 or 5 per cent. excessive consumers, 12,567.
 Per-centage of opium users, 14,058.
 Statistics of health, 14,061.
 Opium stopped but given afterwards if necessary to health 14,064, 14,065, 14,102-4.
 Craving usually subsides within a week or so of admission, 15,910.
 Seldom necessary to continue opium after admission, 15,911.
 Usually resume habit on leaving jail, 16,547, 16,626, 16,627.
 Very small per-centage addicted to opium, 16,577.
 Less than per-centage of entire population, 16,589-84.
 Per-centage less than of general population, 16,657.

PRISONERS—*continued.*

No serious ill-effects follow deprivation of opium, 17,266-72.
 80 per cent. got bad diarrhoea which continued till opium restored, 17,422.
 Health of prisoners improved by deprivation of opium, 18,247.
 Dyspepsia and diarrhoea follow sudden stoppage of drug, 18,485-92, 18,499.
 Few deaths consequent on stoppage of opium; patients suffering from chronic disease; death probably accelerated by stoppage, 18,513.
 Stoppage of opium almost invariably followed by diarrhoea, 18,740.
 Opium allowed to excessive consumers for a time, *ib.*
 Sudden stoppage known to result in death through dysentery, *ib.*
 Per-centage of opium consumers, 18,743-47.
 Excessive consumers improve in health during confinement, 19,356.
 Very small number addicted to opium, 19,391.
 Notes of cases in Meerut Jail, 19,400.
 Seldom any serious difficulty in stopping opium, 21,419, 21,420.
 In British jails opium stopped, but restored if prisoner falls ill; given to consumers in Native jails, 21,828.
 Subject to compulsory reduction of dose, 21,925.
 Sometimes found impossible to discontinue opium, because of persistent diarrhoea, 22,016.
 Opium allowed in Baroda State, 22,641.
 Sometimes given small doses in case of illness, 23,431.
 Opium suddenly stopped without ill-effects, 23,795, 23,818-20, 24,092-94.
 Effects of stoppage of opium, 24,129.
 Per-centage of opium-eaters in Junagadh Jail, *ib.*
 Stoppage of drug often leads to diarrhoea or pains; moderate and gradually-diminishing doses sometimes acquired, 24,718.
 Suffer at first from deprivation of opium, 25,931.
 Statistics of opium-consumers in Ahmedabad Jail, 26,637.
 Leave jail apparently cured of the habit, *ib.*
 Habit broken-off by gradually diminishing doses, 27,387, 27,406-9.
 Suffer terribly through deprivation of opium, 27,795-99.
 Opium consumers in Junagadh Jail, 1889-90 to 1892-93, *iv.* 431.
 Statement showing prisoners in Delhi Jail who were opium-eaters in 1893, *v.* 128-31.
 Weights of prisoners (opium-smokers) for first four weeks' confinement in Victoria Jail, Hong Kong, 1890-92, *v.* 196, 350, 351.

PROHIBITION :

Opium should be prohibited except for medical use, 113, 114, 2272, 2274, 2601, 8622, 8646, 8808, 8809, 9442-44, 9467, 14,631, 14,657, 15,626, 19,288, 20,136, 24,301, 26,586, 27,217, 27,282, 27,339, 27,843.
 Cultivation for medical purposes should be permitted, 713, 740.
 Use of opium must be left to discretion of consumers, 1637.
 Growth of poppy should be prohibited on moral grounds, 1802-21.
 Petition in favour of prohibition presented, in 1859, by the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, 1820.
 Would be very difficult, but habit should be checked, 1957-60.
 Views of the Anti-Opium Association, 2457-66, 2481-85.
 Benefit to the people would outweigh any deprivation to small classes, 2516-23.
 Would be productive of commercial benefits to India and China, 2572-81.
 Only sufficient opium for medicinal purposes should be grown, 2782-84.
 No restriction can be placed on use of opium, 3730.
 Would do more harm than good, 3758.
 Manufacture and sale of opium should not be prohibited, 5989.
 If not extended to use for medical purposes would be approved, 6265.
 Sale or use of opium should be forbidden except at licensed houses, 7052-59.
 Total abolition desirable, 7232, 7253, 7274, 7293-96.
 Poppy growing should be prohibited, 7328-40.

PROHIBITION—*continued.*

Should be prohibited except as a medicine, 7803-10, 9853, 9932, 9935-43, 9951; with possible exception in favour of persons already consumers, 9854.
 Prohibition except for medical use desirable, 9053, 9139, 9189, 9226-27, 9330, 10,237, 10,258, 10,259, 10,309, 10,621, 10,649-54, 13,033, 13,107-08, 13,194, 13,388-89, 18,104, 18,204, 20,049, 20,091, 20,136.
 Would be a crime, 10,038.
 Cultivation should be prohibited in Behar, 11,369.
 Not desired except by missionaries, 11,897.
 Consumption as an indulgence should be prohibited, 13,110.
 Both alcohol and opium should be prohibited, 13,162, 15,656, 16,812, 18,046, 26,441, 26,499-501, 26,518.
 Should be effected gradually by severance of Government connexion with cultivation, 14,005-7.
 Could only be justified on strongest moral grounds, 14,846-52.
 Stands on different grounds in Burma and India, 14,875-77.
 Prohibition except for medical purposes recommended, 15,009, 15,020-25, 28,172, 28,212-18.
 Prohibition of cultivation the only remedy, 16,568.
 Except for medical purposes absolutely necessary, 16,569.
 Prohibition would be favourably received apart from fresh taxation, 16,572, 16,574-76, 16,617.
 Opium should be stopped whether alcohol is or not, 16,714.
 No interference should be attempted unless backed by public opinion, 16,750.
 Liquor, chandu, charas, and ganja should be prohibited, 17,854.
 Would be a good thing, but the people would not so regard it, 17,879.
 Worthy of support, as habit injurious, 17,905, 17,906, 17,970-73.
 People against it because they fear taxation, 17,939, 17,974-79, 17,988.
 Opium should be allowed for medical or quasi-medical use, 17,948.
 Consumers would like to see sale prohibited, 18,023, 18,024.
 Not so necessary with regard to alcohol as opium, 18,083.
 Sale should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and for habitual users, 18,305, 18,330.
 Desirable, except for medical purposes and confirmed users, 18,364.
 Should not be interfered with and such things as ganja permitted, 18,616.
 Government policy of non-interference with vice should not be departed from, 18,620.
 Can only be safely checked by spread of education, 18,624.
 No objection to prohibition if effected without taxation, and gradually, 18,843, 18,848, 18,857-63.
 Habit is bad, but does not call for interference, 18,903.
 Recommended if unaccompanied with additional taxation, 19,001-3, 19,029.
 Benefits would be outweighed by inconvenience, 19,720.
 Use of alcohol in England does not affect the question of opium in India, 19,935-40, 20,027-35.
 No reason to limit sale because of a few cases of excess, 20,181.
 Country cannot be reformed by law; regeneration should begin from within, 21,349, 21,367.
 Is impolitic; should be left to spread of education, 22,282.
 Government has no right to prohibit opium and permit liquor trade, 22,308.
 Sale for non-medical use should not be prohibited, 22,718, 22,855, 23,628, 23,659, 23,707, 23,753, 23,778, 23,826, 23,866, 23,878, 23,911, 23,928, 23,951, 23,983, 24,000, 24,014, 24,204, 24,237, 24,258, 24,279, 24,364, 24,376, 24,428, 24,470, 24,499, 24,514, 24,554, 24,649, 24,660, 26,410.
 Total prohibition not advisable, 22,796, 22,893, 22,912.
 Undesirable both politically and financially, 22,835.
 Should be left to education, 22,928.
 Restriction only feasible policy, 23,333, 23,339, 23,354.
 Traffic in opium as an intoxicant should be stopped, 23,457, 23,465, 23,473, 23,512.
 Opium should decidedly be prohibited, 23,549.
 People of India do not understand prohibitive measures, 24,014.

PROHIBITION—*continued.*

Refutation of objections to total prohibition of opium, 24,327.
 Would not remove evil caused by present excessive use, 24,812.
 Interference undesirable and inexpedient, 24,907.
 No reason why growth of poppy and manufacture of opium should be prohibited, 25,225.
 Growth of poppy and manufacture and sale of opium, should not be prohibited, 25,265.
 Government should not leave reform to moral agency, 25,527.
 Interference with use of opium not recommended, 25,854.
 Universal practice of dosing infants an insuperable obstacle to prohibition, 26,049.
 Mischievous, and calculated to do more evil than good, 26,064.
 All kinds of intoxicants should be prohibited, 26,590.
 Policy of restriction by law recommended, 27,022.
 Opium-eating should not be prohibited, 28,124.

— UNJUSTIFIABLE :

Reasons for suppression unsound and visionary, 1153.
 Opium may be restricted, but prohibition is entirely unjustifiable, 1637.
 Forcible prohibition would be justifiable, 2468.
 Should not be forced on people who do not want it, 2060.
 Quite unjustifiable, 2709.
 Would make English rule unpopular, 6120.
 Unjustifiable interference with rights of property, 6121, 6143-51.
 Most unjustifiable interference with the liberty of the subject, 10,785.
 If accompanied with increased taxation would be unjust and unpopular, 12,733.
 Government interference unjustifiable, 16,024, 24,454.
 Idea is a mere chimera, 19,530.
 Unjustifiable and dangerous, 22,667.
 Most impolitic and quite uncalled for, 23,184.
 Would be as tyrannical as prohibition of beer in England; uncalled for and wantonly foolish, 24,577.
 Prohibitive measures uncalled for and unjustifiable, 25,569.
 No cause to prohibit the sale of opium in British India, 27,033.
 No moral justification for restricting sale, iv. 495.

— IMPOSSIBLE :

Could only be enforced in British territories by bloodshed; in Native States could not be enforced at all, 872.
 Would take years to accomplish, 2818.
 Impracticable at present, 3058, 3099-101.
 Prohibition of sale except for medical purposes impossible, 4269, 4270, 4448, 5339, 5340, 5508, 14,071, 15,915, 16,902, 17,231, 22,385, 27,433, 27,574, 28,148.
 Would be an utter impossibility, 4719.
 Would be ineffectual if not extended to Native States, 4891.
 Would be entirely inoperative, 4997, 4998.
 Impossible by legislation, 6345.
 Present arrangements satisfactory, and prohibition impossible except on paper, 8408-10, 8492, 8493, 8500.
 Impracticable in Assam, 10,206, 10,362.
 Total prohibition almost impossible, 10,947, 10,983.
 Prohibition, except for medical use, impracticable, 12,585, 18,147, 22,719, ii. 461.
 Impossible to put down even immoderate use by force, 13,841.
 Could not be carried out unless extended to Native States, 17,341.
 Impossible to stop cultivation, 19,649.
 Impossible so long as produced in Native States, 19,720.
 Quite impossible for Government to prohibit opium-growing, 21,025.
 Would be very difficult to enforce, 25,014.
 Perfectly nugatory unless extended to Native States, 26,157.
 Utterly impossible to interfere with domestic habits of the people, 27,038.
 Attempt to prohibit sale would be a disastrous failure, 27,396.
 Impossible and most undesirable, 27,973.
 Worse than useless to attempt it, i. 142.

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— DANGEROUS :

Suppression of cultivation would lead to grave political difficulties, 885, 953.
 Would lead to political dangers of extreme gravity, 900.
 Would be a grievous interference with social habits and customs, 1007.
 Prohibition of cultivation would make the people disloyal, 1611, 1612.
 Would cause utmost irritation, especially among Sikhs, 1611.
 Would excite gravest discontent, 2062, 2063.
 Would be an absolute political danger, 3189-92, 3210.
 Would create dissatisfaction, 3798, 6166, 6916, 8566, 21,773, 21,782, 25,196.
 Would be highly impolitic, 4508.
 The suggestion has alarmed the people, 4577.
 Would meet with strenuous opposition, 4999.
 A very much smaller thing raised the Mutiny, 5694, 12,726.
 Would produce universal dissatisfaction and disaffection, 5739.
 Likely to be a disturbance in Assam if stopped all at once, 9227-32.
 Not likely to meet with violent opposition, 9963, 10,017-21; might do so if accompanied with additional taxation, 10,019-23.
 If opium stopped the Assamese would revolt, 10,038.
 Would create universal discontent, 11,392.
 Would cause the horrors of 1857 to be repeated, 12,348.
 Legislative suppression would cause great political danger, 13,843, 13,845.
 Restrictive measures would be strongly resented, 13,883.
 Prohibition without increased taxation would create discontent, 14,075, 14,076.
 Legislative interference would be resented, 14,231.
 Interference with consumption might be resented actively, 14,309.
 Most dangerous policy to tamper with long-established custom, 14,356.
 Discontent would amount to grave political danger, 14,912; consequent increase of taxation would cause still greater discontent, 14,913.
 Might lead to loss of India, 15,696.
 Would arouse feelings of consternation and resentment, 15,700.
 Quite impossible, might lead to popular revolt, 15,915.
 Would entail serious discontent and entail danger to the Government, 16,019, 16,024.
 People would resent interference, 16,220.
 Would be most unpopular in the Punjab, 17,073.
 Would be unpopular with Native soldiers, 17,084.
 Would cause serious inconvenience and trouble, 17,852-54.
 Would be a serious interference with local habits in Rajputana, 19,957, 19,959.
 Would be resented if accompanied by increased taxation, 20,069, 20,118.
 Ancient customs of the Rajputs would be greatly interfered with, 20,604, 20,699.
 Apart from finance, would be highly impolitic, 21,655.
 Would cause general discontent among the Rajputs, 21,766.
 Prohibition of opium is impolitic, 22,282.
 Would be exceedingly difficult and dangerous, 22,283.
 Would lead people to believe that the Government intends to tamper with religion, 22,385.
 Would lead to much discontent and misery, 22,898.
 Would be regarded as an act of injustice, 23,561, 23,584, 23,597.
 Would interfere with ancient customs and create dissatisfaction, 24,236, 24,256, 24,260, 24,278, 24,408, 24,628, 24,660.
 People would not like interference with their use of opium, 25,264.
 Would lead to political complications with Native States, 26,006.
 Would cause general discontent in Gujarat, 26,149.
 Would be regarded as an active oppression, 26,408.
 Attempt to interfere with use of opium would be impolitic, 26,654.
 Would cause serious dissatisfaction, especially in Native States, 26,759, 26,776, 26,777.
 Interference would be a serious wrong and deplorable mistake, 27,396.

PROHIBITION, DANGEROUS—*continued.*

- Would cause great discontent, 27,734.
- Total prohibition of opium-eating would be impolitic, 28,028.
- Would be most unpopular in the Punjab, i. 142.
- Would be bitterly resented by all classes, apart from taxation, iv. 495.
- Would cause dissatisfaction in the Punjab, v. 124, 126.

— EFFECT ON FINANCE :

- Would be a capital political error to deprive Native States of their revenue, 1165.
- Effect on Foreign Exchange, 2075, 2076.
- Possible financial objections, 2561.
- Would entail loss of revenue, 3193, 6060, 23,380, 23,913.
- Could easily embarrass the Government, 3421.
- Would mean financial ruin in Behar, 12,320, 12,346, 12,375.
- Would be a very bad thing for the Indian tax-payers, 12,520, 12,544-51.
- Mr. Caine's letter on the financial question, 14,759-68, 14,789.
- Would cause loss of revenue and subject people to new taxation, 19,877.
- Would upset the entire economy of the producing States, 20,435.
- Would mean financial ruin to opium-growing Native States, 23,104.
- Would not entail very serious loss in Central India, 23,457.
- Would result in great loss to India, 23,612.
- India would lose income, while Persia would gain by prohibition, 24,516.
- Only effect would be injury to Government, 24,856.
- Would entail heavy expenditure for preventive measures, 25,226.
- Would entail immense loss to Indian Revenue, 25,552.

— — — ON AGRICULTURE.

- Would seriously disturb the agricultural economy of the country, 4891.
- Would be prejudicial to important agricultural interests, 6424.
- Would ruin thousands of cultivators, 10,797.
- Prohibition of cultivation a grievous interference, 10,841.
- Would be an unmitigated evil and very unpopular, 12,373, 12,376.
- Unnecessary; ruinous to cultivators; would lead to further taxation, 12,853.
- Would ruin a great industry, 12,978, 12,987.
- Would cause great distress among the agricultural class, 13,414, 13,415, 13,419.
- Suppression of poppy-cultivation injurious, 13,677, 13,678, 13,680.
- Would injuriously affect an industrious and poor class of tenants, 14,399.
- Would cause much distress to cultivators, 14,896.
- Partial prohibition in Rai Bareli raised a considerable outcry, 14,930-37.
- Would cause great hardship to cultivators, 15,341, 16,468, 16,485, 16,503.
- Would ruin people engaged in opium-cultivation and trade, 18,620.
- Would ruin landlords and tenants, 19,777.
- Would be a serious loss to Government and cultivators, 19,815.
- Would cause great dissatisfaction among cultivators and users, 21,773, 21,782.
- Would cause dissatisfaction among Native rulers and farmers, 25,196.
- Would be disastrous to the zemindar and ryot, 25,233.

— — — ON SMUGGLING.

- Establishment of a customs line 2,000 or 3,000 miles long would be impossible, 885.
- Effects on smuggling and trade, 2931.
- Would lead to smuggling, 3190, 19,757, 25,015, 25,061, 25,196.
- Would encourage smuggling and surreptitious cultivation, 3799.
- Would lead to increase of smuggling, 4891, 6061, 17,256, 22,385, 26,049, 28,023, 28,113.
- Would encourage smuggling, especially from Nepal, 5510.
- Would encourage smuggling, 6425.

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- Smuggling and illicit growth would be increased, 8500.
- Would be rendered ineffectual by illicit sale, 10,362.
- Impossible, considering how easily opium may be smuggled, 14,798.
- Impossible to stop smuggling, 18,150, 26,777.
- Would be rendered impracticable through smuggling, 19,530.
- Opium would be imported from Nepal and other places, 19,650.
- Would necessitate costly preventive establishment in Central India, 22,164.
- Forcible prohibition would increase smuggling and necessitate expensive preventive measures, 23,911, 23,913, 23,927.
- Would lead to smuggling in spite of preventive departments, 25,569.
- Would be useless in preventing consumption, 26,149.
- Would increase smuggling from Native States, 26,156.
- Further restrictions would greatly increase smuggling, 26,655.
- Would involve a very costly preventive establishment, 26,845.
- Would greatly increase smuggling, 26,970.
- Would cause manifold increase in smuggling, 27,469.
- Impossible; would be ineffectual through smuggling, i. 143.

— — — ON CONSUMERS.

- Total prohibition would entail great suffering on consumers, 708-11, 714-21.
- Would cause much undeserved misery, 1153, 4150.
- Would be injurious to the population, 4210, 4211.
- Would be most disastrous in Assam, 5619, 10,206, 10,362.
- Would lead to serious sickness among habitual consumers, 7194, 16,435.
- The natives in the villages would perish, 10,038-41, 10,099, 10,118-28, 10,136-43.
- Would deprive the poor of a domestic medicine, 10,206, 10,362, 19,719, 19,877.
- Would increase mortality, especially in the aged and infants, 10,206, 10,362, 19,777, 19,829, 19,837.
- Would produce disastrous effect on the people, and probably create dissatisfaction, 10,362.
- Would be a great calamity, 14,461.
- Would be a very great hardship, 16,074.
- Would not be harmful except to consumers, 18,031-35.
- Would be not only unwise but cruel, 20,263.
- Great reason against prohibition; opium most available drug for relief of pain, 20,312.
- Would cause considerable bodily pain to consumers, 20,921, 20,990.
- Would be an act of the most cruel inhumanity, 22,014.
- Would be a serious privation to habitual consumers, 22,385, 22,637.
- Would entail great hardship on habitual consumers, 23,876, 23,909, 23,927, 23,951, 23,989, 23,999, 25,513, iv. 381.
- Would be a dire calamity to consumers, 24,130.
- Consequence would be serious to habitual consumers, 24,218, 24,408, 24,470.
- Hardship would be only temporary, 24,327.
- Closing the shops would bring injury to the Government and suffering to the mendicant and diseased, 24,863.
- Would be a very great deprivation and destructive to life, 26,386.
- Total prohibition would be disastrous to the poor, 27,143.
- Consumption cannot be stopped without serious consequences, 27,696, 27,701.
- Absolute prohibition would be a great hardship, 27,698, ii. 317.
- Would have a bad effect on health of consumers, 27,885.
- Would mean lingering death to habitual users, 28,023.
- Well-being of hundreds of thousands would be affected by prohibition, i. 133.

— — — ON CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL, &c.

- Would lead to use of more harmful stimulants, 1153.
- Distillers would find a ready market if opium prohibited, 1377.
- Would not, as a rule, lead to increase of drinking, 2822.

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Poorer classes would take to ganja, and richer to alcohol, 4270.

Might lead to increased use of alcohol and ganja, 4781.

Would lead to increased consumption of alcohol, 5955, 5956, 8407, 8487-89, 10,206, 10,362, 12,815, 12,866, 15,389, 15,390, 17,074, 18,173, 22,289, 22,683, 22,741-44, 22,936, 23,728, 23,753, 23,876, 23,911, 23,927, 24,015, 24,811, 25,061, 25,104, 25,213, 25,225, 25,374, 25,513, 27,168, ii. 411-14.

Would lead to consumption of ganja or cheap liquor, 6042, 6836.

Would certainly lead to increased use of alcohol, 6167.

Checking supply would lead to consumption of spirits, 6691, 6707-9.

Would lead to use of some other kind of stimulant, 8565.

Would lead to increased consumption of ganja or alcohol, 8757, 8764.

Would certainly lead to increased consumption of ganja and alcohol in Assam, 9545.

If opium prohibited, consumers would take to ganja, 10,036, 10,038.

Would lead to increased consumption of arsenic, nuxvomica, alcohol, or dhatura seeds, 13,841.

Would cause large numbers to resort to alcohol, 13,885.

Would lead to increased consumption of ganja and bhang, 14,195, 14,215.

Great hardship; would lead to very large consumption of alcohol, 14,415.

Would tend to spread the drinking habit, 16,114.

Would increase consumption of spirits and hemp drugs, 16,220.

Would lead to consumption of other intoxicants, 16,504.

Opium-eaters would hardly take to drink immediately, 16,712.

Would lead to use of worse stimulants, 16,902.

Opium would not be to a very great extent substituted by wine, 17,931-34.

Would not lead to increased consumption of alcohol, 18,118.

Would be superseded by liquors, 18,617-19.

Hindus would not necessarily take to alcohol if opium prohibited, 18,975-78.

People would probably take to drink if opium prohibited, 19,749.

Would lead to a calamitous increase of drinking, 19,885.

Would most certainly lead to extended use of alcohol, 20,173, 22,039.

Would lead to consumption of pernicious spirits, 20,263.

Excessive consumers would take to alcohol or ganja if deprived of opium, 21,023, 21,059.

Would lead to consumption of alcohol or hemp drugs, 21,655.

Would lead to increased consumption of liquor and ganja, 21,781, 24,908.

Cultivators might take to liquor if opium prohibited, 22,167.

Would substitute a race of liquor-drinkers for opium-eaters, 22,216.

Would lead to use of more pernicious narcotics, 22,385.

Patidars and high-class people would not take to alcohol if opium prohibited, 22,818.

Hindus would take to bhang or such intoxicants if opium prohibited, 22,819.

Would cause resort to other narcotic stimulants, 22,859, 22,869.

Would drive poorer classes to native liquors, 23,104.

Would lead to indulgence in other stimulants, probably alcohol, 23,184, 23,294, 26,699.

Would most decidedly lead to use of other intoxicating stimulants, 24,182, 24,218, 24,317, 24,327.

Would doubtless lead to use of alcohol or other drugs, 24,743.

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Would lead to use of hemp or alcohol, 25,962, 26,064.

Would drive people to alcohol or hemp, 26,026, 26,158.

Would undoubtedly increase the consumption of liquor, 26,430.

Idea that alcohol would replace opium fostered by Europeans who would be the first to oppose restrictions on the liquor traffic, 26,540, 26,550.

Would certainly increase use of alcohol, bhang or ganja, 26,617.

Religious scruples would prevent many people taking to alcohol if opium prohibited, 27,352.

Likely to lead to increased consumption of alcohol, 27,574.

Necessity might drive people to cheap alcohol, 27,594.

Would drive even Mahomedans to drink, 27,696, 27,698, 27,703.

Would lead to substitution of alcohol, 27,734.

Would lead to use of liquor, bhang or ganja, 28,023.

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 Moderate users do not favour prohibition, 16,572, 16,618.
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APPENDIX G.

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS USED IN THE EVIDENCE AND APPENDICES.

ABKARI	-	Distillation ; spirit excise.	BABOO, or BABU	-	A Bengali term for a clerk or any one in a literary profession.
ADAN	-	Superior irrigated land in Rajputana, &c.	BACKSHEESH	-	A present or "tip."
ADDA	-	A den, or small shop.	BADAL	-	Croup.
ADYA	-	A noxious grass or weed, in Rajputana.	BADI	-	Flatulence.
AFIM	-	Opium: the last term is used in late Sanskrit.	BAEL	-	The fruit of the <i>Ægle marmorea</i> .
AFFIM	-		BAGRI	-	A caste of merchants in Rajputana.
AFIN	-		BAHU	-	Daughter-in-law.
AIPHEN	-		BAIBA	-	The title of the wife of a chief.
APHU	-	Excessive, or according to some witnesses, confirmed or habitual, opium-eater.	BAIDS, or VAIDS	-	Medical practitioners on the Ayurvedic or Hindu system.
AFFIMCHI	-		BAIRAGI	-	A class of Hindu ascetics.
AFIMI	-		BAJRA, or BAJRI	-	Spiked millet (<i>penicillaria typhoidea</i>).
AFIMKHOR	-		BALAGOLI	-	Opium pills for children.
AFINIO	-		BAMBOO KHANA	-	Room for opium-smoking, in Hyderabad.
APHUBAZ	-		BANDAR COOLIES	-	Dock and wharf labourers.
AFIMCHI-JUARI	-	Opium-eater and gambler.	BANDHANI	-	A confirmed opium-eater, in Gujarat.
AFIN SAHIB	-	An officer of the Opium Department.	BANIA	-	A class of Hindu tradesmen.
AHOM	-	A Mongoloid tribe in East Assam.	BANI LAG	-	A disease caused by drinking bad water.
AIN-I-AKBARI	-	The Institutes of the Emperor Akbar, by Abul Fazl.	BANDASWAR	-	The lowest grade of menials in the opium service.
AKHA TIJ	-	A Hindu festival.	BANGHUR	-	A class of upland as opposed to river valley land, in Behar.
AKSHAY TIJ	-		BAORIES	-	Wells with steps to the water.
AKRA PANCH	-	A local chamber of commerce, in Indore.	BARH	-	A fence or hedge.
ARRACK	-	Native spirituous liquor.	BARI	-	A garden for betel vine, &c.
AMAL	-	Literally; power, effect or action ; hence spell or charm, hence opium. In North and Central India it means opium.	BARSH	-	A medicinal form of opium.
AMAL-KI-BHAJEE	-	The poppy plant used as vegetable.	BARWATIA	-	An outlaw.
AMAL-PANI	-	A decoction of opium.	BASTI	-	A collection of huts, or a hamlet.
AMAL PILANA	-	To present opium to drink at a betrothal.	BATAI	-	Rent paid by a share in the crop.
AMILTAS	-	An Indian plant, resembling laburnum in flower.	BEGUM	-	The wife of a Muhammedan Chief.
AMIN	-	A surveyor.	BEGAR	-	Unskilled labour.
AMIN KACHERI	-	The surveyor's office.	BEINCHI	-	The Burmese term for opium pipe-refuse.
AMIR	-	A ruler or noble of a Muhammedan State.	BEINSA	-	A confirmed opium-eater (Burma).
AMLAH	-	Subordinate officials.	BEINSI	-	Clarified opium for smoking.
AMOK	-	A Malay term for a person temporarily deprived of reason, and violent (amuck).	BERI BERI	-	A contagious fever peculiar to India and the East.
ANDAZI	-	By guess ; an appraisement.	BIDI, or BEEEEE	-	Native cigarettes.
ANNA	-	The sixteenth part of a rupee, nominally = $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.	BIGHA	-	A land measure of varying extent. In Behar the opium bigha is equal to five-eighths of an acre.
APHIMI	-	Opium-eater. See AFIMI.	BISWA	-	The twentieth part of a bigha.
APHUBAZ, or BAJA	-		BHADOI	-	The early, or autumn, crop in Bengal.
ASAMIWAR	-	Individual dealing, i.e., with the cultivator direct.	BHALE SULTAN	-	A high cultivating caste in Oudh.
ATTAR	-	Scent.	BHANG	-	A drug prepared from the leaves of the Indian hemp.
ATISAR	-	Diarrhoea.	BHARWAD	-	A pastoral caste in Western India.
ATTI	-	A class of Hindoo ascetics or devotees.	BHAOLI	-	Rent paid in kind.
AYAH	-	Female attendant on ladies and children.	BHAT	-	The bard, or genealogist, amongst the Rajputs.
AIYASHI	-	Debauchery.	BHEEL, or BHIL	-	A forest tribe of Rajputana and Central India.
AYURVEDA	-	The portion of the Hindu scriptures dealing with medicine.			

BHIAN	-	-	Opium pounded in water and strained through a cloth.	CORINGHI	-	-	The people of the north-east coast of Madras, who go to Burma for work.
BHOOM	-	-	A transit duty on opium in Rajputana.	COTTAH	-	-	See KUTHA.
BHUSA	-	-	Chaff.	CRORE	-	-	Ten millions, or 100 lakhs.
BHURIE	-	-	A weight = $2\frac{1}{2}$ drachms.	CUTCH	-	-	A product of the <i>acacia catechu</i> . Also a State in Western India.
BOEPARI	-	-	A trader.	CUTCHERI	-	-	Office or court-house.
BOHEA	-	-	In Northern India and Rajputana, a village money-lender. In Western India a class of trading.	DACOITY	-	-	Gang robbery.
BOISHAK	-	-	A month in the Hindu calendar—May.	DADNI	-	-	The advance paid on poppy land by Government.
BUNIA	-	-	See BANIA.	DAFTARDAR	-	-	Record keeper.
CHABENA	-	-	Parched pulse.	DAL	-	-	Split pulse.
CHALAN	-	-	Invoice, or remittance order.	DALAL	-	-	A broker or middleman.
CHAPA	-	-	Literally, a stamp. A fee on packages of opium in Central India.	DANIA, or DHANIA	-	-	Coriander seeds.
CHAMAR	-	-	A leather-worker and village menial.	DANE	-	-	Grains—poppy seeds.
CHANDU	-	-	A preparation of opium for smoking, used by the Chinese.	DANE-KE-LADDOO	-	-	Sweetmeat balls, with poppy seeds in them.
CHANDUBAZ - CHANDUBDY	-	-	A confirmed or excessive smoker of chandu.	DANE-KE-PAPRI	-	-	Flat cakes, with crushed poppy seeds in them.
CHAPRASI	-	-	A belted messenger.	DAROGHA	-	-	An overseer or inspector.
CHARAN	-	-	A caste of bards and genealogists in Western India.	DARU	-	-	Spirituous liquor.
CHARAS	-	-	A preparation of hemp, largely imported into India from Yarkand.	DEBIA, or DEBUA	-	-	A pot.
CHATAK, or CHITTACK	-	-	A weight = oz.	DEDA GIRASIA	-	-	A caste of landholders in Western India, allied to Rajputs.
CHATTY	-	-	An earthen vessel for holding liquids.	DEKHAN, or DECCAN	-	-	The table-land of the peninsula of India.
CHAUDHRI, or CHOWDRI	-	-	A headman of a trade.	DEPUTY - COMMIS- SION.	-	-	The chief civil officer of a district in the more recently acquired territory.
CHAWAL	-	-	A small weight of a few grains.	DEPUTY-COLLECTOR	-	-	A civil officer of the Provincial service, placed under the collector of a district.
CHENA, or CHINA	-	-	A small millet (<i>panicum miliaceum</i>).	DESAI	-	-	Literally, colonist. The original settlers of a village community in Western India.
CHEEROOTS	-	-	Cigars rolled tobacco.	DESHMUKH	-	-	A hereditary revenue officer amongst the Marathas.
CHHIKKA	-	-	The capsules of the poppy (Rajputana).	DEWAN, or DIWAN	-	-	The chief civil official of a Native State.
CHICK, or CHIK	-	-	Inspissated poppy juice, or crude opium.	DHADI, or DHARI	-	-	A weight used in Central India—about 10 lbs.
CHILLIES	-	-	Capsicum, or pepper-pods.	DHADWAI	-	-	A cess on opium sales in Indore city.
CHILLUM	-	-	A pipe-bowl.	DHAMERI	-	-	A class of light irrigated soil in Rajputana.
CHINNAM	-	-	A weight = one-thirtieth of a tola, or six grains.	DHARALA	-	-	Literally, "the arm-bearing class" Gujarat. The term includes the Rajputs and all watchmen, &c.
CHOWKIAT	-	-	Watchmen.	DHARI	-	-	See DHADI, above.
CHOONGI, or CHUNGI	-	-	Town duties, or Octroi.	DHAN	-	-	Rice land.
CHOWKIDAR	-	-	A watchman.	DHARU	-	-	A kind of opium which, according to Hindu medical works, prolongs life.
CHUDDER	-	-	The principal garment of women in India.	DHATURA	-	-	Thorn apple (<i>stramonium</i>); the seeds are a common poison in India.
CHUKTI	-	-	The final adjustment of the opium account with the cultivator.	DHED	-	-	A village menial class in Gujarat.
CHULIA	-	-	Said to be a Bengali name for the people of Cutch.	DHOB	-	-	Washermen.
CHUP RAHO	-	-	Be silent.	DHOTIE	-	-	Body cloth.
CHUPRASI	-	-	See CHAPRASI.	DIH	-	-	Village.
CHUTKI	-	-	The pinch of opium taken by the weighmen as fee.	DISTRICT	-	-	The administrative territorial unit under a collector or deputy commissioner.
CHUTNI	-	-	A condiment.	DODA, or DODDA	-	-	Poppy heads, in Rajputana.
COLLECTOR	-	-	The chief civil officer of a district, or administrative territorial unit.	DO FASLI	-	-	Land cropped twice a year; sometimes crops which are in the ground more than one season.
COMMISSIONER	-	-	The supervising civil officer placed over a group of districts.	DOHAJ, SAHIB!	-	-	Justice, Sir!
CONJI	-	-	Gruel.	DOHE	-	-	Village scavenging caste in Behar and the North-West Province.
COORCHEE, or CURCHI	-	-	The bark of <i>Wrightea Anti-dysenterica</i> .	DOOLIE	-	-	A litter.
				DURBAR	-	-	Either a Native State administration, or a ceremonial State assemblage.

DURBARI	- A person entitled to be invited to Durbar.	GULIVINDA	- A small seed used as a weight in Madras.
DURGA POOJA	- A Hindu religious festival, chiefly observed in Bengal.	GULKAND	- A medicine compounded of poppy flowers.
DUSTICK or DASTAK	Abbreviation of Dastkhat, signature or signed document.	GUR, GOOR, GUL	- Coarse sugar.
		GURKHA	- The ruling class of the Nipal State.
		GURU	- A spiritual adviser amongst the Hindus.
FADNAVISHI	- Department of accounts in a Native State.	GURASTHA	- A superior class of soil in Behar.
FAKIR	- A religious mendicant or ascetic, chiefly and correctly amongst the Muhammedans only.	GUZASHTA	- Lit. past = prescriptive.
FAKSYAR	- An aphrodisiac compounded of opium and hemp.		
FARKHATI	- Deed of release or renunciation.	HAKIM	- A native physician, practising on the Yunnani, or Arabic, system.
FASLI	- Season.	HASIL	- Levy of rent or revenue, in Rajputana.
FERAZI	- A Muhammedan sect in Eastern Bengal.	HAVALDAR	- A corporal or subordinate police officer. In Gujarat a village messenger.
FIRINGHI ROG	- The "European (Frank) disease" — Syphilis.	HOLI	- A Hindu festival in the spring.
		HOOKAH, or HUKKA	- A pipe in which the smoke is passed through water.
		HOZAI	- A hill tribe in Assam.
GADHRI	- A tribe of shepherds.	HUBBA	- An obsolete measure used in Lucknow medical works.
GAEKWAR	- The Maratha family ruling at Baroda.	HUKM	- An order.
GALWAN	- A decoction of pounded opium.	HUKM-SE	- By order.
GAMMAITI	- Village headman in Mtywar.	HUNDI	- A bill of exchange.
GAM SARAONI	- A village funeral celebration.		
GANDA	- A weight = 720 grains.	IJARA	- A farm.
GANJA	- A preparation from the flowers of the hemp.	IJARDA	- The holder of a farm or contract.
GANJA-KA-KHET	- A field of hemp grown for the flowers.	ILAKA	- A territorial division of varying extent.
GARM MASALA	- Hot spices.	INSI, or INCHI	- The ashes of chandu.
GARO	- A hill tribe in Western Assam.	IRANI	- Of Iran, or Persia.
GARRYWALLAH	- A coachman or driver.	ISFANDAR	- A month in the Persian calendar.
GHAṬ	- The steps of a landing or bathing stage; also the range of hills along the West Coast, and a hill pass.	ISTAMBARDAR	- The holder of land on a special tenure in Ajmer and Central India.
GHULMAL	- Riot.	JAGGERY	- Coarse sugar (gur or gul).
GHEE, or GHI	- Clarified butter.	JAGIR	- An estate held on military tenure.
GHOTEE	- A form of opium said to be given to children.	JAGIRDAR	- The holder of a Jagir.
GIRAS	- Formerly a blackmail levied in Western India, now commuted into cash or landed rights.	JAHAZWALLA	- A shipowner.
GIRASSIA	- The holder of Giras, as above.	JAIN	- An offshoot of the Hindu religion, resembling Buddhism in some points.
GIRDAWAR	- Circle inspector.	JAMABANDI	- The settlement of the land revenue accounts.
GODOWN	- A warehouse.	JAMADAR	- A sergeant or police officer. Also the head of a gang of labourers.
GOIND	- A class of soil in Rajputana.	JAMMA	- A rentcharge on certain lands in Gujarat.
GOMASHTA	- An agent or representative.	JARRAN	- A sort of light-coloured opium.
GOL, or GUR	- Coarse sugar or molasses.	JASUD	- Literally, a spy; but now a village messenger.
GOLI	- A pill.	JAT	- A tribe in the Panjab, and along the Jamna river.
GOOLI, or GULI	- A name for madak, a smoking mixture of opium, made into pills, with calcined leaves of acacia.	JELIA	- A fishing caste in Bengal.
GOSSAIN	- A class of Hindu ascetics.	JETH	- Lit. elder; in Behar the representative of the poppy cultivators.
GRAM	- A large pulse (<i>cicer arietinum</i>).	JINRICKSHAW	- A Japanese hand-carriage.
GRASSIA	- See GIRASSIA.	JIVATU DOJAKH	- "A living hell."
GRUM	- Said to be a system of keeping the crude opium to dry, so as to reduce its weight.	JOLA	- See JULAHA.
GULI KHOR	- A confirmed or excessive madak-smoker.	JUAR	- The large millet (<i>holcus sorghum</i>).
GUMLA	- An earthenware pot.	JUARI	- A gambler.
GOOR	- See GUR.	JULAHA	- A weaver. In Bengali; Jola.
GOOR VILAS	- A work on the Sikh religion.	JUNDBEDASTUR	- Castor berry or oil.
GUJARATI	- The people of Gujarat, in Western India.	JURRI	- Land cropped two years running, in Behar.
GUJJI	- A mixture of wheat and barley in a field.		

KABIRAJ -	- A physician practising on the Hindu system.	KHASTILA -	- A Sanskrit name for the poppy.
KABULIAT -	- An agreement.	KHATADAR -	- The representative of the cultivators who wish for licenses for poppy in Behar.
KACHI (KACHIA) -	- The market gardener caste.	KHATIA -	- A bedstead.
KACHIN -	- A hill tribe of Burma.	KHATIK -	- A butcher.
KACHHA -	- Raw, unripe, not durable.	KHAWAS -	- A caste in Rajputana and Gujarat.
KACHHI AFIM -	- Crude opium.	KHEPIA -	- A drunkard.
KAFFA -	- The rag on which the crude opium is placed to dry.	KHEPIA -	- A porter or runner.
KAHAR -	- The fisher and bearer caste.	KHICHRI -	- A dish of rice, pulse, &c.
KAIDI -	- A prisoner.	KHOL -	- Oilcake.
KALA AZAR -	- An epidemic disease peculiar to the Assam Valley (anchylostomiasis).	KHOONT -	- A transit duty on opium in Rajputana.
KALAR -	- Club (by transliteration).	KHURCHAN -	- The scrapings of the opium pots at weighment.
KALI -	- A Hindu goddess.	KHUSH MISAJ -	- A contented disposition.
KALIKA DEVI -	- "The black goddess," a title given to opium in Malwa.	KIEF -	- State of elevation, or freedom care or depression, due to opiates or other drugs.
KALAL -	- The liquor-distilling caste.	KISMAT -	- Fate or destiny.
KALPA VRIKSHA -	- The "tree of desire," a beneficent influence.	KIST -	- An instalment of land revenue.
KAMDAR -	- Manager, agent.	KOERI -	- A cultivating caste of Behar and the North-West.
KANAL -	- A land measure in Northern India.	KOERAR -	- Land under market-garden crops.
KANIA -	- An opium-eater, in Assam.	KOLI -	- A large tribe in Western India.
KANSARI -	- A brass worker.	KORA AMAL -	- Dry opium.
KARBHARI -	- The chief official of a Native State.	KORAI -	- Pulse.
KARKUN -	- A vernacular writer, in Bombay.	KOSSID -	- (Kasid) a runner.
KARTAK -	- A month in the Hindu calendar—October–November.	KOTHI or KOTEE -	- A subdivisional opium office.
KASBATI -	- The chief landowner of the town or settlement, in parts of Gujarat.	KOTHIDAR -	- The official in charge of a subdivisional opium establishment.
KASTHILA -	- A late Sanskrit name for the poppy.	KOTWAL -	- The official in charge of a police or other post in a town.
KASUM -	- Safflower.	KUCKLA -	- A nut used in compounding some Hindu medicines.
KASUMBHA -	- A decoction of opium used in Rajputana and Bombay.	KUNBI -	- A cultivating caste spread all over North and Central India.
KATHI -	- A military caste now resident in Kathiawar.	KURMI -	- The name for the above in Northern India.
KATHIAWAR -	- The country of the "Kathi."	KURCHUN -	- See KHURCHAN.
KAYASTH -	- The writing caste of Bengal and North India.	KUTCHA -	- See KACHHA.
KAZAW HLAWZA -	- A drink obtained in Burma from rice, maize, &c.	KUTHA, or COTTAH -	- A land measure—the twentieth of a Bigha (151½ sq. yards).
KHAKASA -	- A Sanskrit name for poppy.	KUTTORI -	- A brass vessel.
KHAKLA -	- Barley or wheat straw.	KYA MAING -	- The heir to a Burmese chieftainship.
KHALLI -	- Oil-cake, or pressed poppy seed cake.	LAGAT -	- A cess in Rajputana, in commutation of the Chief's right to take <i>Kasumbha</i> in a village.
o KHALSA -	- Land paying revenue to the Government or Ruler of a State as distinct from land the revenue of which is assigned to private hands.	LAKH -	- One hundred thousand.
KHAM -	- Wine, in Arabic.	LAMBARDAR -	- The headman of the villagers who take out licenses for poppy cultivation in the North-West.
KHAN BAHADUR -	- A title conferred on Muhammadans and Parsis by the British Government.	LIKIN -	- A Chinese transit duty.
KHANA -	- Food.	LASCAR -	- An Oriental seaman.
KHANSAMA -	- Head servant.	LATHA -	- The lift for water, for irrigation from a well.
KHAR BHANJAN -	- Dried fruit taken after opium by Rajputs and others.	LEGYAM -	- An aphrodisiac into the composition of which opium enters.
KHARCHA -	- Literally, "expenses." A cess levied by the representatives of the poppy cultivators in Behar.	LODHA -	- A cultivating caste of Northern and Central India.
KHARIF -	- The crop sown at the beginning of the rainy season.	LOTA -	- A brass drinking vessel.
KHARITA -	- A formal communication in writing to or from a Native Chief.	LUMBERDAR -	- See LAMBARDAR.
KHARWA -	- A class of sailors and boatmen of the Bombay coast.	MACHI -	- See MASHA.
KHASGI -	- Private.	MADAK -	-
KHASGI MAHALS -	- The private estate of the chief in a Native State.	MADAT -	-
		MUDDUCK -	-
		MUDDUT -	-
		MADAKKEE -	- A person addicted to madak-smoking to excess.
		MADANAKAMESHWARI -	- An aphrodisiac of which opium forms a part.

MAGH	-	A month in the Hindu calendar (January).	MOODI	-	A village grocer.
MAHAL	-	An estate, or, in some parts of India, a subdivision of a district.	MOOKHTAR	-	See MUKHTIAR.
MAHADEO	-	A Hindu god.	MORA	-	A certain quality of water for irrigation in Rajputana.
MAHAJAN	-	A Hindu banker or merchant.	MOTAMID	-	A representative or agent.
MAHARAJA	-	Titles of Hindu chiefs.	MOUZAH	-	See MAUZA.
MAHARANA	-		MUTAFI	-	Land held revenue free.
MAHARAWAL	-		MUDDUTKHANA	-	A shop for sale or consumption of maddat.
MAHSUL	-	A customs duty in Native States.	MUKADAM	-	A headman.
MAHTO	-	The village headman in Behar.	MUKLAWA	-	The bringing of a bride to her husband's house.
MAJAR	-	A class of soil in Rajputana.	MUKHTIAR	-	An agent, or representative.
MAJUM	-	A preparation of hemp and poppy seeds.	MUNG DAL	-	Split pulse (<i>phaseolus mungo</i>).
MAKKAI	-	Maize or Indian corn.	MUNG PHALI	-	Pignut.
MAL	-	Literally, "property." Crude opium.	MUNIM	-	The manager of a commercial establishment.
MAL TOL	-	The sale of opium to the State by weight.	MUNSARIM	-	A superintending official.
MALGUZAR	-	A class of landowner in the Central Provinces.	MURSHID	-	A Muhammedan religious teacher.
MALI	-	A gardener, or the gardening caste.	MUT	-	An establishment of Hindu devotees.
MAMLATDAR	-	The revenue officer in charge of a subdivision of a district in Bombay.	MYOK	-	A subdivisional revenue officer in Burma.
MANDARIN	-	A Chinese official.	MYO-SA	-	A Shan official.
MANI	-	A weight—about 493 lbs.	NAGA	-	A hill tribe of Assam.
MANOTI	-	Security.	NAIB	-	Deputy.
MANOTIDAR	-	A village money lender licensed by the Chief.	NAKDI	-	Cash rents.
MANJ GOT	-	The "Manj" section of Jat tribe.	NAKAMMI	-	Impotent, useless.
MAPA	-	A transit duty on crude opium in Rajputana and Central India.	NASLAH	-	Cold in the head.
MARAN	-	A name given in Hindu medical works to a class of opium said to be deadly.	NASLI	-	
			NAZLAH	-	
MASHA	-	A weight=15 grains.	NAT	-	The spirits worshipped by the wild tribes of Burma.
MACHI	-		NAWAB	-	A Muhammedan Chief.
MASSA	-		NAZIM	-	A district officer in a Native State.
MATSADDI	-	A writer or accountant.	NAZIR	-	A supervising officer.
MATWALLA	-	A drunkard.	NIKHALLA	-	A special class of Rajputana opium.
MAUND	-	A weight=82.28 lbs.			
MAURA	-	The flower of the <i>Bussia latifolia</i> , used in distillation of native spirits.	ORIE	-	A well, in Rajputana.
MHAURA	-		PADRI LOG	-	Clergymen.
MAHUA	-		PAGOL	-	An idiot.
MOHWA	-		PAHIKASHT	-	Cultivators on temporary tenure or from other villages.
MAUZA	-	A village, or circle of villages.	PAILA	-	A weight=14.4 lbs. of opium.
MAUZADAR	-	A village revenue collector in Assam.	PAILO	-	A class of soil in Rajputana.
MAWA	-	Dry opium.	PAKKA	-	The opposite of "Kachha." Ripe, substantial.
MAWAIT	-	A confirmed or excessive eater of dry opium.	PALKI	-	A palanquin.
MAZUMDAR	-	An hereditary district official amongst the Marathas, whose functions are now discontinued.	PAN	-	A hill tribe of Orissa.
MAJMUDAR	-		PAN	-	The leaf of the <i>piper bitel</i> , chewed with the areca nut (supari).
MEHAL	-	See MAHAL.	PANCHAYAT	-	In Bengal, a village council.
MEHTA	-	A vernacular clerk or writer.	PANCHEMI	-	A Hindu festival.
MELA	-	A Hindu religious fair or gathering.	PANCHSERI	-	A weight of about 10 pounds.
MOD	-	Fermented liquor from grain, used in Assam.	PANSARI OR PANSERI	-	A druggist.
MOFUSSIL, OR MUFASSAL	-	The country, as distinguished from the town.	PANI	-	Water.
MOHANT	-	An abbot, or head of a Hindu religious establishment or Mut.	PANNI	-	Poppy leaves.
MOHTAT	-	The usual time for taking a dose of opium.	PARGANAH	-	A subdivision of a district.
MOHWA	-	See MAURA.	PARWANA	-	A permit or license.
MOHURRIR	-	A vernacular writer.	PASEWA	-	The liquid that escapes from the crude opium while drying.
MOJUR (MAZDUR)	-	An unskilled labourer.	PATEL	-	A village headman in Western India.
MOKASDAR	-	A hereditary district official in the Deccan.	PATHAL	-	Poppy leaves.
MOKKA	-	Indian corn.	PATIDAR	-	Literally, "sharer." One of the families that founded the village.

PATWARI	-	The village accountant.	SANGRAHANI	-	Painless diarrhoea.
PERGUNNAH	-	See PARGANAH.	SANNAD	-	A deed, grant.
PERWANA	-	See PARWANA.	SARAN	-	A class of opium which, according to the Hindu medical authorities, causes diarrhoea.
PETA BHAGIA	-	A subordinate sharer in an estate.	SARAONI	-	A funeral celebration of a public nature.
PHIKA	-	A particular class of water used for irrigation in Rajputana.	SARDI	-	Cold.
PHERA	-	Part of the Hindu marriage rite.	SARWAJANIK SABHA	-	A popular assembly. The name of several associations in India.
PIADA	-	A runner or messenger.	SATTUA, or SATTU	-	Pulse meal.
PICE	-	The fourth part of an anna, = the sixty-fourth of a rupee.	SAWBWA	-	A chieftain of outlying States in Burma.
PICUL	-	A Chinese weight = about 133 lbs.	SAWAT	-	A disease.
PIE	-	The twelfth part of an anna = the 192nd part of a rupee.	SAYER	-	A customs duty levied in Native States.
PINA and LAGANA	-	To drink and to apply as fomentation or lotion.	SER	-	A standard weight = 2.057 lbs.
POONADY	-	An aphrodisiac of which opium is an ingredient.	SETH, or SHETH, or SAH	-	The honorific title of a Hindu merchant.
POOJA	-	Hindu worship.	SHAITANI	-	Devilish.
POST	-	The liquor resulting from the infusion of the capsules of the poppy in water.	SHAN	-	A race inhabiting parts of Burma and the surrounding States.
POSTI	-	A person given to over-indulgence in post.	SHAstra	-	The Hindu scriptures.
PRANT	-	A division of a State.	SHERISTADAR	-	A head vernacular clerk.
PUGGA	-	See PAKKA.	SHIA	-	One of the two great sects of Muhammedans.
PUGREE	-	A head cloth or turban.	SHIKAR	-	A class of poor irrigated land in Behar.
PUNCHAYAT	-	See PANCHAYAT.	SHIVA	-	One of the Hindu gods.
PUNDIT	-	A common title of a learned Brahman throughout India. Occasionally it means a teacher of Indian languages.	SHIRA	-	Broth, also treacle.
PUTTA	-	A lease or agreement.	SHREE, or SHRI	-	An invocation used at the head of a letter by Hindus.
PUTWA	-	See PATWARI.	SHUMSHOO	-	Chinese spirituous liquor.
PWE	-	A Burmese ballet, or dramatic dance.	SIKH	-	A religion detached from the Hindu, in the Panjab.
			SIRDAR	-	A noble.
QIRAT	-	An obsolete weight mentioned in Lucknow works on the Arabic medical system.	SIRKAR, or SIRCAR	-	The Government.
			SIR SUBHA	-	A high revenue official in Native States.
			SIVERAT	-	A Hindu festival.
RABI	-	The crop sown in the late autumn.	SOWAR	-	A trooper or mounted policeman.
RAFA-I-AM	-	"The public improvement." The title of several associations in India.	SOWKAR	-	See SAHUKAR.
RAJ	-	The State. Sometimes the administration.	SUNNI	-	One of the two great sects of the Muhammedans.
RAJA	-	A Hindu chief.	SUPARI	-	The areca nut, sliced and chewed with "pan."
RAJPUT	-	The highest lay caste of the Hindus.	SUTTEE (SATI)	-	The immolation of widows on the pyre of their deceased husband.
RAS	-	Juice.	STHANIK NIBANDH	-	A State law in Baroda.
RASSAD	-	Supplies on a journey.	SWAMI NARAYAN	-	A sect of Hindus, chiefly found in Gujarat.
RATTI	-	A weight = 2 grains.			
REGAR	-	A cultivating and labouring caste in Rajputana.	TAL	-	A Chinese silver weight = 1½ oz.
RICKSHAW	-	Abbreviation of Jinrickshaw.	TAHSIL	-	A subdivision of a district.
RUBAKAR	-	Vernacular correspondence.	TAHSILDAR	-	The officer in charge of a Tahsil.
RUBBA	-	Opium of an inferior quality.	TAKIA	-	The shrine of a Muhammedan saint or ascetic.
RUPEE	-	A silver coin now worth about 1s. 1½d.	TALUK	-	A subdivision of a district, or an estate comprising a number of villages.
			TALUKDAR	-	The owner of a Taluk, or large estate.
SADAR	-	The headquarters of a district.	TALUKDARI	-	The tenure of a Talukdars' estate.
SUDDER	-		TALOD	-	A local cess on opium in a State of Rajputana.
SADR	-		TAMIL	-	The race and language of the population of the extreme south of India.
SAHIB	-	Sir. It is often used to denominate Europeans generally.	TARAI, or TERAI	-	A belt of marshy forest adjoining the Himalaya.
SAHUKAR	-	A money lender.	TARA HURA	-	Pills of opium in Rajputana.
SOWKAR	-		TARI, or TADI—TODDY	-	The juice of the palm tree.
SAKTI	-	Lit. strength. The female principle or force in Nature. A Hindu goddess.			
SALONE	-	A tribe of sea gipsies off Tenasserim.			

TAZIMI SIRDAR	- A noble who has what corresponds to the "private entrée" at the Court of his chief.	VAL, or WAL	- A small seed used as a weight in Bombay.
TEJARA	- A cold infusion of poppy heads.	VARMAMAGIS	- A class of ministrants to a shrine in Gujarat. (<i>Apparently a misprint</i>).
TERAI	- See TARAI.	VASUA	- A local cess in Rajputana.
THAKUR	- A Rajput Chieftain.	VASAVA	- Village watchmen in Gujarat.
THANA	- A police station.	VEDANTISM	- A school of Hindu metaphysics.
THANDAR	- The officer in charge of a thana or station.	VIGA	- =Bigha.
THALI	- Brass platter.	VILAYATI DARU	- European spirits.
THATHAMEDA	- A poll tax in Upper Burma.	VISHAMAJWAR	- Remittent fever.
THEKANA	- Tributary chieftains under the Jeypore State.	VISS	- A weight in Burma=3.68 lbs.
THEKADAR, or TICADAR	- Farmer or contractor.	VAZIR	- The minister to a chief.
THUGYI	- A revenue collector in Burma.	VRAT	- Hindu fasts.
TICADAR	- See THEKADAR.	WASIKA	- State funds in Oudh, set apart for pensions assigned by the late Nawab.
TICAL	- The Burmese term for "tola," or 180 grains weight.	WAZAN KASHI	- A tax on opium by weight in Central India.
TIKA SAHIB	- Son and heir to a chief.	WUN	- A chief minister of the late court of Ava.
TILAK	- The caste mark affixed to the forehead by Hindus.	YAD DASHT	- A memorandum.
TILBHEDA	- Sanskrit for poppy.	YEK FASLI	- A crop that is sown and reaped in the same year. Sometimes land cropped only once a year.
TIPDAR	- Middlemen in Central India.	YUNANI	- Ionian. The Arabic system of medicine.
TOLA	- A standard weight of 180 grains.	ZABTI, or ZAPTI	- Cash rates used for special crops in territories where ordinary crops pay in kind.
TONGA	- A small carriage on two wheels.	ZAILDAR	- Headman over a circle of villages.
TULAI	- Weighment (of opium)=Wazan Kashi.	ZAKAT	- Customs duty.
TULLAWATI	- Ditto (ditto).	ZARDA	- A coarse sort of tobacco.
TULSI	- The Basil plant.	ZEMINDAR	- Landowner.
TRIYAK	- A universal remedy in Hindu medicine.	ZENANA	- The women's apartments in a house.
URDU	- The Court or Camp language of the Delhi Emperors, consisting of Hindi largely mixed with Persian.	ZILLA	- A district. In Behar, the subdivision under a subordinate official of the Opium Department.
"UP COUNTRY"	- Used of the interior or north of India by residents of the coast tracts.	ZILLADAR	- The official in charge of an opium zilla.
UDAK	- A grant of rent-free land in charity.	ZIRA	- Cumin seed.
VAID, or BAID	- { A medical practitioner on the	ZIYADAH	- Excess.
VAIDYA	- { Ayurvedic or Hindu system.		
VAKIL	- A representative, but usually taken to mean a pleader.		

APPENDIX H.*

DEAR LORD BRASSEY,

Osgathorpe Hills, Sheffield,
December 5th, 1894.

I am sorry that it should be needful for me to complain in reference to certain matters connected with the Commission.

I. I am informed by Mr. Baines that no minutes of the proceedings of the Commission have been kept, or, at any rate, are now available. This, I understand, is entirely contrary to the usual practice.

II. It appears to me that our Indian colleagues have not been treated with the consideration to which they were entitled in reference to their coming to this country for the purpose of taking part in our deliberations on the Report. As regards the Maharaja of Darbhanga, it was, I am aware, generally understood that he was not willing to undertake the journey, but that general understanding was no reason why he should not have been formally and courteously invited. The case of Mr. Haridas is different. He appeared to be desirous of coming; and had he been formally and courteously invited at the proper time, before he had resumed his duties as Dewan of Junagarh, there is every reason to believe that he would have been glad to accept the invitation; in fact, he distinctly stated that your Lordship told him you would inform him in June as to whether his presence would be required in England, and had he been so then informed he would doubtless have been able to avoid taking up his new appointment in August last.

III. It appears that when at last, in consequence of my representations, Mr. Haridas was invited to come to this country, the communication was not sent direct to him, but through the India Office, and then successively through the Government of India and the Government of Bombay. This was, I submit, a departure from the usual practice of Royal Commissions, and distinctly derogatory to the position of such a Commission and of a Royal Commissioner. Mr. Haridas has thus been treated as though he were merely an official under the Indian Government, to be communicated with through the usual system of official routine.

IV. It appears further that our Indian colleagues have not been promptly furnished with the sections of the Draft Report. Four parts were received by me up to the 2nd of August, and might have been in their hands in the third week of the month, whereas Mr. Haridas, when he wrote on the 9th October, had not received any part.

V. The Secretary of the Commission sent for my perusal a letter from Mr. Fanshawe addressed to the Chairman, proposing that the correspondence between the Indian Government, the Commission, and myself in reference to the action of the authorities should be published in the Appendix. I returned to the Secretary the letter of Mr. Fanshawe, saying that I did not object to such publication, but that the last letter of the series, namely, that dated the 3rd February 1894, should have a note appended to it indicating that it had not been communicated to me for three months after the date it bore. My request has not been complied with, and our Secretary informs me that it was ignored by him on his own responsibility. I submit that in so acting he exceeded the limits of his authority.

I have to request that you will be so good as to place this letter before the Commission at a suitable but early part of the meeting on the 7th instant.

I remain,

Dear Lord Brassey,
Yours faithfully,

The Right Honourable Lord Brassey, K.C.B.

HENRY J. WILSON.

* This correspondence is added to the proceedings in compliance with the Chairman's undertaking expressed in the last paragraph of his letter of the 10th December, *see next page*.

Normanhurst Court, Battle,
10th December 1894.

MY DEAR WILSON,

I MUCH regret that your letter of December 5th, but which bears on the envelope the London postmark of December 7th, did not reach me in time for discussion at the last meeting of the Commission. As to the keeping of minutes, there had been no meetings of the Commission since we separated at Bombay. A shorthand writer has been present at every meeting, and his notes have been printed. As regards the invitations to our Indian colleagues, I did not think it desirable to invite them to England until the Report was ready for discussion. You know the delays, and the causes of the delay. As soon as I knew the approximate date when we should be ready for a conference, I informed the India Office. I cannot think that our Indian colleagues would themselves take exception to the mode in which they have been treated. Nothing could have been more cordial than our relations in India from the beginning to the end. I endeavoured to show them in every way the same friendly regard and the same deference to any suggestions or opinions which they advanced, which I have always desired to show to my English colleagues.

I will forward your letter to Mr. Fanshawe and Mr. Baines for any explanations. The correspondence can be published with the minutes of our proceedings.

Yours sincerely,
BRASSEY.

Forwarded to Mr. Fanshawe with Mr. Wilson's letter, in compliance with the Chairman's concluding paragraph.

J. A. BAINES,
Secretary.

14th December 1894.

Endorsement by Mr. Fanshawe :—

I have read and now return this correspondence, which I cannot help thinking has been sent to me under some misapprehension. There is nothing, so far as I can see, in Mr. Wilson's letter of the 5th instant on which I am called upon to offer any remarks.

14th December 1894.

A. U. FANSHAWE.

Endorsement by the Secretary :—

As regards the last paragraph of Mr. Wilson's letter, I have to explain that, in a note received from him dated the 24th of July, he wrote—"If you are going to have the correspondence in question put in type, I think there ought to be an endorsement to the effect that Mr. Hewett's letter to the Government of India, Camp Ajmere, 3rd February 1894, was not communicated to me until the 1st of May 1894—three months after date. I shall, of course, have something to say on the whole subject hereafter."

Mr. Wilson did not inform me that he was kept in ignorance of the fact that such a reply had been sent or of the purport of its contents. The records are the common property of the Commission, accessible to every member. It is neither usual nor necessary, therefore, to formally communicate correspondence to individual members, who have the official copy available for reference. Mr. Wilson was present with the Commission up to the 20th February, and to have added a note to the effect he suggested involves the implication that he was debarred from access to the records and from due knowledge of what action his colleagues had taken in a matter in which he was materially interested. In omitting the endorsement, therefore, I considered it superfluous to refer to the Chairman. The only member of the Commission to whom I informally showed the proposal agreed with my view as to the misapprehension to which such a note would give rise.

J. A. BAINES,
Secretary.

Further endorsement :—

This correspondence was placed by the Secretary for disposal at the meetings of the 23rd, 24th, and 25th January, but other work blocked the way.

J. A. BAINES.

E R R A T A.*

- Vol. I., page v, paragraph 6, for "hear" read "bear."
 " " 40, question "606" should be "506."
 " " 173, second column, line 3, for "opium" read "opinion."
 " " 174, " " 56, for "open" read "opium."
 " pp. 61-80, the date should be the 14th September.
- Vol. II., page 28, question 2362, line 2, for "dues" read "does."
 " " " " 2423, " 13, for "Tso-Tsung-Tung" read "Chang-Chih-Tung."
 " " 37, " 2587, " 1, for "2586" read "2587."
 " " 65, " 3196, " 23, for "royts" read "ryots."
 " " 89, " 3869, " 9, for "dietectic" read "dietetic."
 " " 100, " 4281, " 1, for "4881" read "4281."
 " " 113, " 4624, " 3, for "raken" read "taken."
 " " 137, " 5218, " 3, for "Matarial" read "Malarial."
 " " 138, " 5250, " 13, for "Port" read "Report."
 " " 140, " 5274, " 5, for "Cast" read "Caste."
 " " " " 5280, " 21, for "Junlge" read "Jungle."
 " " 156, " 5680, " 2, for "Euraian" read "Eurasian."
 " " 167, " 5987, " 1, to "observation" add "on."
 " " 177, " 6353, " 1, for "eading" read "heading."
 " " 183, " 6582, " 2, for "1880 or 1881" read "1890 or 1891."
 " " 202, " 7142, Mr. Sit Hon's evidence begins with this question.
 " " 203, " 7202, line 2, for "opuim" read "opium."
 " " 234, " 8181, " 2, for "Henazda" read "Benzada."
 " " 247, " 8556, " 1, for "Engal" read "Bengal."
 " " 252, " 8754, Add "I" at end of answer.
 " " 294, " 10,143, line 5, for "depredation" read "deprivation."
 " " 563, 2nd column, line 5, for "Hade" read "have."
 " " 577, " " 55, for "Aloft" read "Aloof."
 " " 617, " " 45, for "not a rule are" read "not smoke as a rule: they are."
 " " 630, 1st column, " 10 from bottom, after "Task is" add "such."
 " " 641, 1st column, paragraph 20, line 13, for "packing" read "package."
 " " 663, paragraph 70, line 4, for "1887" read "1878."
- Vol. III., page 5, question 10,841, line 3, for "Secretary" read "Society."
 " " 10, column 2, line 12, for "Committee" read "Commission."
 " " 61, question 12,493, " 7, for "Gangreen" read "Gangrene."
 " " 74, " 12,899, " 1, for "19,899" read "12,899."
 " " 80, " 13,114, " 4, for "Point" read "Joint."
 " " 107, " 14,004, " 4, for "holher" read "holder."
 " " 110, " 14,075, " 1, for "14,975" read "14,075."
 " " 115, " 14,266, " 2, for "into" read "unto."
 " " 145, " 15,336, " 1, for "1533" read "15,336."
 " " 151, " 15,580, " 2, for "Native" read "National."
 " " 178, " 16,460, " 4, for "No" read "Not."
 " " 195, " 17,008, " 2, for "Tak" read "Take."
 " " 238, " 18,522, " 11, for "slighest" read "slightest."
 " " 274, " 19,481, " 2, for "35" read "25."
 " " " " " 2, for "25" read "35."
- Vol. IV., " 11, " 20,286, " 6, for "sexal" read "sexual."
 " " 38, " 24,845, " 5, for "Seltlement" read "Settlement."
 " " 62, " 20,345, " 1, for "22,545" read "20,345."
 " " " " 20,346, " 1, for "22,346" read "20,346."
 " " 81, " 21,760, " 4, for "men" read "women."
 " " 91, " 21,877, " 4, after "20 or 30" add "per cent."
 " " 92, " 21,923, " 1, for "22,923" read "21,923."
 " " " " 21,932, " 1, for "71,923" read "21,932."
 " " 95, " 22,009, " 1, for "12,009" read "22,009."
 " " 105, " 22,211, " 1, for "22,111" read "22,211."
 " " 112, " 22,310, " —for "035,000,000" read "135,000,000."
 " " 193, " 24,206, " 8, for "slugssh" read "sluggish."
 " " 209, " 24,625, " 1, for "25,625" read "24,625."
 " " 250, " 25,497, " 5, for "quests" read "guests."
 " " 257, " 25,600, " 20, for "opium" read "opinion."
 " " 264, " 25,809, " 5, for "dysentary" read "dysentery."
 " " 283, " 26,154, " 5, for "10 tola" read "2 tola."
 " " 299, " 26,532, " for "· 3" (of a tola) read "· 03."
 " " 324, " 27,037, " 6, before "impolitic" enter "and."

* In the circumstances in which the evidence and proceedings were printed in India numerous typographical errors necessarily occurred. This list contains most of those which have come to light since the publication of the proceedings, in the course of reviewing the evidence for the purpose of drafting the report. There are doubtless many which have escaped notice.

- Vol. IV., page 342, question 27,511, line 1, for "Columbo" read "Colombo."
- " " 352, " 27,788, " 4, for "Indian" read "India."
- " " 365, " 28,057, " 1, for "Fatuer" read "Father."
- " " " 28,061, " 1, for "26,061" read "28,061."
- " " 369, " 28,163, " 1, for "21,163" read "28,163."
- " " " 28,164, " 1, for "21,164" read "28,164."
- " " 376½ line 3, for "operations" read "opinions."
- " " 386-87, the first set of questions should be omitted.
- " " 398, 2nd column, line 26, for "consumption" read "compensation."
- " " 501, par. 15, line 4, for "side" read "sale."
- " " 522, In the Table (App. F.), the population of Chanda should be 697,610, and the total for the Province 10,046,546.
- " " 296, question 26,437, at end of question add the following :—

For Fever.—The Tanna District is considered very malarious because the chief crop is rice. I have made diligent inquiries from the villagers ever since I heard the surprising statement that opium was considered as a preventative and cure for fever. I have never met one Native who ever hinted that it might be good for fever, and when questioned as to whether they ever used opium for fever, the answer invariably was "No." I have made inquiries of the Free Church dispensary at Tanna. During 1893, 12,615 patients (aggregating 36,436 visits) were treated; of these over half were suffering from fever. The doctor uses opium as a drug, *but never for fever*. When asked if during his 14 years of medical practice in this district he ever heard of Native using opium for fever, he said he never had."

Vol. V., page 120, 2nd column, line 41, for "some" read "none."

" " 212, Interrogatories sent to China :—

Question 6, add "If you know any or many cases of great injury give examples."

" 13, omit the words "Do they usually or often take it in the first instance to allay physical pain?"

" 15, the question should be "Is there among the Chinese in the part of China with which you are acquainted any wish that England should not allow opium to be exported from India."

Vol. V., page 372, First column, twelfth line from bottom, after Calcutta, a comma should take the place of the full stop.

" " " Second column, omit the last line of the page.

" " 373, second column, third line from bottom, for "*Cannibas*" read "*Cannabis*."

" " 375, first column, seventh line, for "*January*" read "*December*."

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

S U P P L E M E N T

TO THE

R E P O R T

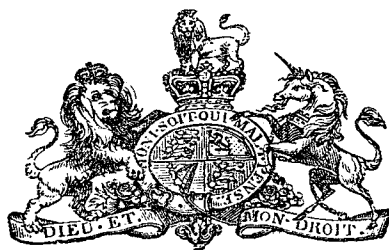
OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

NOTE BY

THE HON. THE MAHARAJA BAHADUR OF DURBHANGA, K.C.I.E.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



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Supplement to the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium.

NOTE BY THE HON. THE MAHARAJA BAHADUR OF DURBHANGA,
K.C.I.E.

I have carefully considered the different sections of the draft Report which have been submitted to me. I note that the Report is, on the whole, drawn up in accordance with the spirit of the resolutions that were passed at the last sitting of the Commission in Bombay, and as such, I am prepared to accord a general support to it.

2. But there are certain points to which I desire more particularly to invite the attention of the British public: and I have therefore, determined to embody them in the form of a separate Note, in which I shall at the same time suggest such alterations and additions in the Report as may, in my opinion, be advisable.

3. It will be my endeavour, in the remarks which I have to offer, to express, as faithfully as it lies in my power to do, the views entertained on the opium question by the majority of the Indian thinking public. I do not, however, conceal from myself that a certain section of the community hold widely different opinions. In the view of some, opium, when used non-medicinally, is little better than a poison, whose only effect is to degrade humanity. On the other hand, there are those who hold that the properties of opium as a drug are highly beneficial, and that its action as a "brightener of the intellect" is not one of the least of its claims to favourable consideration. The opinions of the former class are not without their value, and are entitled to every respect; but I regret to be unable to admit that they are borne out by the testimony which has been produced on their behalf in the course of the sittings of the Commission.

4. With regard to the export of Indian opium to China, one of the questions we were called upon to discuss, the policy of Her Majesty's Government has been very clearly defined by Sir James Fergusson, when Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in a speech delivered by him in the House of Commons on the 10th April 1891:—"If the Chinese Government," he said, "thought proper to raise the duty to a prohibitive extent, they ought to shut out the article altogether, for this country would not spend one pound on powder and shot or lose the life of a single soldier in an attempt to force opium upon the Chinese." I desire to record my entire sympathy with these sentiments, and I am confident that the Government have no intention of resiling from the attitude then taken up. It cannot be too clearly enunciated that, if the trade in opium between India and China is to be discouraged and suppressed, the initiative must be taken by the Chinese. No one can be better aware than the Chinese Government of the uses and abuses to which opium is put by their subjects. I am at a loss to understand how it can possibly be contended that foreign Governments, such as those of England and India, are more favourably situated for the discussion of such matters, or in what way they are more competent judges than the people and the Government which are most directly interested in the question.

The export
of Indian
opium to
China.

5. It would, in my opinion, be a highly impolitic act on the part of the Government of India to put an end of its own accord to the traffic in opium with China. We possess no guarantee whatever that any such suppression of the trade on our part would in any way diminish the use of the drug in China. Nor have we at present any data to show that such an act of well-meant, but, as it appears to me, wholly mistaken, philanthropy would bring with it the abolition of poppy cultivation in China, or the discouragement of the opium trade between China and countries such as Turkey and Persia.

6. I would also call attention to the financial aspect of the question. Any such suppression of the opium trade in India with China must entail the sacrifice of a large source of revenue without any corresponding benefit to humanity at large or compensation to the Indian taxpayer. The present financial position of the country is not such as to justify any such philanthropic experiments, and I consider it my duty to point out that any action of the nature I have indicated is likely to create grave and serious discontent in this country, where the people have no voice in regulating

the expenditure and where the annual expenditure has enormously increased during the past ten years. The utmost taxable limit has been reached and the fresh and heavy taxation, which would be rendered necessary by the withdrawal of the opium revenue, would be very seriously felt in an impoverished country such as India.

The use of
opium in
India.

7. A great many medical witnesses were examined. Their evidence as regards the uses and the abuses of opium was conflicting. But I do not wish to enter into the subject. I consider it presumptuous on my part to do so, as the question has been so ably dealt with by Sir William Roberts in his Minute. I would only state here that it has not, in my opinion, been proved that opium is an unmixed evil. I have, however, a suggestion to offer in this connexion. In Burma, certain restrictions have been put on the sale of opium by the Local Government. And I think that in other parts of India also the Local Governments, as well as local bodies like the District Boards, should be empowered to frame rules for the sale of opium according to the circumstances of the different localities. It is impossible to make any suggestions that can apply to the whole of India, and I hesitate therefore to lay down any hard-and-fast rule upon the point. I would, however, urge that opium should be sold in bottles or phials labelled "poison", and the minimum dose which is likely to be fatal should also be legibly printed in the vernacular on these labels. In some parts of the country it is a common practice for mothers to give small doses of opium to young children. I do not wish to express any opinion as to whether this practice of giving opium to young infants is at all necessary for the benefit of the children. I will content myself with pointing out the fact that opium is, unlike alcohol, a deadly poison if taken in excess, and is a dangerous weapon in the hands of ignorant persons. A witness at Lucknow gave evidence to the effect that an infant brother of his was killed by an accidental over-dose of opium administered by his own mother. My suggestion to label phials or bottles in which opium is sold, would be of assistance in reducing the chances of such accidents to a minimum.

8. The habit of opium-smoking is generally looked upon as a degrading habit. Mr. Haridas Voharidas has entered into the subject very fully; and as I find myself in agreement with his views on the subject, I do not propose to discuss the point at any length. Opium, however, is chiefly used as a mild and harmless stimulant. The habit of opium-eating, unlike that of opium-smoking, is not necessarily looked down upon as a degrading habit. It is largely practised in Rajputana on festive occasions as a token of welcome to guests and friends. When two enemies wish to end a long-standing feud, they generally go through the following ceremony:—They each drink a small quantity of the preparation of opium called "Amulpani" from the hands of the other; and this is recognised as making the ties of friendship inviolable. In certain localities, opium is consumed at funerals, marriages, betrothals, and other ceremonies. Among the Kathis of Kathiawar it would be considered an offence if the guest refused to take opium on occasions like these. In the Punjab, a large proportion of the adult male population take opium in small doses as a stimulant without much or any apparent harm. It is looked upon as a digestive and a very beneficial tonic for a man who has reached middle age.

9. To stop the use of opium in cases like these would be not only an unnecessary restriction on the freedom of the subject, but it might, and, I think, would, lead also to the increased consumption of alcohol. This fear was expressed by a great number of witnesses. The use of a stimulant should only be interfered with if it is proved that it leads to a general depravity in the moral character or to any marked physical deterioration of a community. Speaking generally of the whole of India, it does not appear to me that these essential conditions have been proved.

Poppy culti-
vation in
Native
States.

10. The evidence given on behalf of those Native States in which opium is grown, shows that there is a very strong feeling against any interference with the cultivation of the poppy; and I consider that it would be highly injudicious to adopt any restrictive measures in face of such strong and influential opposition. I here take the opportunity to make a few quotations from a "*Kharita*" addressed to the members of the Royal Opium Commission by H. H. the Maharaja Holkar, dated the 6th February 1894:—

"(1.) In view of the relations existing between the Paramount Power and my State, the former would not be justified in requiring me to prohibit the cultivation of opium in my State, except for medical purposes, even though it may itself enforce such prohibition in British India."

- “(2.) No money compensation can properly or adequately compensate the State or the various classes affected by it for the losses which they will sustain.
 “(3.) The prohibition will be oppressive to my subjects.
 “(4.) As a rule, the consumption of opium in my State is moderate, and a moderate use of opium is not prejudicial in any way.
 “(5.) I have always found my subjects peaceful and law-abiding, and I apprehend that interference with the present state of things will make (them) discontented.”

11. These are the views of one of the most enlightened native princes of India, who has besides the reputation of being one of the ablest revenue administrators that Malwa has ever produced. His views, moreover, were endorsed by nearly all the representatives of the States of Central India. This feeling against any interference with the opium trade is a very natural one. The suppression of the opium trade would seriously interfere with the financial equilibrium of many of the Native States; and it is impossible to foresee the consequences of such a step. The discontent and the dissatisfaction will be none the less a source of political danger, although they may not find open expression.

12. In this connexion, I wish to quote the answer given by Rao Bahadur K. C. Bedarkar the Prime Minister of the Indore State, to a question whether he considered it would be expedient (if it were rightful to do so) to bring the powers of the Paramount State into action in relation to this question of the poppy:—

22,202. A.—“My answer to this question is in the negative, and for the following reasons:—

“(1.) The State would suffer a loss of about Rs. 21,000,000 annually, and would gain no benefit for a sum of Rs. 33,000,000 sunk in wells and tanks.

“(2.) The agriculturists would suffer a loss of Rs. 18,56,190 annually, and would get no proportionate return for a sum of 3 lakhs of rupees sunk by them in wells within the last few years, and of other large sums spent by them in previous years.

“(3.) The jagirdars would suffer to the extent of Rs. 1,63,500 annually.

“(4.) The traders would suffer a loss estimated at Rs. 8,50,000 annually, and would find no good investment for nearly a crore and a half of rupees now invested in the opium trade.

“(5.) No money compensation can adequately make up the loss, and it is impracticable to apportion such compensation.

“(6.) The impracticability of carrying out preventive measures.

“(7.) There would be a resort to liquor, leading to physical deterioration, moral and social degradation, breach of religious commandment, and increase of crime.

“(8.) There would be grave discontent amongst the people, amounting to political danger.

“(9.) No object shall be gained by making so much sacrifice and incurring so much risk, as China will continue to grow and consume its own inferior opium, in spite of all and everything.”

13. I now come to the consideration of the Bengal Monopoly System. I am a staunch advocate of free trade principles, but as far as India is concerned, I am convinced that a Government monopoly like that of opium is one of the most popular and least oppressive systems of raising revenue. The unpopularity in India, of direct taxes such as the Income tax and the License tax, and the difficulty in making proper assessments are well known. I should be sorry to see this source of revenue replaced by any system of direct taxation which is likely to place the people at the mercy of a notoriously corrupt and ill-paid class of rural assessors.

The Bengal monopoly system.

14. There are two systems of opium cultivation practised in Bengal. Firstly, the Benares system of dealing directly with the ryots; secondly, the Patna or Beliar system of dealing through middlemen. One thing is common to both of these systems, *i.e.*, advances are given to the ryots, and they are bound down by a written agreement to cultivate a certain area of land. This, in most cases, is a distinct advantage to the ryots, inasmuch as they get these advances without having to pay any interest.

15. I consider it, however, my duty to point out that the prices paid for opium up till last year had not varied for more than 20 years. During this period the country

has been opened up by a number of railways, and the cost of labour and food has increased enormously. In the course of the sittings of the Commission at Bankipur, it was brought to our notice that ryots, who had entered into agreements to cultivate the poppy, had in some cases failed to carry out the contract on account of the lowness of the price, and it was alleged that they had been compelled by the Opium Department to uproot the crops they had sown in the place of the poppy. On this question of price the evidence of Mr. A Forbes, the Commissioner of the Patna Division, was as follows:—

Q. 10,797.—“ I presume, you think the people would view with regret the enforcement of a policy of prohibition of the further cultivation of the poppy?
 “ A.—Very much so. I consider that it would ruin thousands of them. I think, myself, that the proper policy of Government would be to raise the Government price of the poppy. I have very little doubt, if the Government price of opium were raised from Rs. 6 a seer to Rs. 5·8 or certainly to Rs. 6, that it would compete much more equally with the other crops which have risen with the fall in the value of the rupee, which the Government price of poppy has not done.”

16. It will be seen that Mr. Forbes is strongly in favour of raising the price of the poppy, and his opinion derives great weight from the fact of his having served on a Commission appointed by the Government of India about 13 years ago to inquire into the working of the Opium Department in Bengal and the North-West Provinces. Similar evidence is given by other witnesses like Babu Guru Prasad Sen, the Secretary of the Behar Landowner's Association, and Babu Saligram Singh, who is an influential landowner in that province, gave evidence to the effect that on account of the opening of new markets the opium cultivation is less profitable to the farmers than that of various other crops. In connexion with this subject, it should be pointed out that the Benares system of direct dealing with the ryots is very much more popular with landlords and tenants alike than the Behar system of dealing through middlemen or zillahdars. This latter system is considered by many to lead to much unnecessary oppression; and I would therefore propose the gradual introduction of the Benares system to Behar also.

17. In conclusion, I desire to record my appreciation of the courtesy and consideration shown to me during the sittings of the Commission in India by Lord Brassey and my colleagues. I was unfortunately prevented by ill-health from being present throughout the inquiry, and the delay in submitting this Note, which I much regret, must, I fear, be attributed to the same unavoidable cause.

LAKSHMESHWAR SINGH OF DARBHANGA.

Received on the 6th May 1895.

J. A. BAINES,
 Secretary to the Commission.

EAST INDIA.—OPIUM.

CORRESPONDENCE

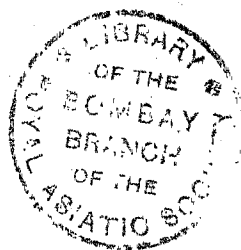
REGARDING THE

R E P O R T

BY THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



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EAST INDIA.—OPIUM.

CORRESPONDENCE

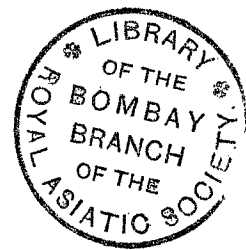
REGARDING THE

REPORT

BY THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.



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EAST INDIA.—OPIUM.

CORRESPONDENCE

REGARDING, THE

REPORT BY THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.*

1.

DESPATCH from the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA in Council.

MY LORD,

No. 52 Revenue, 23 May 1895.

Four copies of the* Report of the Royal Commission on Opium were forwarded to your Excellency's Government by the mail of the 10th May. Two copies of these volumes are sent† with the present despatch, and the remaining copies‡ are being sent as freight, in accordance with your request for 1500 copies.

2. I shall await the remarks of your Government upon the Report before passing any orders thereon.

I have, &c.

HENRY H. FOWLER.

2.

LETTER from the GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

Separate Revenue.

Opium.

FINANCE AND COMMERCE DEPARTMENT, to the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

MY LORD,

No. 305 of 1895, dated the 19th October, 1895.

We have the honour to acknowledge Sir H. Fowler's despatch No. 52 (Revenue), dated 23rd May 1895, forwarding for our consideration copies of the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium, and to communicate in reply the following observations.

2. The Report deals fully with the important questions referred to the Royal Commission for investigation, and may be regarded as a vindication of the past action of the Government of India

General Remarks.

in regard to the production, consumption and sale of opium, and as an endorsement of the views which have guided us in our past policy. We need not say therefore that we agree generally with the conclusions at which the Commission have arrived, and our endeavour in all matters in which they had given indications of their opinions will be to follow the lines to which they have added the weight of their approval. In respect of two matters the Commission have made definite recommendations, viz., the administration of the Bengal Opium Department and the question of opium-smoking; and with these recommendations we propose to deal before noticing the other portions of the Report which appear to require comment or expression of opinion from us.

3. As regards the Opium Department, the Commission, in paragraph 192 of the Report, observe:—

Recommendations made by the Commission in regard to the administration of the Bengal Opium Department.

"We think it desirable that the Government of India should again consider the recommendations made by a Commission, appointed by them in 1883, after a thorough examination of the working of the Opium Department. Some of those recommendations have been carried into effect more or less completely, particularly in the Benares Agency; but others, though not rejected by the Government, appear to have been held over for one or two reasons, either because they would increase the cost of establishment

* Volumes VI. and VII. † By book post. Volumes VI. and VII. of the Royal Commission Report.

‡ 1494.

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or because they would involve the revision of the existing law. The full development in the Benares Agency of the system of dealing direct with the cultivators, the extension of the same system to the Behar Agency, and the better payment of the inferior native officials, known as the Kothi establishments, seem to be the reforms most required and most likely to benefit the cultivator."

4. The question of direct dealing with the poppy cultivators in Behar has been long under consideration, and was again quite recently brought under review. The subject was inquired into by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal during his tour in Behar in the past cold weather, and on the 18th April 1895 he submitted proposals for the assimilation of the system in Behar to that existing in the Benares Agency and for the abolition in the former agency, at the option of the cultivators, of the practice of dealing entirely through representatives, which has hitherto obtained. The proposals submitted by the Lieutenant-Governor, and the recommendations made by the Royal Commission, have received our careful consideration. The superiority of the Benares system to that of Behar was recognised both by the Government of Bengal and by the Government of India when the report of the Bengal Commission of 1883 was considered in 1884-88. The system of dealing with the cultivators through representatives was, however, firmly established in Behar; the practical difficulties which stood in the way of a change were great, and the proposals of the Commission of 1883, if sanctioned, would have necessitated increased expenditure upon establishments. Existing arrangements were therefore allowed to continue. We have decided now to take steps to introduce in the Behar Agency a system of direct dealing, and we forward with this despatch (Appendix A) a copy of the letter and enclosures received from the Government of Bengal and of the letter which we addressed to that Government in reply on the 30th August 1895. As will be seen, we have in this letter authorised the experimental introduction into selected subdivisions of the Behar Opium Agency of a scheme for making payment to the poppy cultivator, for opium delivered, either direct or through a representative at the cultivator's option, and have affirmed the desirability of developing, as soon as this may be practicable, throughout both Agencies, a system of direct dealing for settlements and advances as well as for payments in so far as the cultivators may themselves desire this. We have hitherto been prevented mainly by financial considerations from increasing the pay of the Kothi establishments. We shall now, however, again examine the question.

5. Upon the subject of opium-smoking paragraph 195 of the Report contains the following recommendations:—

Recommendations made by the Commission upon the subject of opium-smoking in India.

"We think, however, that a distinction must be drawn between the common and old established habit of taking opium in the form of pills or infusions, and the comparatively rare and novel habit of smoking preparations of opium, known as *chandu* or *madak*.

"Though opium-smoking is regarded as disreputable, we doubt whether public feeling in British India would approve of severe and inquisitorial measures of repression. Moreover, a law aimed at opium-smoking in private houses could only be made effective if it permitted domiciliary visits by the police, and any system involving such visits would be liable to abuse in a much greater degree in India than in Europe. Public opinion would not, perhaps, be opposed to legislation against the use of rooms as smoking saloons, either by the public generally or by so-called clubs. We think this is a measure which might be considered by the Government of India, but we understand that experienced officers think that it would be difficult to suggest legislation which would be effective and yet not open to many objections. We believe that the same difficulty has been experienced with regard to the lower kinds of clubs, where liquor is sold, in the United Kingdom.

"While we are not prepared to recommend measures of restrictive legislation, we are in favour of making it difficult for smokers of *chandu* and *madak* to indulge in the habit. We recommend that the Government should abandon in all provinces the licensing of shops for the manufacture and sale of these preparations, showing, thereby, that they are in sympathy with public opinion. In the Punjab, Bombay, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, this has already been done, and in those provinces, individuals, though they may manufacture the preparations for their own use, are not permitted to possess a larger amount than 180 grains weight. We recommend that these provisions be extended to

the other provinces of British India. The manufacture of small quantities by private persons is wasteful, and the process tedious. Only confirmed smokers, therefore, are likely to incur the expense and trouble. The general adoption of this system, which is undoubtedly repressive, so far as it can be enforced, will tend to prevent the spread of the habit, and lead, it may be hoped, to its ultimate extinction."

6. We entirely agree with the opinion above expressed that although opium-smoking is in India a comparatively novel habit and is regarded generally as disreputable, it is doubtful whether native public opinion would approve of severe and inquisitorial measures of repression. Opium-smoking upon licensed premises has already been prohibited throughout India by our resolution in the Finance Department, No. 4033, dated 25th September 1891, but the Rules in force under the Opium Act in different provinces are not uniform as to the treatment of the preparations of opium used for smoking, commonly known as *madak* and *chandu*. In the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces and Bombay no shops are now licensed for the sale of these preparations, but their manufacture for private consumption is not interfered with. In Bengal, Assam, the Central Provinces and Madras shops are licensed for sale of the preparations, though consumption on the premises is not permitted; and in Bengal the manufacture of the preparations by private individuals is only permitted under a license, while in Assam, the Central Provinces and Madras it is prohibited by the Rules. The sale under licenses from Government of licit opium prepared for smoking undoubtedly tends to prevent the sale and consumption in this form of illicit opium, and the policy in these provinces has been to try and check the spread of the habit of opium-smoking by raising the price of smoking preparations to the consumer and by restricting as far as possible the number of places where the preparations can be legitimately obtained. The extent to which this policy has been given effect to in recent years will appear from the following figures:—

Number of shops licensed for the sale of preparations of opium used for smoking:—

		In 1884-85.	In 1893-94.
Bengal	- - - - -	518	388
Assam	- - - - -	37	15
Central Provinces	- - - - -	306	137
Madras	- - - - -	107	115
		968	655

7. We have, as announced in our Despatch No. 289, dated 14th October 1891, accepted the policy of attempting to check opium-smoking in India by diminishing the facilities for the practice of the habit, and we recognise that it is desirable that the policy of local governments in this matter should, as far as possible, be uniform. We are prepared, therefore, to accept the recommendation made by the Commission that the system which now exists in the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, and Bombay, should be extended to other provinces in India, and that Government should, in deference to Native sentiment, cease in future to license in these provinces shops for the sale of these preparations, while not attempting to prevent their manufacture by individuals for the purpose of private consumption. Further than this we are not, however, as at present advised, prepared to proceed in the direction of restriction or repression. We have considered carefully the opinions expressed in favour of the prohibition of opium-smoking by the Maharaja of Darbhanga, the late Mr. Haridas Voharidas, and Mr. Wilson, the dissentient member of the Commission, but we agree with the majority of the Commission that no sufficient necessity for so extreme a measure has been shown. The habit of opium-smoking is, as the Commission have stated, of comparatively recent introduction, and it is therefore not unnaturally regarded with disfavour and suspicion. The habit also is more common among the lower orders than among the educated and well-to-do; the conditions under which it is indulged in are often demoralising and degrading, and the evils which result from excess are easily recognisable. These facts are in themselves sufficient to account for much of the evidence given in India as to the disastrous effects of opium-smoking.

8. Sir W. Roberts, in his memorandum on the general features and medical aspects of the opium habit in India, says that "it cannot be said to have been adequately proved that moderate opium-smoking, taken by itself, and apart from its surroundings and from disease or semi-starvation, has any prejudicial effect on health." The Commission also in paragraph 238 of the Report observe, in reference to the opium habit in Burma, that "there is no good evidence that smoking is in itself more injurious physically than eating opium, but it appears to be a more seductive habit, and more ruinous to poor men, because more wasteful of time as well as of money." Opium smoking was no doubt strongly denounced before the Commission by Indian witnesses of all classes, many of whom were not opposed to the use of crude opium in the form of pills as a stimulant or a restorative. In places, however, where opium-smoking is the usual habit, and the practice of eating crude opium in the form of pills is rare, the opinions held by many competent observers as to the effects of the two forms of the opium habit differ materially from those which are commonly entertained by the natives of India upon this subject. We append to this Despatch (Appendix B) a collection of extracts from the replies received to the interrogatories, issued by the Commission, from the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong and China, in which opium smoking is pronounced by a large number of trustworthy and competent witnesses, including several medical practitioners and missionaries, to be less injurious than opium eating. Paragraph 81 also of the Commission's Report contains some important extracts bearing upon the same subject from a Despatch addressed in 1893 to Lord Ripon, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the Governor of the Straits Settlements.

9. In view of the above facts, we hold that it has not been proved that opium-smoking, when practised in moderation, is in itself necessarily injurious. We admit that it is desirable to discourage the habit as practised in India and are prepared to do what we can to discountenance it, but we are not satisfied that it is necessary to restrict the personal liberty of individuals so far as to prohibit entirely the manufacture and consumption of preparations for smoking, or to treat the act of smoking as a crime. It may be possible to further diminish the facilities for opium-smoking by suppressing smoking saloons, and in accordance with the suggestion made by the Commission, we shall now take steps to ascertain the opinions of local governments and administrations as to the possibility or advisability of legislation against the use of premises for this purpose either by the public generally or by so-called clubs. As explained in our Despatch No. 162, dated 30th May 1893, we were at that time of opinion that the experiment of prohibiting the consumption of opium upon licensed premises, which was sanctioned by our resolution of the 25th September 1891, should have a further trial before legislation was undertaken to impose additional restrictions upon smokers; but, in deference to the opinion expressed by the Commission, we are willing to reconsider our decision. On receipt of the replies of local governments the subject will once more be fully and carefully examined.

10. In connexion with this question we append to this Despatch (Appendix C) a selection of extracts from the opinions recently expressed in the annual excise and opium reports by local governments and by officers in charge of the excise administration, as to the effect which has been produced upon the habit of opium smoking in India by the prohibition of the consumption of opium upon licensed premises. We share the hope expressed by the Commission that the withdrawal of all licenses for the sale of preparations of opium used for smoking will tend to prevent the spread of the habit and will lead to its ultimate extinction, but some of the extracts appended show clearly that officers who are in the best position to form an opinion are by no means unanimous as to the wisdom of the steps which have been already taken to reduce the facilities for smoking. In paragraph 82 of the Report also it is recognised that there is a difference of opinion whether the prohibition of opium smoking upon licensed premises has tended to the decrease of the habit, and the Commission say that the measure has been in operation too short a time to enable them to arrive at any definite conclusion as to its effect.

11. We pass now to the consideration of those portions of the Report and appended memoranda, which, either on account of the expressions of opinion which they contain or of the importance of the subject-matter, appear to require special notice. On

Introductory remarks upon the other portions of the Report.

all questions to which we do not directly refer, it may be understood that we are in general accord with the views expressed in the Report. Some suggestions made by the Maharaja of Darbhanga and by the late Mr. Haridas Voharidas, regarding the introduction of a system of local option and other matters, are not noticed in this Despatch. We are unwilling to add to the length of the Despatch by the discussion in detail of suggestions which the Commission have not endorsed, and which we are not prepared to accept. Our remarks on other points will also be made as brief as possible.

12. The portion of the Report which deals with the consumption of opium in British India may be first noticed. The Commission have collected much valuable information upon this subject and have given a clear and exhaustive account of the methods in which opium is consumed by the different races and in the different provinces of India, the extent of the consumption, and its effects upon the moral and physical condition of the people. We do not propose to follow them in their examination of the different uses of opium as a domestic medicine, as a stimulant after middle age, as a febrifuge, or of its supposed properties as an aphrodisiac, still less to examine in detail Sir W. Roberts' interesting and valuable analysis of the evidence regarding the general features and the medical aspects of the opium habit in India. The facts have been very fully elucidated, and the conclusions arrived at, as summarised in paragraph 71 of the Report, are, in our opinion, fully supported by the evidence. We agree entirely with the Commission that the use of opium among the people of India in British provinces is, as a rule, a moderate use, that excess is exceptional and is condemned by public opinion, that the use of opium in moderation is not attended by injurious consequences, and that no extended physical or moral degradation is caused by the habit.

13. In considering the question of the possibility of prohibiting the use of opium except for medical purposes, the Commission have laid much stress on the fact that it is impossible to distinguish between the use of opium as a domestic medicine and the *quasi*-medicinal use of the drug as a stimulant or restorative. This fact is, in our opinion, of very great importance. Large numbers also of the people of India are, as stated in the Report, unable to obtain professional medical advice and many who are within reach of medical aid prefer in cases of illness either to treat themselves or to trust to the treatment of relatives and friends; and if the individual or the imperfectly qualified medical practitioner is to decide what constitutes a medical purpose, the question of prohibition except for such purposes ceases at once to have any practical significance. Much of the conflicting evidence which was given before the Commission as to the effects of opium may, in our opinion, be explained by the widely different purposes for which opium is consumed. That opium is used to a limited extent by a comparatively few depraved individuals in the belief that it stimulates the virile powers may be admitted, and many of the witnesses who gave evidence as to the degrading and destructive effects of the habitual use of the drug appear to have based their opinions upon a limited acquaintance with persons who had commenced the use of opium for this particular purpose. Degradation and demoralisation in such cases would no doubt be apparent, but would be due to other causes as much as, if not more than, to the use of opium. As the Commission have, in our opinion, conclusively shown, opium is ordinarily used in India as a febrifuge, as a painkiller or as a stimulant or restorative after middle age; and its use for these purposes does not incur popular disapproval. The question of administering opium to infants is one of considerable difficulty. We reported in our Despatch No. 12, dated 24th January 1894, that the circumstances in which opium is in some parts of India administered to children and infants did not in our opinion, call for any action on the part of Government, and that any attempt to check or prohibit the practice would be regarded as an unnecessary interference with the domestic arrangements of the people and would be resented accordingly. The practice is naturally repugnant to Western ideas, but the question has now been very carefully examined, and we agree with the conclusion arrived at by the Commission, as stated in paragraph 62 of the Report and at greater length in Sir W. Roberts' Memorandum. As they say, "long practice in this use of opium has resulted in the acquisition of a degree of skill in administering the drug which must materially minimise the risk of accident, so that evident injury or accidental poisoning, though not unknown, are comparatively rare." The remarks made by the Commission in paragraphs 73 to 75 of the Report as to the use of opium for purpose of suicide and the extent to which the opium habit in India is responsible either for insanity or crime have also our general concurrence.

14. Agreeing, therefore, as we do, with the views taken by the Commission as to the uses of opium and the effects thereby produced, we have no difficulty in accepting their conclusion that the prohibition of the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India except for medical purposes has not been shown to be necessary or to be demanded by the people of the country. The prohibition of the production of opium in British India might owing to the peculiar conditions under which poppy cultivation is at present carried on under the Government monopoly in Bengal, be actually possible, if there were any reasons to warrant it. It would, however, in our opinion, be a tyrannical interference with private rights and liberties; it would involve the abandonment of much revenue, both direct and indirect, which the Government of India are not in a position to forego; and it would give rise to widespread discontent among the classes to whom it brings a considerable profit. To prevent the use of opium except for medical purposes would be impossible, as the demand for the drug in British India would be supplied by smuggling from the Native States in India and from other sources.

15. On the subject of the trade in Malwa opium and the possibility of terminating the existing arrangements with the Native States in Central India and Rajputana in respect of the transit of opium through British territory, we agree with the remarks made in paragraphs 116, 122, 123, and 161-166 of the Report. The attitude of the Government of India towards the trade is, as the Commission have observed, essentially restrictive. The climate and soil of Central India are specially well adapted for the cultivation of the poppy, and the trade is of very great antiquity. It was in existence when the Portuguese first appeared upon the shores of India, and in the words of the Report "its stoppage would impose serious loss and trouble on the Rulers of the States and upon great numbers of their landowners, cultivators, bankers and merchants." We agree therefore with the Commission in holding that the right of transit could not now be withdrawn with justice except by voluntary agreement with the States; and such agreement, if obtained at all, would involve payment by the Government of India of pecuniary compensation to the Chiefs and their subjects to an extent which must be regarded as absolutely prohibitive.

16. In the concluding sentence of paragraph 102 of the Report the Commission remark that the policy of the Government of India in fixing the rate of the pass duty upon Malwa opium "may be briefly described as a policy of taking the highest duty that the trade can legitimately bear, the duty being assessed with direct reference to the prices realised for the Bengal opium at the Calcutta sales." This statement appears to require some amplification. Our policy in this matter is correctly expressed in the phrase "the highest duty that the trade can legitimately bear." The price obtained for Bengal opium at the Calcutta sales is one element, but not the only one, which we take into consideration in fixing the rate of duty; the circumstances of the Malwa trade, the prices realised for the opium, and the fluctuations in the exports from Bombay are also weighed and considered. We observe that the Commission say in paragraph 193 of the Report that they are not sure that the transit duty has not sometimes been imposed or maintained at rates higher than is compatible with equity. In future, when any question of altering the rate of duty arises, full weight will be given to this expression of opinion.

17. As regards the use of opium in Native States, it is unnecessary to add much to the remarks already made in paragraphs 12 and 13 of this despatch regarding the use of opium in British India. The portion of the Report which deals with this branch of the subject is particularly full and interesting, and we agree entirely with the opinions which the Commission have expressed upon the possibility of extending to the Native States in India a policy of prohibition. The consumption of opium in many States in Central India, Rajputana, Gujerat and the Punjab is, as the Commission have shown in paragraphs 103 to 112 and 118 to 121 of the Report, more prevalent than in British India, with the exception perhaps of a few isolated localities, and is often connected with social or religious observances. There is no proof that moral or physical degradation to any extent worth considering has resulted from the habit; and we are satisfied that prohibition is uncalled for, that any attempt to extend it to these States

would in almost every instance be keenly resented both by the chiefs and by their subjects, and that any measure of the kind would be absolutely impossible of enforcement. The existence of poppy cultivation and opium production on a large scale in a number of Native States situated in the heart of British India is alone sufficient to make the prohibition of the use of opium in British India except for medical purposes a physical impossibility, even if any necessity for such prohibition had been established.

18. The Commission have referred briefly to the question of substituting private enterprise and an export duty for the State monopoly, by which the cultivation, manufacture, and wholesale sale, of Bengal opium are controlled. Their conclusion is that the Bengal Opium Department should be maintained, but they did not consider it necessary to examine the

Conclusions arrived at by the Commission in regard to the State monopoly of the production and sale of opium in Bengal.

question at length owing apparently to the change in the attitude of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Traffic towards the monopoly as explained by Mr. Alexander, the Secretary to the Society, in his evidence before the Commission at Calcutta. "It is," the Commission observe in paragraph 174 of the Report, "now generally admitted that the limitation of cultivation and the monopoly of manufacture and wholesale supply, which the Government of India enforces through the Bengal Opium Department, practically constitute the most restrictive position, short of prohibition, which the Government can adopt towards internal consumption." The Commission, therefore, have been content to quote some passages from the Despatch No. 312, dated 19th December 1881, which was addressed by the Secretary of State by Lord Ripon's Government as an adequate pronouncement of their views upon the question. Mr. Haridas Voharidas in his memorandum says that he is not prepared to agree altogether with the reasons for which the majority of the Commission have held that a continuance of the monopoly is desirable, though he is inclined to acquiesce in its continuance "so long as no better, or less objectionable, way of the manufacture and sale of opium" has been brought to notice. The Maharaja of Darbhanga, on the other hand, says that as far as India is concerned he is convinced that a "Government monopoly like that of opium is one of the most popular and least oppressive systems of raising revenue." Mr. Wilson in his minute of dissent recommends that the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes, and has not discussed the question whether the monopoly is or is not superior to any system that might be substituted for it.

19. For the reasons that influenced the Commission we do not think it necessary to discuss at any length the arguments for and against the monopoly. The question of substituting private enterprise for the monopoly has, as they say, been carefully considered on more than one occasion, and always with

Remarks by the Government of India upon the subject of the monopoly.

the same result; and the arguments advanced in the despatch of the 19th December 1881 in favour of the retention of the monopoly have certainly not been adequately answered or refuted. As regards paragraph 75 of the despatch, however, we think it necessary to observe that it appears to us quite hopeless to expect that fiscal reform and the development of the country will at any time enable Government to suppress the cultivation of the poppy in Bengal and dispense with the opium revenue; and we are not prepared to admit that the objections, economic or moral, which can be urged against that revenue are so strong as to make its abolition a desirable, even if it were a possible contingency. The despatch also hardly gives sufficient prominence to the superiority of the provincial systems of excise on opium in India which are based on the monopoly, to those which are based upon any other principle of opium supply, and to the restrictions thereby imposed upon the consumption of opium by the people of India, or to the serious political and administrative difficulties which would, in our opinion, arise if private persons or firms were allowed to embark in the trade in opium in Bengal. The relations of such persons or firms with the ryots could not fail to clash with the relations of the ryots with their landlords and with the Government, and would tend to produce difficulties of the kind of which we at one time had experience in connexion with indigo cultivation.

20. We agree with the views expressed in paragraphs 189 and 191 of the Report as to the principles upon which poppy cultivation should be regulated under the monopoly in Bengal. The price paid for crude opium must necessarily vary in accordance with the state of the market, the conditions of agriculture and the prices obtained for other crops, and the area

Views of the Commission as to the principles upon which poppy cultivation should be regulated in Bengal and remarks by the Government of India upon the subject

placed under poppy is also liable to fluctuate in accordance with the quantity and quality of the produce. We have no desire to raise the average standard of production and sale, and we accept the opinion, expressed in paragraph 191, that the area under poppy should be fixed from time to time with due regard to the interests of the cultivators and the desirability, in the case of a drug specially liable to abuse, of raising revenue by a high restrictive price rather than by a large and cheap supply." We see no necessity for the issue, as suggested by the late Mr. Haridas Veharidas, of a general notification throughout the poppy-growing districts to the effect that no one is bound to cultivate the crop unless he may wish to do so. A notification of the kind is in our opinion certainly not required, and among a population like that of India, would be liable to misinterpretation. As the Commission say in paragraph 189, poppy cultivation is on the whole decidedly popular with the class of tenants who usually engage in it. The growing competition of other crops and a succession of bad poppy harvests which disheartened the cultivators recently compelled us to raise the price paid for crude opium, and, as reported in our telegram of the 24th May 1894, we sanctioned an increase from Rs. 5 to 6 a seer with effect from the season of 1894-5. This enhancement in price was immediately followed by a large increase in the area cultivated, and both the necessity for the enhancement and the result of it afford, in our opinion, a conclusive answer to the allegation that the existence and extent of the cultivation are due to pressure from the officers of the Opium Department. We are satisfied that the cultivators know perfectly well that they are under no restraint and that they may either engage to cultivate poppy or abstain as they please, and that they will carry on the cultivation in the future, as they have hitherto done in the past, only so long as they may find it profitable to themselves.

21. In regard to Burma we accept the conclusions of the Commission, as expressed in paragraphs 239, 254 and 256 of the Report, on the question of the prohibition of the use of opium by Burmans, and the non-extension of prohibition to non-Burmans. Mr. Wilson, in paragraph 41 of his minute of dissent, recommends that the registration of consumers should be made compulsory for foreigners or non-Burmans as well as for Burmans. We agree with the Commission that the working of the present regulations should be tested by experience before any change in them is made. The recommendations made in paragraph 195 of the report on the subject of opium-smoking do not apply to Burma. Arrangements in Upper and Lower Burma are dealt with in a separate section of the report, and Sections II., VI., and VII., regarding the production and consumption of opium in British provinces, the question of prohibition, and the changes short of total prohibition, refer to the provinces of India proper only. In Burma, as is stated in paragraph 238 of the Report, opium-smoking is the common habit, and the sale of opium prepared for smoking to non-Burmans and to registered Burmans will therefore be continued under the regulatious and restrictions now existing.

22. The question of the production of opium in India as affected by the moral and political considerations arising out of the export trade necessitates some examination of the subject of opium consumption in China. The difference in the view taken by many competent observers in China from that usually held in India as to the effects of opium-smoking and opium-eating has already been referred to. As to the effects of opium-smoking in China, there is, as the Commission have observed in paragraph 139 of the Report, a direct conflict of evidence; as a body the missionaries of every denomination in China are strongly opposed to the use of opium, and hold that opium-smoking as practised in that country, is the cause of both physical and moral degradation. There are, however, some notable exceptions, and the Commission in paragraph 140 of the Report observe that the prevailing opinion in the British Consular service in China is that opium-smoking in moderation is not harmful and that moderation is the rule. Mr. Wilson, in paragraph 15 of his minute of dissent, says that the majority of the English officials in China who sent answers to the interrogatories issued by the Commission agree with Dr. Maxwell and other medical missionaries in their condemnation of the use of opium. We attach particular importance to the evidence of the consuls in this matter, and have therefore made a careful analysis of the replies submitted by the members of the consular service in China and Corea to the following questions:—

1. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers?
2. What are the proportions of those who use opium (i) without injury; (ii) with slight injury; (iii) with great injury (opium sots)?

3. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium?

The replies, for facility of reference, are attached as Appendix D to this despatch. We find that of the 26 members of the consular service to whom the interrogatories issued by the Commission were sent, three have expressed no opinions on the subject; five regard opium-smoking as a serious evil, though of these three admit that moderation is possible; five give evidence which is generally condemnatory of the habit, but not strongly so; and thirteen, while holding that the immoderate use of the drug is deleterious, consider that moderation among Chinese opium-smokers is the rule, that the percentage of men who smoke to excess and suffer great injury in consequence is small, and that moderate opium-smokers suffer no apparent injury from indulgence in the habit. Of the private medical practitioners and merchants, residing in China (more than thirty in number) who replied to the interrogatories, a large majority take a view similar to that held by the majority of the consuls; and the 12 medical officers of Her Majesty's consulates and the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, who have replied, are about equally divided in their opinions. The evidence from the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong is reviewed in paragraphs 133 to 138 of the Report of the Commission. Some of the witnesses are strongly opposed to the habitual use of opium, but the general tenor of the evidence is to the effect that opium-smoking, if practised in moderation, does no apparent harm to the Chinese. The evils of excess are undoubted, but in the face of such evidence as this the comparison made by the majority of the Commission of the effects of opium-smoking among the Chinese with those of alcohol drinking in the United Kingdom appears to us to be amply warranted.

23. Turning from the difficult and doubtful question of the effect of opium upon the

Effect of the cessation of the export of opium from India upon the consumption of opium in China.

Chinese to the question of practical politics, we find that the Commission hold that a cessation of the trade in Bengal opium would have no real effect in reducing the use of the drug in China, that the British Government cannot consistently with its position as the paramount power in India, stop the export of Malwa opium, and that if the export of Bengal opium were prohibited, its place would be taken by opium produced in Malwa or in other countries, or by the opium locally produced in China. In this conclusion we concur. As the Commission have observed, the consular reports show that the poppy is now cultivated in 16 out of the 18 provinces of China, the cultivation is increasing, and the use of Indian opium is unknown in many parts of the empire. The cessation of export from India would therefore, in our opinion, inevitably be nullified by an increased production of opium in China itself, and probably by an increased export to China of opium from Persia and Turkey. The average number of chests of opium annually exported from Persia to China during the five years 1890-94 was not much short of 6,000 and the price of paper-wrapped Persian opium at Hong-kong is now 800 dollars a chest as compared with 720 dollars obtained for Malwa and 688 dollars for Bengal opium.

24. The effect upon the finances of India of the prohibition of the sale and export of opium is clearly explained in paragraphs 150 to 157 of the Commission's report. We accept as correct the views upon this subject of Sir David Barbour, late financial member of council, as expressed in the following passage which is quoted from his evidence in paragraph 157 of the report:—

Effect upon the finances of India of the prohibition of sale and export of opium.

“We may fairly take the total net revenue from opium at Rx. 6,000,000 yearly at the present time. I have no hesitation in saying that it would be impossible to carry on the administration of India if the revenue was reduced by Rx. 6,000,000. As it is, there is considerable difficulty in making revenue balance expenditure; and for my part, I would positively refuse to attempt the task if the revenue were reduced by Rx. 6,000,000. Some revenue could of course be raised by additional taxation, but not Rx. 6,000,000. I have no doubt that the people in this country would bear some additional taxation if the taxation were imposed in consequence of some disaster which we could not have avoided; but the imposition of heavy or perhaps of any considerable amount of taxation on the people of India, in order to make good the loss of revenue caused by interference with the consumption or export of opium, would cause most serious discontent among the people of India.”

Since this evidence was given the margin of possible taxation has been largely reduced; import duties have been levied upon cotton and other goods, and additional taxation amounting to three crores of rupees has thereby been imposed.

25. We have already referred to certain opinions expressed; and recommendations made by Mr. H. J. Wilson, the dissentient member of the Commission. We have examined carefully his minute of dissent, but see nothing in it to shake our confidence in the correctness of the conclusions at which the Commission have arrived. We presume that we are not called upon to give any reply to the charges of partiality and unfairness in the production of evidence which have been brought against us in the memorandum appended to the minute of dissent. At an early stage of the Commission's proceedings in India, Mr. Wilson made some reflections in public upon the action of the Government in regard to the Commission. We accordingly addressed to the Commission on the 6th January 1894, the letter which is published on pp. 366 and 367 of Volume V. of the Commission's Proceedings, pointing out that it was at the instance of the Commission that we had undertaken to make arrangements for the course of the inquiry, and for the production of evidence, and requesting that we might be informed if the arrangements made appeared to the Commission to be in any respect short of what was necessary in order to elicit the material facts. Mr. Wilson, in a letter to the chairman, dated 17th January 1894, then set forth at length the grounds on which he complained of the attitude of the Government, or, as he described it, of the authorities in India, and cited a number of instances of what he considered to be unfairness in the production of evidence. The Commission made an inquiry into the matters, and Mr. Wilson eventually withdrew definitely two of his charges, but expressed his inability to withdraw at that time the other portions of his letter. The Commission, as the result of the inquiry, informed us that they were agreed that the Government of India had "consistently pursued their declared course of endeavouring to place them in full possession of the actual facts," and that they were of opinion that Mr. Wilson had "not proved the specific charges made by him." Mr. Wilson has now in the memorandum repeated some of the charges made in his letter to the Chairman of the Commission, dated the 17th January 1894, which were declared by the Commission "not proved." We observe that he has dropped several charges which he did not definitely withdraw at the time, and has added some additional charges in regard to matters which happened subsequent to the conclusion of the inquiry made by the Commission into the facts stated in his letter above quoted. We are prepared, if your Lordship wishes, to deal categorically with each of the charges contained in the memorandum, but this appears to us in the circumstances to be altogether unnecessary.

26. The Commission in paragraphs 8 to 22 of the Report, in describing the character and source of the evidence on which they based their conclusions, have described the arrangements which were made by the Government of India for the production of evidence and have published in Volume V. of the Proceedings, the correspondence which passed between the Government of India and the Commission regarding the charges made by Mr. Wilson in India, with the Government of India Resolution No. 3,910 Ex., dated 8th September 1893, regarding the appointment of the Royal Commission and the course of the inquiry, and other letters which they apparently considered were of special importance as showing the nature of the action which was actually taken by the Government of India. Some letters, however, which appear to have a material bearing upon the questions discussed in this portion of the Report have not been published, and to make the record more complete we now forward them as Appendix E. to this despatch. The description given in the Report of the arrangements made, and the action taken by the Government of India at the request of the Commission is accurate, and is also sufficiently complete, and unless your Lordship wishes us to reply in detail to Mr. Wilson's charges we consider it unnecessary to recapitulate the facts.

We have, &c.
 (Signed) ELGIN.
 " G. S. WHITE.
 " A. E. MILLER.
 " J. WESTLAND.
 " A. MACKENZIE.
 " A. C. TREVOR.

Schedule of Papers.

Appendix A.—Correspondence on the subject of the introduction of a system of direct dealing with the poppy cultivators in Behar—

1. Letter from the Government of Bengal to the Government of India, No. 17-T. R., dated 18th April 1895, and enclosures.
2. Letter from the Government of India, to the Government of Bengal, No. 4206-S. R., dated 30th August 1895.

Appendix B.—Collection of extracts from replies, received to the interrogatories issued by the Royal Opium Commission, from the Straits Settlements, Hong Kong and China, bearing upon the question of the relative effects of opium smoking and opium eating.

Appendix C.—Extracts from opinions recently expressed in Excise and Opium Reports by local governments and by officers in charge of the excise administration in different provinces as to the effect which has been produced upon the habit of opium smoking in India by the prohibition of the consumption of opium upon licensed premises.

Appendix D.—Replies from members of the consular service in China and Corea to the three following questions issued by the Royal Opium Commission, and lists classifying the evidence of the members of the consular service, private medical practitioners and merchants resident in China, and medical officers of the consulates and Imperial maritime customs :—

1. What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical, and social, on its consumers ?
2. What are the proportions of those who use opium (i) without injury ; (ii) with slight injury ; (iii) with great injury (opium sots) ?
3. Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium ?

Appendix E.—Correspondence referred to in paragraph 26 of the despatch :—

1. Letter from the Chairman of the Royal Opium Commission, to the Honourable Mr. Westland, dated 8th December 1893.
2. Letter from the Honourable Mr. Westland, to the Chairman of the Royal Opium Commission, dated 9th December 1893.
3. Memorandum of an interview on the 11th December 1893 between Lord Brassey and the Honourable Mr. Westland.
4. Letter from the Government of India, to the Royal Opium Commission, No. 5557-Ex., dated 21st December 1893.
5. Letter from the Royal Opium Commission, to the Government of India, dated 12th January 1894.
6. Letter from the Government of India, to the Royal Opium Commission, No. 293-Ex., dated 16th January 1894.
7. Letter from the Royal Opium Commission, to the Government of India, dated 23rd January 1894.
8. Letter from the Government of India, to the Royal Opium Commission, No. 530, dated 29th January 1894.
9. Correspondence regarding the production of evidence from Hyderabad and Berar—
 - (a.) Letter from the Government of India in the Finance and Commerce Department, No. 5023-Ex., dated 20th November 1893.
 - (b.) Letter from the Government of India in the Foreign Department, to the resident at Hyderabad, No. 4063-I., dated 29th November 1893.
 - (c.) Letter from the resident at Hyderabad, to the Government of India in the Finance and Commerce Department, No. 303, dated 4th December 1893.
 - (d.) Letter from the Government of India in the Finance and Commerce Department, to the resident at Hyderabad, No. 5425-Ex., dated 13th December 1893.
 - (e.) Letter from the Royal Opium Commission, to the Government of India, dated 8th December 1893.
 - (f.) Letter from the Government of India, to the Royal Opium Commission, No. 5424-Ex., dated 13th December 1893.
 - (g.) Letter from the Resident at Hyderabad, to the Government of India in the Finance and Commerce Department, No. 428, dated 28th December 1893.

10. Letter from the Government of India, to the Royal Opium Commission, No. 354-Ex., dated 18th January 1894.
11. Letter from the Government of India, to the Government of Madras, No. 355-Ex., dated 18th January 1894.

Appendix A. to Despatch No. 305 of 1895.

CORRESPONDENCE on the subject of the introduction of a system of direct dealing with the POPPY CULTIVATORS in BEHAR.

No. 17-T. R., dated 18th April 1895.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT of INDIA, Finance and Commerce Department.

I am directed to submit, for the consideration and orders of the Government of India, a copy of the correspondence noted on the margin, on the subject of the substitution of the Benares or the *asamiwar* system of dealing direct with the opium cultivators in the place of the system of dealing through intermediaries, called *khatadars*, now in force in Bihar.

This Government's letter to Board, No. 5423-O., dated the 7th December 1894.
Board's letter No. 147-B., dated 19th February 1895, and enclosure.
This Government's Order No. 1931-O., dated 8th April 1895.

2. It is within the recollection of the Government of India that the Opium Commission of 1883 strongly recommended the extension to Bihar of the Benares system, holding that no reform was more imperatively called for and more likely to be beneficial than the general introduction of a system of *asamiwar* payment. The Government of Bengal reported on the question to the Government of India in its letter No. 980-T. R., dated the 28th June 1884, and again in paragraph 29 of its letter No. 2600/130-O., dated the 18th December 1886. Sir Rivers Thompson, while supporting the change on principle, was of opinion that it could not be introduced without a cadastral survey of Bihar, and that it would be impossible to deal with the cultivators through middlemen in regard to advances, if they were dealt with direct in regard to payments for opium brought into weighment. The increased cost of establishment was also an argument against any change. In paragraph 6 of their letter No. 5685, dated 26th October 1887, the Government of India said that, before considering the question, they would await the result of the deliberations then contemplated regarding the system of payments through middlemen, which was not in accordance with the law. The result was a recommendation in this Government's letter No. 2603/151-O., dated 8th August 1888, to continue the Benares and Bihar systems in the respective agencies, but to modify the form of license given for cultivation of opium in Bihar. Nothing further has been done in the direction of introducing the *asamiwar* system in Bihar (though Mr. Stevens suggested its trial experimentally in one subdivision in 1892—a suggestion which was not adopted) except in the Barhi subdivision^c of the Hazaribagh district, where it is actually working successfully, the *khatadars* having refused to take settlements. The opium area in this subdivision is, however, small.

3. During his tour in Bihar during the last cold weather the matter was prominently brought to the notice of Sir Charles Elliott. His Honour was led to doubt whether any such large increase of establishment as was feared would really be requisite in order to distribute money separately to cultivators whose produce has already been separately weighed and recorded, and he passed orders to the Board of Revenue (Government Order No. 5423-O., dated 7th December 1894), directing the introduction of the Benares system experimentally in two or three subdivisions in Bihar. The Board of Revenue have now submitted a report on the subject (their letter No. 147-B., dated the 19th February 1895), remonstrating against making any such experiment, and recommending that a reference should be made to the Government of India on the whole question. The Lieutenant-Governor, on further consideration, agrees with their proposal, and the Board have accordingly been desired to hold the Orders of 7th December 1894 in abeyance. I am now desired to lay before the Government of India the Lieutenant-Governor's recommendation on the general question of abolishing or modifying the Bihar system of dealing with opium cultivators.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor agrees with the opinion quoted above from the Opium Commission's Report in 1883, and has been much impressed by the argument of the

injustice to the good cultivators summed up in paragraph 2 (II.) of my letter dated the 7th December 1894 to the address of the Board. He thinks it very desirable, with a view to making opium cultivation more popular and more profitable, to do away with that injustice, and recommends that an inquiry should be instituted as to the best means of carrying out this purpose. It is true that it is a very troublesome matter to meddle with opium cultivation at all, on account of the large financial interests involved, but the present seems to be a favourable time for considering a change for the reasons mentioned below:—

- (1.) The outcome of the Royal Opium Commission's Report will set people's minds at rest as regards the permanency of the department so far as administrative interference is concerned.
- (2.) The price of crude opium has lately been raised.
- (3.) There is reason to expect a crop above the average. Should this anticipation be in any unexpected way upset, the proposed inquiry should be postponed till a good crop is realised.

5. The object of the proposed inquiry should be to decide what modifications should be made in the Bengal *khatadari* system. The argument as to the absence of cadastral field maps used by this Government in its letter No. 2600/130-O., dated the 18th December 1886, addressed to the Government of India, may be passed over. The Lieutenant-Governor does not understand that much (if any) use is made of these maps in the Benares Agency, and, if they can be used, they will soon be ready for the use of the officers in North Bihar. His Honour agrees with the remarks of the Board on this subject in paragraph 13 of their letter of the 19th February 1895.

6. The view which the Lieutenant-Governor desires to submit to the Government of India is that the *khatadari* system should not be abolished, but should be made optional. It is a system which is useful for those who cultivate very small patches of land and produce very small quantities of opium; it would not be worth their while to save the *khatadar's* commission and substitute personal attendance at the Opium Office for the purpose of receiving money at the time of advances and weighments, the sums to be received being so small. But the substantial and permanent cultivators, who produce a considerable quantity of opium, would undoubtedly prefer to undergo this trouble in order to receive the sums due to them, undiminished by the *khatadar's* commission. Sir Charles Elliott would therefore propose that dependence on, or independence of, the *khatadar* should be optional, and that the Opium Office should keep two lists—one showing the names of those cultivators who prefer to be dealt with direct, and the other showing the names of those who would wish to be dealt with through a *khatadar*.

7. The next point for consideration is, what terms should be offered to the *khatadars* to induce them to undertake this less remunerative business. The remuneration at present received by the *khatadars* is stated in paragraph 7 of this Government's letter to the Board of Revenue of the 7th December 1894. The rate per maund now paid by Government is Re. 1. This rate would, no doubt, have to be increased, though it is doubtful whether it need be increased to Rs. 4, as was originally recommended by the Opium Commission.

8. The variation between the amount allowed on account of scrapings (*kurchan*) in the two agencies (the Benares rate being more than three times the Bihar rate) is remarkable. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that the rate should be reduced to an equality, being taken at the average of the quantity which does actually remain in the pots after a scraping identical in severity. This would be paid by Government to the *khatadar*.

9. The question of *kharcha*, or commission proper, to be paid by the cultivators to the *khatadar* for his trouble in representing them and distributing the advances and making payments during the weighments to those who place themselves under his wing is the most difficult of all. Paragraphs 7 and 8 of Mr. Hopkins' letter No. 20, dated 11th January 1895 (enclosed), show how much the *kharcha* varies, and how little cause there is for such variation. It is doubtful also how much of it reaches the *khatadar* and how much is intercepted by the *amla*. All officers whom the Lieutenant-Governor has consulted during his tour agree in the belief that a good deal, if not all, is so intercepted. The advice which His Honour has received from Mr. Tytler, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent of Aliganj, one of the most experienced officers of the department, is to leave it alone and refuse to recognise it. Mr. Tytler considers that the cultivators will settle it best with the *khatadar*. He mentioned that within his knowledge the rate of *kharcha* had been considerably lowered by competition in his subdivision in the parts where the cultivation is

large and well established ; it used to be Re. 1 and had been gradually brought down, by rival *khatadars* offering to take the work at a lower rate, to annas 8. On the other hand, the Lieutenant-Governor gathers from what he has learned from Mr. Tytler and other officers that to a great extent the rate is influenced by the greed of the *amla*, who conspire with the *khatadar* to raise it when the officer of the subdivision is careless or ignorant.

10. The Bihar agent, in paragraph 8 of his letter of 11th January 1895, has suggested some of the causes which lead to variation in the rate of *kharcha*, and though one of them, viz., liability to supply *rasad* (supplies) to officers on tour, ought to be eliminated, such elements as distance from the office and the instability of the class of cultivators are permanent causes of variation in the expenses which a *khatadar* is liable to, and which must be considered in fixing his commission. The recommendation of the Lieutenant-Governor is, therefore, that a small committee of experienced departmental officers should be appointed in the slack season, who should inquire into the facts in each subdivision and lay down a working and reasonable rate of commission.

11. Lastly, with regard to the increased establishment which will be required by the introduction of the proposed change, I am to refer the Government of India to my letter dated 7th December 1894, which will show that in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, at the time that letter was written, the increase need not be very large ; and though the Bihar Agent's estimate is larger and the Board's much larger, Sir Charles Elliott is not satisfied that the extra work entailed by the change proposed will be by any means so great as to justify the anticipated demand for increased establishment. The accounts, both of advances and weighments, are now kept for each cultivator separately. The change is only that of making the payments separately, and that, too, not in all cases, but only in the case of those who elect to deal with the Government direct. It was with a view to test this problem that the Lieutenant-Governor desired to introduce the Benares system experimentally, and he still thinks that, if the Government of India approve the changes in the system, increase of establishment should be sanctioned in a quite experimental way, and not broadcast and in permanence. No doubt the comparison drawn by the Board (paragraph 10) between the official staff of the Benares and Patna agencies supports their view on the hypothesis that the North-Western Provinces staff is not excessive. The corollary to his Honour's view, should it be confirmed by experience, would be that that staff is excessive and might be reduced.

12. These questions are intricate and difficult, and it is impossible for the Lieutenant-Governor to do more than to state the impressions he had formed, and to suggest that if, in the opinion of the Government of India, a convenient time has come for dealing with this important question, a small committee of inquiry should be formed to visit each opium sub-division in Bengal, and report their conclusions on the following heads :—

- (1.) What number of cultivators would prefer to deal with Government direct, what number would prefer to remain under the wing of a representative, and what quantity of opium each class represents ?
- (2.) In the case of the class which remains under the *khatadar*, what remuneration should be offered to him to compensate him for his trouble in the form of—
 - (a.) Commission per maund, to be paid by Government ;
 - (b.) Scrapings (average of actuals) to be paid by Government ; and
 - (c.) Commission or *kharcha* to be paid by the cultivators at a rate per rupee of payment for crude opium delivered ?
- (3.) What increase of establishment would be required in each sub-division, and what additional office buildings ?

No. 5,423, dated 7th December 1894.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY to the BOARD of REVENUE, L.P., Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

With reference to the orders contained in the concluding portion of paragraph 1 of this Government's resolution, No. 2,208, dated the 20th April 1894, on the Board's Opium Administration Report for the year 1892-93, regarding the substitution of the Benares system of dealing direct with the opium cultivators, called the *asaminwar* system, for the *khatadari* system, or the system of dealing through intermediaries called

khatadars now in force in Bihar, I am directed to say that, in the course of his recent tour, the Lieutenant-Governor took the opportunity of considering on the spot the relative merits of the two systems. I am now to communicate the following orders of Government.

2. The two systems may be compared in their main features as follows:—
- (1.) The *khatadar* gives in a list of raiyats who propose to grow opium, and receives advances for them all in a lump sum. The result is that a *khatadar* frequently inserts fictitious raiyats in the list, draws advances for them, and uses this sum as a loan without interest till he has to repay it at weighment time. In the North-Western Provinces each raiyat receives his own advance separately.
- (2.) At weighment time, although it appears that each raiyat's opium is separately weighed and recorded, and that he is given a receipt for it, nevertheless payment is made to the *khatadar* in a lump sum. If there are fictitious raiyats on the list, or men who cultivated badly, or whose cultivation is only nominal, or a colourable pretext for obtaining an advance, the deficit on the advances made to them is deducted from the surplus earned by good raiyats, whose outturn exceeds their advances. In the North-Western Provinces each man is separately paid, and the good do not suffer for the bad. The fact that they do so in Bihar is the chief argument against the *khatadari* system, and was represented to the Lieutenant-Governor as being one of the causes for the decrease in the area under opium and the outturn obtained, the best cultivators being discouraged and disgusted.
3. With regard to point 1, it may be urged that the insertion in the *khatadar's* list of fictitious raiyats, or of raiyats whose cultivation is only a pretence, might be prevented if the amla, who are bound to measure every plot of opium land, did their work thoroughly, and were efficiently supervised by the superior staff. But it was represented to his Honour that only the best and most zealous officers carry out the system thoroughly, and that in many cases the measurements made by the amla are not checked at all. I am therefore to request that an order may be issued by the Board requiring that every officer of the superior staff should enter in his annual report the number of check measurements made by him. The annual report of the Opium Agent to the Board, and the Board's report to the Government, should contain a table of the following character:—

Name of Officer.	Number of Check Measurements made.			Number of Cases in which the Testing Officer finds that the Raiyat has not cultivated Opium, or has only made a pretence of doing so.	Remarks.
	Number of Villages.	Number of Raiyats.	Number of Plots.		
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.

4. As regards point 2, his Honour was informed that, though the deficit due by the bad cultivators is first made good out of the surplus due to the good cultivators, the case is not as bad as it looks, as it is customary for the *khatadar* to help the good cultivator to recover what may be due to him from the bad cultivator out of his next crop, or out of any other property he possesses. But this depends on the good will of the *khatadar*, and he is not bound to give such help.

5. Sir Charles Elliott has no predilection for change for its own sake, and though he has long been of opinion that the *asamiwar* system in force in the North-Western Provinces is the best, he has refrained hitherto from taking steps to introduce it in Bihar. It has now, however, been represented to him that the great and continuous decrease in the area under poppy (which the rise in price of crude opium has not arrested) is mainly due to the evils of the *khatadari* system, and that, if that system is changed, the area for cultivation may increase, and the cultivation of poppy may again become popular among the best class of cultivators. His Honour accordingly directs that the *asamiwar* system be introduced experimentally this year in two or three selected places in Bihar. The conduct of the experiments should be entrusted to officers who have a thorough knowledge of that system, and believe it to be the best. He understands that there are three such officers* now stationed at Motihari, Patna,

* Mr. A. C. Bryson.
" H. Blair.
" W. J. F. Currie.



6. It is presumed that the introduction of the *asamiwar* system in Bihar will necessitate some increase of temporary establishment. The inquiries made by the Lieutenant-Governor have led him to believe that the effect will be that the superior staff should be increased by 50 per cent. while making advances, and by 100 per cent. while making weighments. Where one officer now takes two months over advances and six weeks over weighments, he would require a temporary assistant for one month for the increased work involved in making the advances separately to raiyats, and for six weeks at the weighment season for the purpose of making separate payments. It may also be necessary to increase the ministerial staff, but not to any great extent, as the accounts are already kept in separate detail, only the payments being made in the lump. An estimate should be made of probable requirements.

7. It does not seem necessary that the name of *khataadar* should be changed, or that his position or remuneration should be materially altered. He now receives—

- (a.) Rupee one per maund outturn from Government.
- (b.) Khurchan or scrapings at a maximum rate of 4 chitaks per maund (or Re. 1-8), which is deducted from the cultivator.
- (c.) Kharcha at annas 8 per bigha in some parts, though it rises to Re. 1-8 or even higher in others, paid by the cultivator.

Here (a) and (b) have a good effect as increasing the *khataadar's* interest in the outturn, though it is urged that the (b) payments should be borne by Government, not by the cultivators. But (c) is objectionable, as it does not depend on the outturn or on good cultivation, and seems subject to arbitrary variations. The Lieutenant-Governor desires to be furnished with a report showing what the rate of *kharcha* in each sub-division is, and what justification there is for the variations which may exist.

No. 147-B., dated 19th February 1895.

From N. K. BOSE, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Board of Revenue, L. P., to the
SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT of BENGAL, Revenue Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of Government order No. 5,423 (Opium), dated 7th December 1894, regarding the substitution of the *asamiwar* system for the *khattadari* system of opium cultivation now in force in Bihar and to submit the following report.

2. I am to point out that the description given in paragraph 2 of the Government order of the main features of the systems prevailing in the Benares and the Bihar agencies is not strictly accurate. The systems which prevailed in the agencies prior to 1883 have been described in Chapters V. and IX. of the Report of the Commission of that year on the working of the opium department, and may be summarised as follows:—

“Settlements in both agencies were made with a sort of village foreman called a *khattadar* in Bihar and a *lambardar* in Benares. The *khattadar* or *lambardar* in both agencies received and distributed all advances, and in the Benares agency represented the cultivators on all occasions except at the final weighment of the opium and settlements of the year's accounts, and in Bihar on these occasions also. In return he got the scrapings (*khurchan*) of the cultivators' opium pots at weighment time, and a fee varying from 12 annas to Rs. 2-8 per bigha of poppy cultivation, the receipt of which, though illegal, was overlooked by the department. The agreement to cultivate was, therefore, made by the opium officer with the *khattadar* or *lambardar*, and the advance was given to him for distribution among the cultivators whom he represented. In the Benares agency, the *lambardar's* application to engage for so much land was tested by a system of maps and records of land fit for opium in the particular village; but in Bihar no such test was available, inquiries by the *zillahdars* and comparison by the *gumashtas* of the results of these inquiries with the records of past years, insufficiently supplying its place. When the *lambardar's* application for leave to cultivate so much land was approved in Benares, and when the *zillahdar's* lists were passed in Bihar, a license was given to the *lambardar* or *khattadar*, as the case might be, a *kabulyat* and security-bond taken from him, and the advance given.

“In Benares each cultivator was paid the sum due to him under the direct supervision of the gazetted officer in charge, while in Bihar payment was made *khattadar*, the total amount due to the raiyats on a *khatta* being made over to the *khattadar* for distribution among them.”

3. A question was raised by the Opium Commission as to the validity of the engagements entered into for the cultivation of the poppy under the prevailing practice in both the agencies of granting licenses, not to the actual cultivators, but to middlemen or representative raiyats, and on the suggestion of the Board a conference was held to discuss the question of placing the existing practice on a legal footing. In their letter No. 970-B., dated 30th December 1887, the Board reported to Government the recommendations that had been made by the conference on the subject, which were briefly to continue the *lambardari* and *khattadari* system, but to adopt a form of license for each individual cultivator which would be signed by the officer in charge and made over to the cultivators concerned, and also a form of counterpart or *kabuliyat* to be executed by the cultivator individually, and by all the cultivators of one *khatta* jointly, as might be found convenient.

4. There have been no other changes of any importance in the systems of cultivation and payment since 1882. The systems now in practice in both agencies were described as follows in a note prepared for the Opium Commission of 1893-94 :—

“The poppy plant is cultivated under a system of licenses and advances made through a headman, known in the Bihar agency as the *khattadar*, and in the Benares agency as the *lambardar*, chosen by the cultivators in one or more villages. When the villages are large, two or more headmen may be employed in each; when the villages are small, or the cultivation scattered, one headman may represent two or more villages. The first operation of the opium year (1st September to 31st August) is the ‘settlement’ or engagement with the cultivators for a certain amount of land to be sown with poppy. The *lambardar* in Benares and the *khattadar* in Bihar, when coming in to engage, brings with him a list of the cultivators who have agreed with him to grow opium. Either then or at some future time when the list of actual cultivators who have received advances is complete, licenses are prepared for each individual cultivator and signed by the sub-deputy opium agent or his assistant, filled up according to the names in the final list, for distribution to the cultivators engaging. Forms of counterpart are also issued to the *lambardar* or *khattadar*, as the case may be, in the same way, and he is held responsible for having them filled up and returned to the opium officer either personally or through the *khottee* staff. In some divisions, and generally throughout the Benares agency, the cultivators come in themselves to engage, and in such cases the issue of the license and execution of the counterpart is effected direct. Though the cultivators’ licenses are granted separately and individually, all the cultivators under one *khattadar* are allowed, for the sake of convenience, to execute jointly one counterpart or *kabuliyat*, as it is locally known, the signatures being duly attested. The advances are distributed to the cultivators in the Bihar agency principally through the *khattadars*, but in the Benares agency, where the system of dealing directly with the cultivators themselves is more fully in vogue, the payments are made to the cultivators direct, as far as is possible. These advances are adjusted at the time of delivery of the opium.

“As regards payment for the drug, it is *assamiwari* in the Benares and *khattadari* in the Bihar agency.”

It will be observed from the above summary that as regards settlements and advances the *lambardar* plays an important part in the Benares agency, and even if the *asamiwari* system of weighment and payment is introduced in Bihar, we shall have still to deal with the cultivators through the *khattadars* for settlements and advances.

5. In paragraph 674 of their report the Opium Commission of 1883 recommended that each cultivator should be paid for the opium which he delivers. No reform was, in their opinion, more imperatively called for and more likely to be beneficial than the general introduction of a system of *asamiwari* payments. The Board in paragraph 17 of their letter No. 173-B., dated 5th March 1885, showed the difficulties in the way of introducing the Benares system in Bihar. In paragraph 17 of their letter they said :—

“Paragraph 17.—I am to state that the Board are of opinion that there will be considerable difficulty at first in introducing the *asamiwar* system, but when introduced it will assuredly become popular; as the evils of the *khattadari* system are patent to everybody in Bihar. The Board do not see how the payments can be made *asamiwar* and the settlements and advances for cultivation *khattadari* at the same time. If this were done the contingency of certain payments having still to be made through the *khattadar* would continue to exist, and a double system of the kind could not succeed. The proposal of the Bihar agent for gradually introducing the Commission’s proposals would not, the Board are afraid, secure the desired result. The *khattadar* and his assamis

have probably innumerable debtor and creditor accounts to adjust separate from the opium account; and it can scarcely be directed that all these should be gone into, and adjusted in the presence and on the responsibility of the opium gumashta; and the *khattadar* with a personal demand on an assami is not likely to let the latter secure the full amount of his due for opium, on the chance of future recovery of his own claims upon the man. The board are therefore of opinion that if there is to be a change, that change will have to be in its entirety and immediate throughout the present system, and I am to request the orders of Government upon the subject."

6. The Government of Bengal, while convinced of the desirability of the change on principle, did not consider the existing circumstances or the time opportune for introducing it. In addressing the Government of India on the question, they wrote as follows in their letter No. 2,600—130-O., dated 18th December 1886, paragraph 29:—

"This important question was discussed by the lieutenant-governor in paragraphs 36 and 37 of Mr. MacDonnell's letter of the 28th June 1881, and Sir Rivers Thomson still adheres to the views then recorded. The more exact and direct system of Benares is right, and of the desirability of introducing it into Bihar there can be no doubt; but in the absence of village maps and records, and with the defective village agency available, it would be impossible to get rid of the *khattadari* arrangements of Bihar in a day without serious risks. The proposals of the Commission include an increase in the cost of establishment for which there would be no immediate return. There is also much force in the objection made by the Board to the tentative measure advocated by the Bihar agent that it would be impracticable to maintain the system of dealing through middlemen in the matter of advances, while abandoning it in regard to payments. The want of a proper cadastral survey of districts in the lower provinces of Bengal affects good administration in this as in a good many other departments. If the cadastral survey of Bihar is ever resumed, it will then be advisable to make an attempt to assimilate the Bihar system to that of the Benares agency; but till then the lieutenant-governor is reluctantly compelled to recommend the postponement of the scheme."

7. The recommendations made in the Board's letter No. 970-B., dated 30th December 1887, with a view to bring the practice of granting licenses for the cultivation of poppy into conformity with the existing law, and referred to in paragraph 3 of this letter, were approved by Government, and their adoption sanctioned in Government order No. 2,602—150-O., dated 8th August 1888. Nothing further appears to have been done towards the introduction of the assamiwar system in the Bihar agency until May 1892, when Mr. Stevens suggested that an attempt should be made to introduce the system in the Motihari sub-agency in the first instance, but after a careful consideration of the subject the suggestion was not acted upon. The Board in their letter No. 578-B., dated 1st August 1892, to the Government of Bengal, gave their opinion as follows regarding the question of introducing any change at that particular period—*i.e.*, before the Opium Commission Act:—

"The Board consider that the Bihar system is worked well and economically; that the claims and liabilities of each individual cultivator are well understood by all parties concerned, and are capable of ready adjustment in any case where disputes may arise. The adoption in Bihar of the more elaborate system of payments to individual cultivators and the more prolonged and considerably more expensive system of weighments under temporary European agency and of audit under a large staff of clerks is therefore, in their opinion, unnecessary. The Government policy in Bihar should, the Board think, be to keep all the cultivators it can without causing stir and excitement."

8. Intimately connected with the question of introduction of the *assamiwari* system of payment into the Bihar agency is the question of *khurchan* and *khurcha* referred to in paragraph 7 of the Government order under reply. The Opium Commission in paragraph 248, page 92, and paragraphs 683—84, pages 266—67, of their report advocated the abolition of both *khurchan* and *khurcha*, and in order to compensate the *khattadars* and *lambardars* for the loss they would sustain by this measure, they recommended that the commission of Re. 1 per maund of opium paid to them should be raised to Rs. 4, equivalent to 2 per cent. on the price of opium at Rs. 5 per seer.

The Government of Bengal in paragraph 36 of their letter No. 2,600—130-O., dated 18th December 1886, to the Government of India, reported on the subject as follows:—

"*Khurcha*, which is confined to Bihar, is a cess paid by the cultivators to the *khattadars*, and eventually it is shared between the *khattadars* and the *kothewallahs*.

The rate varies from 12 annas to Rs. 2-8 per bigha, and the whole sum is supposed not to fall short of four lakhs of rupees. *Kurchan*, or the final scrapings of the cultivators' plates, is a recognised perquisite of the *lambardar*. The maximum rate allowed is 14 chittaks per maund of opium. In Bihar the *khattadar* who gets *kurcha* is comparatively indifferent about the *kurchan*, and receives much less on this account than the *lambardar* in Benares. The latter, who gets no *kurcha*, that cess being unknown in the Benares agency, insists upon his scrapings, and in some divisions his main remuneration is derived from this source. In 1881-82 the *khattadars* in Bihar received about Rs. 50,000, or Rs. 2 each on account of *kurchan*, while the Benares *lambardars* received about Rs. 180,000, or Rs. 6 each in this way. The *lambardars* in both agencies receive from Government a commission of Re. 1 a maund for all good opium delivered by their assamis, the aggregate annual amounts of which average about Rs. 1,00,000. In the Benares agency *kurchan* appears to be regarded as a grievance by the cultivators, and the Commission received numerous complaints in regard to it, but the Bihar raiyats acquiesce in both cesses, and preferred no objection before the Commission. The Opium Commission recommended that the levy of both *khurcha* and *kurchan* be forbidden, and that the commission paid by Government to the *lambardars* should be raised from Re. 1 to Rs. 4 a maund. The amount of commission drawn annually by the *lambardars* being estimated at an average of a lakh of rupees, the adoption of this proposal would entail an additional cost of three lakhs a year on Government. The Opium Commission insists strongly on the necessity of the reform, which they say could be carried on without difficulty in the Benares agency, though in Bihar the suppression of *khurcha* could only be effected by resolute determination on the part of Government and its officers. In paragraph 39 of his letter of 28th June 1884, Sir Rivers Thompson remarked that the system as described by the Commission cannot be defended, and that our efforts should be directed to its abolition. It appears, however, that the raiyats, even after the deduction of the dues of the middlemen, get a fair price for their opium, and at present at least more of the drug than is required can be got on the terms now offered. It would therefore be a mere waste of public money to give away three lakhs of rupees without receiving some equivalent.

9. The question now raised in your letter under reply is whether, in view of the decrease in the area under opium in Bihar and in the outturn obtained, the time has now come to do away with the *khattadari* system, and introduce the Benares system in its stead, and orders have issued for the introduction of the system experimentally in three selected sub-agencies. The Board respectfully submit that the proposed experiment will prove nothing and lead to nothing, and that it would be unwise to risk unsettling the minds of both raiyats and *khattadars* by the introduction of what, after all, will be a mere imitation of the Benares system as a temporary measure, and without a thorough revision of the whole system.

10. The Board fully admit the advantages of the Benares system, but it can only be introduced into Bihar provided the permanent staff is largely increased.

In paragraph 676 of their Report the Opium Commission stated that the introduction of the Benares system into Bihar involved the appointment of a permanent assistant to each sub-agency in Bihar. Taking the last year of report, 1892-93, there were 364,364 bighas of net cultivation in Bihar and 341,028 in Benares, or practically the same amount; and 40,338 maunds of opium were obtained from the former and 42,970 from the latter, again practically nearly the same; while to work these agencies the staff in Bihar consisted of 21 officers, of whom 11 were sub-deputy agents and 9 assistants, and in Benares of 45 men, of whom 16 were sub-deputy agents and 29 assistants. We have therefore more than double the staff in the Benares agency, but with a considerably larger proportion of assistants; and it would be impossible to work the Benares system in Bihar with a smaller proportion of officers.

In order to introduce the system it would be necessary to increase the number of sub-agencies in Bihar by at least four. The agent says that he would require 10 more assistants; but this number would not, in the opinion of the Board, be sufficient, and the actual increase would be 15 or 16. If the department is increased by this number of officers, the grades would also have to be revised, so as to secure the necessary amount of promotion. At present the average number of years' service of an opium officer, on attaining the rank of sub-deputy, is 18-years, and it would be unwise to take any steps which would tend to lengthen this term. It would, therefore, in the opinion of the Board, be absolutely necessary to increase not only the number of assistants in the department, but also the number of officers in the higher grades.

If this increase is made, a certain amount of weighments may safely be entrusted to temporary officers, as is done now in the Benares agency; but it would be most risky to attempt to introduce the Benares system, relying only on the present staff and on such temporary men as could be engaged. The number of weighment centres would also have to be increased. There are at present 33 such centres in Benares and 25 in Bihar. Each centre would cost about Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 8,000.

11. The Board further beg to point out that the proposal to make payments *assamiwar* in Bihar involves depriving the *khattadar* of his *khurcha*, which is generally levied from the cultivators when payments for opium are made and the annual accounts of cultivators adjusted. If the payments are made direct to the cultivators, the *khattadars* will have no opportunity of keeping back their perquisites. In order, therefore, that the *khattadars* may be with us, and not against us, they must be compensated for the loss accruing to them on account of the abolition of the *khurcha*, either by an increase in the rate of *kurchan*, or in the rate of commission. In the Benares agency *kurchan* is regarded as a grievance by the cultivators, and while we may be able to propitiate the *khattadars* by increasing the rate of *kurchan*, we run a very great risk of displeasing the *rai-yats*. In order, therefore, that both the *khattadars* and cultivators may look with complacency on any change in the existing system that may be thought necessary, we must increase the rate of commission at least from Re. 1 to Rs. 4 per maund of opium delivered. This will involve an increase of Rs. 1,50,000 for an outturn of 50,000 maunds in the payment of the *khattadar's* commission.

12. For the above reasons the Board would urge that the orders given should be withdrawn as regards the present season, and that before any change is attempted the Government of India should be asked whether they are willing to entertain proposals for the introduction of the Benares system or of an improved Benares system into Bihar. The Board believe that in the end the reformation would repay Government from the increased return of opium, and the reduction of trade in illicit opium which would necessarily follow, but there would necessarily be a period of transition which would involve a loss, and this would have to be faced. If the Government of India will entertain such proposals, the Board would suggest that orders should issue for the preparation of detailed proposals and estimates which could be submitted within a period of three or four months, and orders could be passed on them before the next season. The Board, as at present constituted, agree fully with the opinion of the Board expressed in 1885, and quoted in paragraph 5 of this letter, and are of opinion that the change should be entire and immediate, and not gradual. If introduced gradually, it will be impossible to get rid of the evils of the *khattadari* system, and the result will be the introduction of the expensive parts of Benares' system, combined with the retention of much of the existing system. A full revision of the system of perquisites is absolutely necessary, and until this is done no change will be really effectual. Holding these views, the details of the proposals now made by the opium agent are not discussed at length, as the Board are entirely opposed to a partial introduction of the change. Generally, however, it may be remarked that the proposals of the opium agent are on the side of economy.

13. The Board do not hold that it is necessary to wait for the completion of the cadastral survey to introduce the Benares system. If the number of officers were increased, it would be more easy to prepare cultivation maps in Bihar than it was to do so in Benares, as the cultivation in Bihar is much more compact and less scattered.

14. The Board have gone into this question at such length because they desire to place before Government the fact that the introduction of the Benares system of weighments will not of itself cure the evils complained of by Sir Charles Elliott, but that a far more drastic and extensive reform is required. If only reform in weighments is introduced, we risk the opposition of the whole body of *khattadars* and a possible collapse of the cultivation in Bihar. This is too serious a matter to be gone into without fully counting the cost. The reform may take the form of abandoning the *khattadars* altogether, and thus going beyond the Benares system, or of retaining them on the Benares lines; but in either case the matter must be gone fully into and all risks weighed before any steps are taken. Approximately, and very roughly, the Board would estimate the expenditure on new buildings at about Rs. 64,000, including sites, and the additional expenditure on permanent staff at under a lakh a year, and on temporary staff at about Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 35,000 a year. It is more difficult to estimate the expenditure which would be necessary in doing away with perquisites, but it may be safely stated that it will not be less than one and a half lakhs a year, and probably not more than three lakhs.

These sums, though in themselves large, are not a large percentage on the opium expenditure, and, as above remarked, they would probably be equalled in the course of a very few years by the increased receipts from opium.

15. As regards the inquiry made in the latter portion of paragraph 7 of the Government letter under reply, I am to say that the opium agent, whose letter is forwarded herewith, has been able to furnish very little reliable information. There is, the Board think, no legal justification for *khurcha*, much less for the variations in the rate which exist in the different subdivisions.

No. 20, dated the 11th January 1895.

From J. A. HOPKINS, Esq., C.S., Opium Agent of Bihar, to the SECRETARY to the BOARD OF REVENUE, Lower Provinces.

In reply to your No. 532-B., dated the 12th of December, forwarding No. 5423, dated the 7th December, from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and requesting me to submit an estimate of the probable requirements necessary for the introduction of the *assamiwar* system of poppy cultivation in Bihar, and also a report showing the rate of *khurcha* in each subdivision, and what justification there is for the variations which exist, I have the honour to state that I would apologise for the delay which has taken place in submitting this report; it has been unavoidable, for all my subordinates have been in camp.

2. I have consulted the officers named in paragraph 5 of his Honour's note, and I give below a brief *précis* of each of the reports.

Motihari.—Mr. A. C. Bryson has first stated what he considers necessary for the strengthening of his permanent staff.

Name of Kothi. 1.	Present Ministerial permanent Staff. 2.	Number of Poppy Villages. 3.	Area in Bighas under cultivation. 4.	Proposed addition to the permanent Ministerial Staff. 5.
Doomaria -	1 Gumashta - 1 muharrir - 4 mutsuddes - 26 zilladers - 4 burkundazes -	572	24,503	1 gumashta. 1 muharrir. 4 burkundazes.
Dacca -	1 Gumashta - 1 muharrir - 3 mutsuddes - 19 zilladers - 4 burkundazes -	344	19,500	No addition to the ministerial staff.
Adapur -	1 Gumashta - 1 muharrir - 2 mutsuddes - 15 zilladers - 4 burkundazes -	261	13,500	Do. do.

The Kothi Doomaria as well as Dacca are much too large for the staff employed, but as the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent is contented with the increase suggested, I have nothing to say against it. The increase will be permanent, and the following items will make up his cost, viz. :—

	Rs.
1 Gumashta, 3rd grade, Rs. 30 per mensem	360
1 Muharrir, Rs. 8 per mensem	96
4 Burkundazes, Rs. 4 per mensem	192
Total	648 per annum.

Mr. Bryson has put down as Rs. 624. He also adds he requires as a permanency an additional Assistant Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, equivalent to Rs. 3,000 per annum.

3. If weighments and settlements are conducted as they are in the North-West Provinces, he would require four temporary extra assistants at Rs. 150 per mensem for six

weeks ; but he adds that if the experiment is to be on a small scale, he would require one assistant only, and no additional temporary ministerial staff. His estimate is not very clear or precise, but I take it that, in order to make an experiment at next weighment on a small scale, Mr. Bryson would require an extra assistant for one month only at a cost of Rs. 150, and no more. But for the introduction of the *assamiwar* system into his division, he would require an additional expense of—

	Rs.
Mufassal establishment - - - - -	648
1 assistant - - - - -	3,000
4 extra assistants during weighment and settlements, 2½ months, at Rs. 150 each - - - - -	1,500
Total - - - - -	<u>5,148</u>

6. *Patna*.—Mr. H. Blair reports that he would require for the experiment of next weighment one temporary assistant and one *muharrir* ; but if it is eventually decided to introduce the *assamiwar* system throughout Patna, he would require one permanent gazetted assistant and one temporary assistant during weighments, but no increase in permanent ministerial or menial staff will be necessary ; therefore the experiment will cost—

	Rs.
1 assistant, two months, at Rs. 150 per mensem - - - - -	300
1 muharrir, „ „ 10 „ - - - - -	20
Total - - - - -	<u>320</u>

The introduction of the *assamiwar* system will cost—

	Rs.
1 permanent gazetted assistant - - - - -	3,000
1 temporary assistant, two months - - - - -	300
Total - - - - -	<u>3,300</u>

I am of opinion that this estimate is faulty, and would add to it Rs. 250 for temporary ministerial establishment.

5. *Hajipur*.—Mr. W. Currie writes that for the introduction of the *assamiwar* system in his sub-agency no increase in the permanent staff will be necessary ; he would require a temporary assistant during weighments for two months, and also an assistant for two months for settlements and adjustments ; that is, temporary assistants for four months, four temporary *muharris* for two months for settlements and adjustments, six *muharris* for one month during measurement ; also two extra assistants to write the check weighment register at the time of weighments, two months if they have to be kept up.

	Rs.
1 assistant, four months - - - - -	600
2 extra assistants, two months, to write check register at weighment - - - - -	600
4 muharris for adjustment and settlement, for two months - - - - -	80
6 measurement <i>muharris</i> - - - - -	60
Total - - - - -	<u>1,340</u>

It would appear from this that Mr. Currie requires no assistance for *assamiwar* weighments, unless the check weighment register is introduced. This register would be hardly necessary in an experiment, as there will be many difficulties in the way of writing up the preliminary entries for each *assami* in each *khatta*. He has not explained, however, how he intends to write up the acquittance of each *raiayat* without the check register.

6. It will thus be seen that each of the sub-deputy opium agents consulted has his own view on the subject ; there can be hardly any doubt that Motihari with its very large kotees is not a promising field for an experiment of this sort. I believe in the

North-West Provinces kotees, where the *assamiwar* system is in vogue, seldom contain more than 8,000 bighas of poppy land. Hajipur and Patna will not be bad fields for the experiment, but I would strongly advocate that if it is decided to introduce the *assamiwar* system into Bihar, scales of establishment be laid down with reference to the existing state of affairs in the North-Western Provinces, for the sub-agencies in Bihar are so diverse in character and organisation that it is useless to expect that any uniform scale can be evolved from consulting the sub-deputy opium agents. There should be three scales—

1. 6,000 bighas and under.
2. Over 6,000 and under 12,000 bighas.
3. Over 12,000 bighas.

7. With reference to the *khurcha* levied in each sub-agency, and the causes of its variation, I am sorry to be able to give little information.

Patna.—*Khurcha* runs from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 2 per bigha in the eastern part of the district. In the west from annas 12 to Rs. 1-8.

Hajipur.—*Khurcha* is said to run from annas 12 to Rs. 1-4.

Motihari.—It is said to vary from annas 6 to annas 8 per bigha, but the sub-deputy opium agent adds that *khurcha* does not include all perquisites extorted.

Chapra.—Gives no information on the subject of *khurcha*.

Monghyr.—*Khurcha* is said to vary from annas 12 to Rs. 2.

Shahabad.—Rate varies from annas 12 to Rs. 1-8.

Tehra.—The same.

Aliganj.—*Khurcha* is said to be annas 8.

Gaya.—No return of *khurcha* given except for Burhi, where it varies from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 2-8.

Bettia.—No report received.

Tirhut.—It varies from annas 8 to Re. 1 per bigha; this *khurcha* appears to be levied in different ways, so that in some parts of Tirhut it rises to Rs. 2-8.

8. The causes of the variation in the rate of *khurcha* is a subject which has never yet been discussed. *Khurcha* is paid as a matter of course by all cultivators as if it were a legal tax, generally without murmur or complaint. Sometimes a new *khattadar* claims a higher rate and there is a row. Sometimes when the crop fails the raiyats claim to pay on the produce and not on the bigha. The general impression is that the rate has been mutually arranged by the cultivators and the *khattadar*, and has become a custom. It is found that Rajputs, Brahmans and Babhuns pay little or nothing, whilst Kurmis and Koeris pay the full rate; but whatever is paid in this shape is levied in shape of fees under the pretext of various acts of service performed by the *khattadar* for the cultivator, and also for payment of *russud* for Government officers. The rate for *russud* is dependent largely on the rank and number of officers who pass near the *khatta*. It would be better, if the *khattadars* are continued, which they seem bound to be under some designation or other, to lay down the fees and rates payable to them by the cultivators. If we do not do this, the person who holds the strings of the purse, himself liable to pressure, is bound to squeeze the cultivator to the full extent in his power, year by year increasing his demands: the limit of his rapacity is fixed only by the patience of his clients, his own prudence and desire to stand well with his neighbours. Either *khurcha* should be declared illegal, and the deduction of it from the funds in the hands of the *khattadars*, embezzlement, or it should be recognised as a legal cess, and a scale of fees leviable by the *khattadar* from the cultivators should be laid down. Thus fees for settlements, that is, when the *khattadar* represents all the cultivators of his *khatta* at a settlements, six pies per bigha if the *khatta* is situated less than five miles from the office and three pies for every five miles more. A similar fee might be leviable at second advances, at weighments and adjustments.

9. Having consulted all the sub-deputy opium agents of this agency on the subject of the introduction of the *assamiwar* system, I find that their estimates of the cost runs for each sub-agency from about Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 1,500 per annum. The chief item of cost is the permanent gazetted staff. Roughly, I should say we should require at least ten more assistants; their average pay alone would represent about Rs. 30,000 per annum. Temporary establishment would come to another Rs. 10,000. Permanent ministerial and menial officers would cost at least Rs. 5,000. Adding Rs. 1,000 for contingencies, I estimate that the total cost would be Rs. 46,000. This estimate is considerably

under what I first thought would be necessary, and would probably be susceptible of reduction when the details for each district are given. I have not deemed it necessary to go into details, for in my opinion it is desirable that the experiment suggested by his Honour should be first undertaken. The cost of it, according to reports received from Patna, Motihari, and Hajipur, will amount to Rs. 470 only, but this does not include contingencies, which I would put at another Rs. 100, making the total Rs. 570. With this sum sanctioned, I am prepared to undertake the experiment.

10. I would, however, point out that I would not advocate the introduction of the *assamiwar* system except as an optional system, for I consider the village or *khatta* system preferable. It is less expensive, more expeditious, and, if worked fairly and honestly, preferred by the cultivators themselves. It saves them an immensity of trouble, and enables them to cultivate very small areas, which I am afraid we should lose under the *assamiwar* system.

I here quote what some of my sub-deputy opium agents have reported.

Mr. Tytler of Aliganj reports :—

“His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, when on tour, spoke to me on the subject of this letter, and when asked what I thought would be the proportion of raiyats who would here prefer the *assamiwar* system, I suggested that half would prefer it, viz., those who had larger areas of good land, and half would dislike it owing to their lands being small in area and poorer. Since then, however, I have made inquiries in the district, and should say 90 per cent. would prefer the present system because of the inconvenience and loss of having to go in for their advances and payments themselves, for I presume they would have to do so, and as a result all the small plot holders would cut out the lands, and probably a certain number of those also who hold not very large plots, thus reducing the area under poppy very seriously, and when the full inconvenience began to be felt I should say the cultivation would fall by 30 per cent. or more, and therefore in reply to question (1) the expected cultivation would be bighas 28,000.

“The principle of the North-Western Provinces system is by far the fairest ; but what I wish to point out is that I fear it will not, for the reasons given, be popular, and will tend to decrease the cultivation rather than to increase it in this sub-division.”

Mr. Parrott of Monghyr reports :—

“In the North-Western Provinces formerly the first advances were always paid in a lump sum, and it is only recently the payments have been made to a certain extent *assamiwar*, and my own experience of the new system in the North-Western Provinces was that about 50 per cent. of the men did not come in at the time of settlements for *assamiwar* payments, and also that the *lumbardars* were not nearly so willing to act as *lumbardars*.”

Mr. Parrott is of opinion that if it is possible, which he is inclined to think it is not, it would be far better to have only *assamiwar* licences, and to do away with the *khattadar* altogether ; but he adds :—

“Our operations are too vast, I fear, for such an introduction.”

Mr. Christian of Shahabad writes :—

“In order that this system may be a success, we have to deal indirectly with each individual *assami*, and this, to my mind, is the greatest difficulty we would have to overcome in inaugurating the system in Bihar. The average holding and outturn of a raiyat in this agency are too small to make it worth his while travelling many miles to receive a few rupees. If this is forced on him, he would rather resign the cultivation than continue it.”

From these extracts you would see that the officers quoted have something else in their minds than the *assamiwar* system pure and simple, and it seems to me that it would be far better if Government leaves the matter as it stands, but so alter the rules that it may be optional whether the *khatta* system or the *assamiwar* is applied to any village or tract. In the Burhi sub-division in Hazaribagh a partial application of the *assamiwar* system has been introduced on the representation of the sub-deputy opium agent that the *khattadars* refused to settle and take licenses. The result has been successful to far, and I hope the experiment will throw some light on the subject, which will enable us to further develop it when the time for the next settlements comes round.

No. 1931-O., dated April 8, 1895.

From N. BONHAM-CARTER, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Revenue Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF REVENUE, Lower Provinces.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of the Board's No. 147-B., dated the 19th February 1895, submitting a report on the subject of the substitution of the *asamiwar* system for the *khatadari* system of opium cultivation now in force in Bihar, and in reply to say that the Lieutenant-Governor agrees in the Board's conclusions summed up in paragraph 12 of their letter, and desires that the orders contained in this office letter, No. 2543-O., dated the 7th December 1894, directing the introduction of the *asamiwar* system experimentally in some selected places in Bihar, should be held in abeyance pending a reference to the Government of India on the whole question, such as the Board recommend.

No. 4206-S.R., dated August 30, 1895.

From R. M. DANE, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

IN continuation of the letter from this Department, No. 3656-S.R., dated 31st July 1895, I am directed to communicate the orders of the Government of India upon the proposals submitted in your letter, No. 17-T.R., dated 18th April 1895, for the substitution in the Behar Agency of the *asamiwar* system of dealing direct with the poppy cultivators for the existing system of management through *khatadars* or intermediaries.

2. The general introduction of a system of *asamiwar* payment was strongly recommended by the Bengal Opium Commission of 1883, and the superiority of the Benares system to that of Behar was recognised by the Government of Bengal and by the Government of India, when the Report of the Commission was under their consideration. The *khatadar* system was, however, firmly established in Behar. The introduction of *asamiwar* payments would have necessitated increased expenditure upon establishments, and the practical difficulties which stood in the way of a change were great. Existing arrangements were therefore allowed to continue, and in the Behar Agency up to the present time all transactions with the cultivators, including payments for the opium delivered are conducted through the agency of the *khatadars*.

3. The defects of the *khatadari* system were, it is now reported, brought prominently to the notice of the Lieutenant-Governor during his tour in Behar in the past cold weather, and Sir C. Elliott urges strongly the desirability of effecting such reforms as will be sufficient to protect the cultivators from exactions, and to secure to the more industrious and capable among them a full return for their labour. The Royal Opium Commission also, in paragraph 192 of their final Report, have expressed an opinion to the effect that the full development in the Benares Agency of the system of dealing direct with the cultivators and the extension of the same system to the Behar Agency are reforms which are desirable in themselves, and which are required in the interests of the poppy cultivators. In your letter it appears to be assumed that the system of direct dealing with the cultivators in all matters obtains throughout the Benares Agency, but this, as the Royal Opium Commission have recognised, is not the case. The *lambardar*, as stated by the Board in paragraph 4 of their letter, No. 147-B., dated 19th February 1895, still pays an important part in the negotiation of the settlement and distribution of advances to cultivators in that Agency. Payment for opium delivered is, it is said, made separately to each cultivator, and advances are given to the cultivators direct, as far as possible, but the system of direct dealing is evidently far from complete, and in considering proposals for reform in the Behar Agency, it is important that this fact should be borne in mind.

4. His Excellency the Governor-General in Council has given careful consideration to the question, and has satisfied himself that some reform is necessary and that its introduction should be no longer delayed. The Lieutenant-Governor suggests that the *Khatadari* system should not be abolished, but should be made optional, and recommends that, to enable Government to arrive at a decision, a Committee of Inquiry should be formed to visit each opium sub-division in the Behar Agency, and report what number of cultivators would prefer to deal with Government direct, what number wish to remain under *khatadars*, and what quantity of opium each class represents, and also what

remuneration should in future be allowed to *khatadars*, wherever they may be retained, and what increase of establishment will be required. The suggestion that the *khatadari* system may be made optional commends itself to the Government of India, but the formation of a Committee of Enquiry to ascertain the wishes of the cultivators appears to be unnecessary. An enquiry of the kind would take time and cost money, and would probably produce an unsettling effect upon the cultivators. The subject also has already been fully enquired into, and it is doubtful whether the decision of Government would be materially assisted by the Committee's report. An enquiry to ascertain (1) what modifications should be made in the *khatadari* system in so far as it may be retained and what remuneration should in future be allowed to the *khatadar*, and (2) what increase of establishment and what additional office buildings will be required in each opium subdivision, would not be open to the same objections: but no enquiry affecting the Agency as a whole appears at present to be necessary. The desirability of introducing as soon as this may be practicable a system of *asamiwar* payment at the option of the cultivator into the Behar Agency, and of developing throughout both Agencies the system of direct dealing for settlements and advances as well as for payments, in so far as the cultivators may themselves desire this, may be regarded as established, and the possibility of working in Behar a system of *asamiwar* payment can be tested most satisfactorily by experiment.

5. His Excellency the Governor-General in Council accordingly authorises the Lieutenant-Governor to introduce as an experiment in one or two selected subdivisions the system which he proposes of making payment for opium delivered either direct or through a representative at the option of the cultivator concerned. For purposes of the experiment subdivisions should be selected, of which the officers in charge are acquainted with, and believe in the superiority of, the Benares system. The *khatadari* system, as the Lieutenant-Governor points out, is convenient for cultivators growing small patches of poppy and producing only a trifling quantity of opium; and if the system were entirely abolished, there would be a great risk of cultivators of this class giving up the cultivation on account of the time and trouble involved in personal attendance before officers of the Opium Department. There seems, however, to be no reason why the two methods of payment should not be worked together side by side, and if *asamiwar* payments succeed, *asamiwar* settlements and advances may also be attempted. The objections urged by the Board to the introduction of a partial and gradual change of system have not been overlooked, but the *asamiwar* system of payment was introduced gradually in Benares, and with good management it ought to be possible to introduce gradually the same principle and practice in Behar. I am to request therefore that detailed proposals to give effect to the measure now sanctioned may be submitted for the approval of the Government of India, but this requirement need not delay the carrying out of the proposals sanctioned in this letter. Any enquiry that may be found necessary in regard to the remuneration of *khatadars* or increase of establishments and construction of additional buildings in the subdivisions in which the experiment is tried, should be conducted by or under the direction of the officers in charge as an ordinary part of their departmental work.

6. The experiment will be a limited one so far as area is concerned, and it is desirable therefore that every chance should be given to it, so that the experience gained may be useful for the determination of the propriety of introducing the same system generally throughout the Agency, of its cost, its effect upon cultivation, and the amount of establishments which will be required to work it.

Appendix B. to Despatch No. 305 of 1895.

COLLECTION of EXTRACTS from Replies, received to the Interrogatories issued by the ROYAL OPIUM COMMISSION, from the STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, HONG-KONG, and CHINA, bearing upon the question of the relative effects of opium-smoking and opium-eating.

The Straits Settlements.

1. Mr. T. S. Kerr, M.B., C.M., Acting Principal Civil Medical Officer; ten years in medical service of the Straits Settlements:—

“I believe the effects of eating the drug to be more marked than those of smoking. This is perhaps specially noticeable if from any cause the consumer is suddenly deprived of his drug. The smoker recovers more rapidly than the eater.”

2. Dr. W. Gilmore Ellis, M.D., M.R.C.S., Medical Superintendent of the Lunatic Asylum; six years resident in the Straits :—

“Opium eating or drinking undoubtedly does act harmfully, both upon the physical and mental condition, if taken to any extent, more especially because the amount of opium required is likely to increase from day to day, and the consumer becomes an opium sot. On the other hand, but a comparatively few opium smokers become sots, the large majority regularly smoking a small amount which, if not beneficial, is certainly not harmful to them.”

3. The Honourable H. A. O'Brien, Straits Civil Service, Acting Auditor General; resident eighteen years in the Straits Settlements :—

“I draw a strong distinction between the use of opium in the form of chandu smoked in a pipe and all other uses of the drug.

“There is a radical misconception, in my opinion, in this respect on the part of those who are interested in ‘the opium question’ both in Europe and America. The only forms of use and abuse of the drug there known are those of its alkaloids taken by injection, or of preparations of opium taken by the mouth.

“In these forms once the habit of use is established there is, without doubt, an imperative physical necessity for periodical increases in the amount so used; and although the amounts of increase and the terms of periodicity vary with the individual consumer, the result, it cannot be denied, is, in the vast majority of cases, eventually disastrous.

“But such, in my experience (and the subject, I may say, is one which has engaged my attention for nearly 20 years), is not the case as regards opium, in the form of prepared chandu, used by the Chinese in a pipe. That the average Chinese coolie will smoke all the opium he can get is, I fear, an unquestionable fact, and opium smoked as chandu to excess is followed by all the deplorable results which accompany the abuse of opium in other forms.

“But even in cases of excess here the time at which digestive and nervous derangement exhibits itself seems to me to be a late one, as compared with the results of excesses in the drug otherwise abused.

“The point, however, which I would insist upon is that an opium smoker can go on smoking daily the same moderate amount of chandu for a term of years, which seems to be limited only by the span of life, with undisturbed mental and bodily sanity. I need not cite instances, for they are to be seen at every turn in the colony.”

4. Dr. M. J. Wright, Acting State Surgeon, Perak :—

“The usual preparations used for smoking are by a few habitually eaten instead. The so-called ‘cures’ for the opium smoking habit in the shape of pills, &c., containing morphia to a large extent are getting to be more commonly used and do more harm than good. Opium introduced in the system through the stomach is also injurious, especially in the shape of ‘cures,’ but not to the same extent as morphia injections.

* * * * *

“Smoking is the least harmful way of using opium. There are circumstances connected with its preparation into a form ready for smoking and the large profits made by those who retail it to which I think insufficient weight has been attached. They are important facts which modify the action of this drug and explain to my mind how smoking is not so injurious. No one smokes the crude opium taken direct from the ball, but it first goes through a long process of ‘cooking’ and is then sold as chandu and tangko. Chandu is an extract of opium of varying and uncertain strength. Tangko is the refuse collected from the pipes recooked with the addition of a little fresh opium, &c.

Hong Kong.

5. Mr. J. H. Wodehouse, Police Magistrate :—

“It is generally understood that the eating of opium is more injurious than the smoking of it; but the difference is relative and not actual.”

6. Extract from Report of Mr. H. McCallum, Government Analyst, Hong-Kong, dated 6th March 1881, forwarded with evidence of Mr. Ph. B. C. Ayres, C.M.G., Colonial Surgeon :—

“The morphine value of the different preparations of opium depend chiefly on the amount of extract yielded by and the per-centage of morphine present in the crude opium from which they were prepared. Now, as opium varies considerably in this respect, the preparations thereof will vary accordingly. There is also more or less loss

of morphine during the preparation of smoking extract, the loss being greater the longer it is submitted to moist heat and the higher the temperature. Making due allowance for variations from these causes, the results obtained from the different kinds examined, and stated below, may be taken to fairly represent their average per-centages of morphine:—

“Indian opium, average morphine value of . . . 5 to 8 per cent.

“Indian opium, quantity of smoking extracts yielded by . . . 70 to 80 per cent.

“First quality of prepared opium from Hong Kong opium farm yielded 5·86 per cent. morphine.

“Second quality of prepared opium from Hong Kong opium farm yielded 7·30 per cent. morphine.

“Cake prepared opium from a coolie smoking house, said to have been prepared from opium dross, yielded 6·23 per cent. morphine.

“Opium dross (scrapings from opium pipe) yielded 4·76 per cent. morphine.

“Opium dross, average quantity of extract yielded by 65 to 70 per cent.

“It is generally assumed that the effect of smoking opium is similar to that of eating, and that this is principally due to the morphine it contains; this assumption appears very problematical when the following facts are taken in consideration:—

“1st.—That Indian opium is the kind most prized by smokers, and it is characterised by its usually low per-centage of morphine.

“2nd.—That the Chinese estimate the value of opium according to flavour and the quantity of extract it yields.

“3rd.—The mode of preparing smoking extract tends to the destruction of morphine.

“4th.—The large quantity which can be smoked without any apparent toxic effect not only by habitual smokers, but also by beginners.

“5th.—There is no authentic case of acute poisoning from opium smoking.

“An experiment has been made bearing on this point, and although not conclusive, it is confirmatory of the idea that morphine is not the active agent which gives pleasure to the opium smoker.

“The following tabulated statement explains and gives the result of experiment:—

Description of Samples of Prepared Opium submitted for Trial.	Opinion of a Chinese Expert in one of the Opium Firms, Hong Kong.	Opinion of a Nine Years' Opium Smoker.
No. 1. Prepared opium from opium farm.	Is fairly good; is a mixture of Bengal opium and something else.	Good.
No. 2. Prepared opium minus morphine.	Is black and coarse; smell fairly good; is not opium.	Not very good.
No. 3. No. 1 with 10 per cent. morphine added.	Coarse, but can be smoked; contains opium with some other mixture; is not so good as No. 1.	Same as No. 1.
No. 4. No. 1 with 20 per cent. morphine added.	Very coarse and black; burns like charcoal; contains no opium.	Fairly good, but not so good as No. 1 and No. 3.

“The prepared opium minus morphine was made from Patna opium, having as little as possible of the other opium constituents removed with the morphine.

“The samples were submitted without any remark, beyond desiring an opinion as to quality.

“A second trial was made with similar results:—

Description of Samples of Prepared Opium submitted for Trial.	Opinion of a Chinese expert in one of the Opium Firms, Hong Kong.	Opinion of a Nine Years' Opium Smoker.
No. 1. Opium farm prepared opium contains 7 per cent. morphine.	Appearance coarse, and when burnt becomes black and hard; it is Bengal drug, but not pure; it is mixed with some other stuff, and has no taste.	Very good.
No. 2. No. 1 with 15 per cent. morphine added.	Burns very quick, and has no taste or smell of opium at all. Colour red and coarse when burnt; gives out plenty of smoke, and leaves simply ash and no opium to smoke.	Same as No. 1.
No. 3. No. 1 with 25 per cent. morphine added.	Just like No. 2, only a shade better	Not good.
No. 4. Prepared opium minus morphine.	When applied to the light burns like opium, but in a moment it burns quite black, and the dross leaves a bad smell; when burning, gives out strong smoke.	Same as No. 1.

"It will be observed that the Chinese expert bases his opinion on the physical appearance of the extract, its behaviour in the flame of the lamp and its smell, not on its effect when smoked. The nine years' opium smoker apparently judged of its quality in a somewhat similar manner; but as he actually smoked a considerable quantity of each, viz., nearly a quarter of an ounce of each of those to which morphine had been added, and over two ounces of No. 4 in the second table, his opinion is considered of most value. At my request he got some of his friends to try No. 4 in the second table, and they agreed with him that it was good. On one occasion, in about 12 hours, he smoked a quantity of opium to which morphine had been added, equal to at least 20 grains of morphine.

"If the effects of opium smoking are similar to those of opium eating, and morphine the active agent, it can only be said, regarding the former mode of using the drug, that a more elaborate, troublesome, wasteful and expensive method could scarcely be devised to obtain a minimum of effect from a maximum of power."

7. Mr. E. N. Belilios, merchant :—

"Consumers chiefly smoke opium. It is least harmless when consumed in this manner. When eaten without sufficient food being taken afterwards, it causes emaciation, but with sufficient food consumers increase in weight."

8. Mr. W. Edward Crow, Government Analyst, Hong Kong :—

"The confirmed opium smoker has a craving for his pipe, a small dose of opium or morphine, or a hypodermic injection of a solution of morphine appears to satisfy that craving, but in course of time the internal dose by the mouth or the hypodermic injection has to be increased in strength. The man who takes his pipe of opium regularly does not appear to suffer in health. The man who has regular morphine injections unquestionably does. I cannot believe that the regular taking by the mouth of doses of opium or morphine is harmless."

China.

9. Dr. B. C. Atterbury, Peking :—

"*Methods of use.*—Usually smoking the drug. If occupation does not allow time for smoking, it is taken as a fluid or solid extract. Ashes from pipes also used by those demanding the cheapest and strongest effects. Effects worse when eaten than smoked."

10. Rev. George Owen, Peking, 28 years a missionary of the London Missionary Society in China :—

"Poor people also, who cannot afford the pipe, eat and drink opium, the drug being more powerful thus taken than when smoked."

* * * * *

"He was not only an opium smoker, but an opium eater, which is worse."

11. Rev. Evan Bryant, Peking, missionary of the London Missionary Society :—

"In China smoking seems to be the more common method of consuming opium, but eating it is also not uncommon, especially in Shansi and Shensi. I never heard of the Chinese drinking any decoction of the drug, except for purpose of suicide. As a non-medical man I can only state, respecting the different effects of these two methods, what the Chinese consumers say, viz., that opium eaten is stronger in its effects on the system than opium smoked."

12. Dr. J. Edkins, D.D., Translator in the Imperial Maritime Customs, Shanghai, engaged as a missionary for about 30 years :—

"The effects of eating opium are much worse than the effects of smoking it."

* * * * *

"Persons who are so unfortunate are likely to fall through poverty into the habit of eating opium or opium ash. Then they suffer most severely."

13. Mr. Robert Francis, a merchant of over 40 years' experience, Shanghai :—

"Opium is smoked in 99 cases out of 100. In this form it is least hurtful."

14. Rev. George Andrew, a member of the China Inland Mission, for some years resident in the province of Kuei Chou Chinkiang :—

"Eating, compared with smoking, is far worse in its effects, and is resorted to when the smoker becomes too poor to purchase the quantity required for smoking, or cannot gain access to his pipe."

15. Mr. George Arthur Cox, L.R.C.P. and L.R.C.S. Edinburgh, China Inland Mission (at present at Chinkiang); seventh year in China :—

“I should say it would be difficult to distinguish between the effects of each, unless that it is generally more difficult for those who eat opium to break off the habit.”

16. Mr. C. C. De Burgh Daly, M.B., B.Ch. University Dublin, in charge of Church Missionary Society's Hospital in Ningpo for seven years, medical officer, Her Britannic Majesty's consulate and I. M. Customs, Newchang :—

“Without doubt, the injection hypodermically of morphia, or the eating of opium in any form is more injurious to health than smoking opium.”

17. Mr. D. Christie, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., Edinburgh, Medical Missionary, United Presbyterian Church of Scotland (at present in Manchuria); thirteen years' experience in China :—

“The method of using opium here is chiefly smoking. Opium pills, and foreign morphia tabloids are taken as a more convenient form. Many of the poor drink an infusion made from the ashes and scrapings of the pipe. Of these methods smoking is, in my opinion, the least harmful, as some of the alkaloids of opium are volatilised by the heat and do not enter the system.”

18. Mr. T. Watters, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Foochow :—

“According to the Chinese, smoking is the least injurious of all the ways of taking opium.”

19. Dr. Etr. Von Tunzelmann, M.B. London, M.R.C.S. England, Medical Officer I.C. Customs, Chefoo, and in charge of the Anglican Mission Hospital :—

“Consumers chiefly smoke opium. The effects of eating opium or of drinking a decoction of opium, themselves indistinguishable, are much more marked.”

20. Dr. A. W. Douthwaite, M.D., Chefoo, 20 years engaged in the practice of medicine among the Chinese :—

“The injurious effect of eating opium is far greater than that of smoking; in fact, when undertaking the care of opium *habitués*, I always consider that one dram swallowed will require the same treatment as three drams smoked.”

21. Rev. Dr. Corbett, Chefoo; 30 years' experience in the province of Shantung :—

“Chiefly smoke. Those who are pressed for time or wish to keep the fact concealed eat opium. A few are said to drink a decoction of opium. Smoking is said to be less trying on the constitution than taking it in any other form. The ashes used by the poor is regarded as the worst of all.”

22. Dr. Thomas Gillison, M.B., C.M. (Edinburgh); resident in China for nine years (Hankow); in charge of a hospital in which he has treated some 1,500 to 2,000 opium smokers :—

“The Chinese look upon swallowing as more hurtful than smoking, and say it is more constipating.”

23. Dr. John Rigg, M.B., C.M. Edinburgh, Church Missionary Society, Kien-Ning Fu, Foochow, China :—

“The opium-eater is more difficult to cure of the habit than the opium-smoker, and more apt to relapse.”

24. Dr. J. J. Underwood, M.B., C.M., L.R.C.S.E., Medical Attendant to Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consulate, Pagoda Island :—

“Consumers nearly always smoke the opium, although in some rare cases they eat it, when it is much more injurious to the digestive and secreting organs generally.”

25. Mr. R. W. Hurst, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Tainan :—

“Opium is almost universally smoked, cases of eating the drug being very rare. The effects in whichever form it was taken would probably not differ materially in character, though the latter would unquestionably be more noxious.”

26. Dr. W. W. Myers, M.B., Medical Officer, His Imperial Chinese Majesty's Customs, Tainan, and Port Medical Officer :—

“Except as a temporary substitute, occasionally taken when time or other conditions do not permit of the pipe being used, the Chinese certainly do not habitually eat opium, decidedly preferring to smoke it, believing the latter method to be the less likely to do injury. In this they are undoubtedly right. For suicidal purposes solutions of opium are used, but not, as far as I am aware, in any other case.”

* * * *

Dr. Tanner, in his standard work on practice of medicine, suggests, in the case of confirmed dipsomaniacs, the substitution of opium-eating for wine-bibbing as the lesser of the two evils. Opium eating, however, seems to me to stand on a very different footing from smoking. It would appear that when taken by the stomach incessant and cumulative craving is much sooner set up; that rapid increase of dose is absolutely necessary; and that the drug soon obtains the mastery, concentrating, both in time and vigour, its most disastrous effects. Except at advanced stages of the opium-smoker's career, one does not hear of sufferings and other manifestations, such as have been so graphically depicted by De Quincey; but at a very early period the opium-eater begins to complain and show marked symptoms of the sad effects of his vice. I have had some opportunity of contrasting the two effects, and I feel justified in asserting that smoking as compared with eating opium is as different as the excesses of the *bon vivant* are from chronic, hopeless dipsomania. The smoker may after a comparatively long period reap the painful fruits of his indiscretion; with the eater the consequences begin almost directly.

27. Mr. E. H. Fraser, Acting Consul, Chung King :—

"Beggars eat opium ashes, and opium smokers, when pressed for time, take small pellets of opium, which are given also for diarrhoea and indigestion. The decoction is used only by intending suicides. Eating is said to have a more deleterious effect than smoking."

28. Mr. Cecil J. Davenport, F.R.C.S.E., London Mission, Chungking, West China :—

"The Chinese themselves look upon eating as a worse vice than smoking, and one which produces a worse effect. They themselves say they can tell an 'eater' from a 'smoker' by his colour, he being more of a dirty yellow."

N.B.—Besides the above, there are passages which compare the effects of eating opium ash or morphia pills with opium smoking. They have not been extracted.

Appendix C. to Despatch No. 305 of 1895.

EXTRACTS from opinions recently expressed in EXCISE and OPIUM REPORTS by LOCAL GOVERNMENTS and by officers in charge of the EXCISE ADMINISTRATION in different PROVINCES as to the effect which has been produced upon the habit of opium-smoking in INDIA by the prohibition of the consumption of opium upon licensed premises.

1891-92.

1. Mr. T. Stoker, Excise Commissioner, North-Western Provinces and Oudh :—

"It is impossible to say how far the real consumption of *chandru* was affected as it was transferred to private houses and unlicensed saloons. It seems to me quite impossible to doubt the correctness of the general anticipation that *chandru*-smoking will henceforth be carried on in private, and that the necessary facilities for it will be forthcoming as long as the present race of *chandru*-smokers exists. It is in fact stated that such places have at once sprung up in many towns. Indiscreet public utterances have probably helped to inform those concerned that the congregation of *chandru*-smokers in premises equipped for the purpose cannot be suppressed unless some contravention of the law can be proved. It is also, I fear, certain that even more than before of the opium used in the manufacture of *chandru* will be illicit. At the same time I have no doubt that the prohibition of licensed smoking saloons was an eminently right, and I believe a beneficial, measure. It might be too much to hope that any one who has already acquired the habit will now abandon it, but we may reasonably expect that the number of fresh recruits will become less and by degrees the practice will diminish. At any rate the experiment is worth trying. The vice is one at present confined to a limited number of large towns, and if its spread can be checked it may in time become even more restricted as the present generation dies out. If this result is gained it will not be dearly purchased by the disappearance of this item from the revenue receipts."

2. Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces and Oudh :—

"Mr. Stoker has no doubt that the abolition of licensed smoking saloons is an altogether beneficial measure, and that it is certainly an experiment worth trying. Those who are opposed to it feared that *chandru*-smokers, when driven to gratify their tastes at home, would corrupt the young; and some intelligent natives have declared

that the new system has already been injurious to women, who are tempted now to accustom themselves to an indulgence which was previously enjoyed by their relations away from home. However this may be, there can be no question, that during the last ten years the temptations to indulge in this vice have been steadily reduced."

3. Resolution of the Government of the North Western Provinces and Oudh on the Excise Report for 1891-2 :—

"The Commissioner considers that the prohibition was an eminently right and beneficial measure; but apprehends that for some time to come *chandu*-smoking will be carried on in private unlicensed houses under conditions which do not create an offence against the existing law."

1892-93.

4. Mr. K. G. Gupta, Excise Commissioner, Bengal :—

"Licenses for the retail sale of *madak* were taken out in 35 districts against 36 in the preceding year. The total number of licenses issued during the year was 263, and the amount of revenue realised Rs. 79,659, as compared with 302 licenses issued, and Rs. 86,343 received in 1891-92, showing a decrease of 39 in the number of licenses, and of Rs. 6,684 in revenue. This result was not unexpected, and was mainly due to the orders prohibiting consumption of the drug on the premises of the licensed shops, and reducing the limit of retail sale from five tola to one tola. Several shops could not be settled at all, and others had to be let at reduced fees. But the liberty to manufacture at home remained, though the limit of possession was reduced, and this was calculated to lead, now that there was no opportunity to go to a public shop and meet fellow-consumers, to the establishment of private dens not open to Government supervision, and away from public view. The consequence was that the revenue suffered without any corresponding gain to the cause of temperance. To counteract this evil, a further step has recently been taken prohibiting the manufacture of *madak*, even for domestic use, without a special license on a fixed fee of Rs. 50 per annum. It is hoped that this step will tend to raise the value of the licensed shops. The effects of the measure will be watched; but the fee is felt to be prohibitive, for the consumers do not generally belong to the well-to-do classes, and the amount is beyond the means of most of them."

5. Mr. T. Stoker, Excise Commissioner, North-Western Provinces and Oudh :—

"Another attempt is now being made to limit and restrict the habit by preventing the sale of opium-smoking preparations and the public congregation of opium smokers on licensed premises. So far the results have been inconclusive. In all large towns where the habit prevails, private clubs and unlicensed saloons have been opened, where people are known to assemble and smoke opium. These places are kept under supervision and such measures as are possible are taken to prevent and punish infractions of the law. It is found, however, extremely difficult to obtain judicial proof of illegal practices, however strong suspicion may be, while even very heavy sentences do not seem to exercise a permanently deterrent effect on those who live by the business. There is also the further danger that the suppression of all public places of meeting may be followed by the spread of the habit in domestic life. It would be premature, without a much longer experience, to form an opinion as to the success of the present regulations. I am myself hopeful that they may lead to good results. But it would be equally premature at present to pronounce a final obituary on the licensing system."

6. Board of Revenue, North-Western Provinces and Oudh :—

"*Madak* and *chandu* shops have now been altogether abolished in the provinces, but no attempt can at present be made to estimate the results of this measure. The prevalence of smoking-saloons is a natural result of the prohibition of consumption on the premises, and it is probably better that people should smoke *chandu* away from their homes."

7. Mr. T. Gordon Walker, Excise Commissioner, Punjab :—

"In the Government Review of the last report it was remarked (paragraph 9): 'It is strange that the effect of the withdrawal of opium-smoking licenses is not mentioned in the Commissioner's report.' The subject was not referred to because it appeared to me that there was nothing new to say with regard to it. It may however be useful to recapitulate here what has been done in the matter. The practice was never allowed to take root in the Punjab, being confined, even when licenses were allowed, almost entirely

to down country people of the servant and camp follower classes. It is not at all unlikely that it would have spread if timely measures had not been taken by the withdrawal of the licenses. In 1888-89 there were licensed shops at twelve centres, but these were all closed in that and the succeeding year; and since 1st April 1890, the licensing of premises for the purpose has ceased throughout the Punjab. The vice is not one that can be easily acquired, nor can it on the other hand be easily dropped. Having got rid of licensed 'opium dens' it remained for us to deal with private and unauthorised gatherings in '*chandu-khanas*' for the purpose of opium-smoking. The only measure of a general character which has been (or indeed could be) taken is the reduction of the quantity of *madak* or *chandu* which can legally be manufactured or possessed by an individual. Under the rules as recently altered no person can now manufacture or possess these preparations in a quantity exceeding one tola in weight. This measure cannot but have a repressive effect. It seems likely, however, that persons who are inveterately addicted to the vice will find out a way of indulging in it, although we have done our best to make such indulgence very difficult and troublesome. The number of such persons is limited; and I believe that the practice will to all intents and purposes die out within a few years. Deputy Commissioners are asked to notice the subject specially in their reports, and a separate sheet with printed heading is provided for the purpose. The remarks made are usually to the effect: opium-smoking does not prevail in this district (Jullunder and Gurdaspur—the remarks are identical for both). The districts in which the practice did exist may be specially noticed. The Deputy Commissioner, Delhi, writes:—'*Madak* is not used in this district and the *chandu*-shops were closed on 1st April 1885, much to the discouragement of *chandu*-smoking. The practice is, however, still believed to be carried on to a certain extent in private houses, but it is not possible to obtain any reliable statistics in this connexion. During the year under report three persons were sent up for trial on the charge of selling *chandu*, resulting in two acquittals and one conviction.'

Amballa Report.

The *madak* and *chandu* shops in the Amballa city and cantonment were closed in 1889-90. The loss from closing these shops has not been noticed, as our income from opium increased in other ways.

The practice of opium-smoking prevails very little in the district.

Simla Report.

Madak-smoking was not known in this district. The practice of using opium in the form known as *chandu* was carried on to a considerable extent, though since the closing of such shops the practice has ceased in public. It is believed, however, that it is still carried on by its former votaries in private.

Mooltan Report.

The practice of opium smoking is still indulged in to some extent surreptitiously under the excuse of friendly gatherings. Raids are made from time to time when information is received of the existence of a public "*chandu-khana*," as a rule with small success; and I doubt if opium smoking in public is now practised to any great extent, though there is reason to believe that privately the consumption of *chandu* is as great as ever, men now simply smoking at home, who formerly were regular frequenters of the opium den. There were five cases of possessing more than the prescribed quantity, and of illegal sale of *chandu*, and four of the offenders were convicted and fined.

Lahore Report.

The practice still prevails among domestic servants and Hindustanis in Lahore and Mian Mir. More Muhammadans than Hindus are addicted to it. *Madak* and *chandy* are prepared by secret agents of consumers. One such agent (a woman) was convicted and punished in May last, and other (a man) in February last. The recent alteration in the law as to the quantity which can be possessed without license will render the task of suppressing these agents less difficult.

Amritsar Report.

The practice of opium smoking is largely carried on in private houses. Seven cases were reported last year of opium smoking in public shops and houses. It is hoped that the recent reduction in the amount of *madak* and *chandu* which a person may possess without breaking the law from three tolas to one tola will have salutary effect later on in discouraging the practice of opium smoking.

Sialkot Report.

The practice of opium smoking still obtains to some extent amongst people of the lower classes. One case was brought to light during the year in which the prosecution was successful.

Until the smoking of opium in the company of 10 persons or so is made an offence, it is feared the practice will not receive a check.

Peshawar Report.

The practice of opium smoking still prevails in this district, but is chiefly resorted to by persons collected for the purpose in private houses in the city and cantonments. Reducing the quantity of intoxicating drugs, which may be legally in the possession of an individual, from a maximum of three tolas to one tola, may check the practice of opium smoking, which is carried on to a slight extent only in this district.

Dera Ismail Khan Report.

No perceptible change is observable as regards the practice of opium smoking which still continues in a greater or less degree. The opium rules introduced by Punjab Government Notification No. 126, dated 28th November 1892, will probably result in further checking the practice, but as those rules were only recently introduced it is difficult to give any positive opinion as to their effect at present.

Dera Ghazi Khan Report.

The *chandu* and *madak* shops that existed in this district were closed in April 1889. As reported last year, the closure of these shops has led to no diminution in the income from the sale of opium. A few people do take to opium smoking, but the closure of the shops has removed the temptation that lay in the way of inexperienced young men. At the same time there are grounds for believing that a number of private *chandu-khanas* do exist, but their sales cannot be large in the face of the strict supervision that is exercised by the excise officials. In fact, it may be said with some degree of accuracy, that whatever unauthorised sales of *chandu* do take place are effected with those persons who having been long accustomed to its use cannot now give it up, but who, being devoid of sufficient energy to prepare it themselves, perforce buy it from others.

8. Financial Commissioner, Punjab.

"The excise commissioner has treated the subject of opium smoking and the use of *madak* and *chandu* at length in paragraph 28 of the report. Mr. Ogilvie thinks that the action of Government must be confined to refusing licences for the sale of these compounds, and to the repression of their use in any public place. The private action of persons in regard to the use of these preparations and to the practice of opium smoking cannot be made subject to the interference of Government, but it is to be hoped that private indulgence in practices which are exposed to public repression will gradually cease."

9. Resolution of the Government of the Punjab on the Excise Report for 1892-93.

"The reports regarding the effect of the measures adopted against opium smoking are satisfactory. In suppressing the establishments in which, as a matter of business, facilities were provided for those already disposed to smoke opium, and temptations were held out to others to acquire the practice, and limiting to one tola the amount of any preparation of opium which a private person may possess, we have gone as far as, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, it is legitimate for a Government, and especially for a foreign Government like ours, to go towards repressing a vice of this kind. If, as has been suggested by some, we were to attempt to interfere with the smoking of opium in private houses, the remedy would be infinitely worse than the disease."

10. Mr. H. V. Drake-Brockman, Excise Commissioner, Central Provinces.

"In respect of *madak* the deputy commissioners, Wardha and Hoshangabad, appear to think that the effect has been good, while the others fear that the prohibition is practically evaded by the meeting of smokers in private dens where they illicitly manufacture for themselves. Mr. Cook states in the Damoh Report that a contractor in Jubbulpore city was known to have issued *madak* to prostitutes in Sadar Bazaar for consumption in their houses by those who resorted to them, and allowed a commission on the number of balls sold. My own view is that the prohibition has done and will continue to do good, inasmuch as it indicates plainly that *madak* smoking is disapproved of by Government, and will be discouraged even at the cost of some loss in revenue. This with the steady spread of education must increase the obstacles to be overcome by a would-be beginner of the practice, and those obstacles are already considerable, for the great mass of respectable native opinion is undoubtedly condemnatory of the habit. From inquiries made in different places during the past year, I have reason to believe that youths verging on manhood are induced to start smoking *madak* because it acts—at all events till its use becomes habitual—as an aphrodisiac; the policy now followed should certainly lead to a diminution in the numbers of this class of recruit."

11. Resolution of the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, on the Excise Report for 1892-93.

"In paragraph 26 of his report, Mr. Drake-Brockman has some remarks on the effect of the orders of 1890, which prohibited the consumption of intoxicating drugs on the premises of licensed vendors. As to the utility of the prohibition there is a good deal of difference of opinion among district officers, but the officiating chief commissioner thinks that there is much truth in the remarks of the Commissioner of Excise on this point.

"Mr. Woodburn is indeed inclined to go further than this, for he thinks that all respectable native opinion is opposed to the habit which is known to be most harmful and ultimately ruinous to those who indulge in it. It would be well, he thinks, if the obstacles in the way of "would-be beginners," of which Mr. Drake-Brockman speaks, could be made even greater than they are, and he would be glad if the Commissioner of Excise would consider whether this is practicable without inquisitorial interference with the private life of the people. A system of obliging each *madak* smoker to provide himself with an annual license to purchase the drug has, it is believed, been found effective elsewhere, and opinion might be invited as to the expediency of the introduction of such a measure in the Central Provinces."

1893-94.

12. Board of Revenue, Bengal.

"*Madak* is a Bengali preparation of opium for smoking, and it is largely prepared in the district of Maldah and in Cuttack and Murshidabad.

Madak. There was an increase in the number of licenses from 264 to 315, but this increase was not accompanied by a rise in the revenue, which on the contrary declined from Rs. 79,689 to Rs. 78,379. The largest decrease occurred in Calcutta, and it is said to have been due to the prohibition of the smoking of preparations of opium on the premises of licensed shops. Considerable restrictions have lately been imposed on the consumption of this article as well as of *chandu*. In the first place, smoking in licensed premises has been prohibited absolutely, compelling habitual smokers either to resort to unlicensed places, or to indulge in the habit in the presence of their family, or to eschew it altogether. The limit of retail sale and of private possession has been reduced to one tola, and no one can manufacture even this quantity without a special license, the fee for which has been fixed at Rs. 50. All these measures seem to have reduced the value of licences on the one hand, and encouraged illicit dealings on the other, without in the least decreasing the smoking of *madak*. The number of cases for unlicensed manufacture of the article rose from 11 in 1892-93 to 837 in 1893-94, and as regards the special license, only one such was taken during the year. It was in the district of Shahabad.

Chandu is a Chinese preparation of opium which is smoked mostly by the Chinese in Calcutta and in Chittagong. Though the number of licenses increased from 71 to 73, there was a further decline in revenue during the year from Rs. 31,032 to Rs. 24,476, the average fee per license being Rs. 437 and Rs. 335, respectively, in 1892-93 and 1893-94. In Calcutta

alone the decrease amounted to Rs. 6,150. It is clear that the orders prohibiting smoking on the premises of licensed shops have injured the revenue by decreasing the value of licenses, while the measure has been extremely inconvenient to consumers and has only driven them to unlicensed premises.

13. Mr. T. Stoker, Excise Commissioner, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

"No licenses were granted for the manufacture or sale of *chandu* or *madak* and no premises were licensed for opium smoking during the year. It is impossible to say how far the habit of opium smoking has been checked by the present policy of repression. There is abundant evidence that it continues in all those large towns where it was known to prevail. It is carried on in private houses or at so-called clubs or on other unlicensed premises. Such places are, so far as possible, watched by the police, and any illegal acts punished whenever they can be detected and proved. In such matters detection and proof are naturally very difficult, but a considerable number of cases have been sent up. The punishments have not in all instances been so exemplary as could be desired. The returns are watched in this office and the attention of district magistrates has been drawn to any cases which seemed to require more severe treatment. The persons concerned are almost invariably of the lowest and poorest class who cannot pay a fine and scarcely dread imprisonment. So far as the experience of one year goes, it is at least possible to say that the measure has not yet definitely shown any bad results. As long as the present generation of opium smokers exists the habit must survive. Pandit Premnath, Excise Officer, Pilibhit, reports that *chandu* smoking is practised in private, but is believed to be on the wane. The prohibition of public sale and consumption seems likely, he thinks, to deter a new generation from carrying on the habit. More than this cannot be expected anywhere."

14. Board of revenue, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

"The income from this branch of the Excise department has now ceased, though it can hardly be pretended the habit of opium smoking has been stopped,—perhaps not even reduced. As the law at present stands there is nothing illegal in the practice. All that can be done is to watch places where it is carried on, and to punish rigorously in all cases where the law is broken by the sale or possession of unlawful quantities of opium."

15. Resolution of the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh on the Excise report for 1893-94.

"The noxious preparations known as *madak* and *chandu* finally disappear from the provincial returns, and it is hoped that in the next generation their consumption in private will be to a great extent discontinued."

16. Mr. H. V. Drake-Brockman, Excise Commissioner, Central Provinces.

"On the vexed question whether the prohibition of consumption on the premises of drug shops diminishes sales or not, the Deputy Commissioner of Mandala has some interesting remarks. There can be no doubt that *madak* smoking goes on now in private houses, just as it used to in the licensed *madak-khanas*, but I am not inclined to believe that the existence of private assemblies induces young men to begin the *madak* habit or that under the old system consumption at any place other than the *madak-khana* was generally thought to be punishable by law. As the Deputy Commissioner of Nagpur says, we shall probably have to devise some scheme for controlling private smoking clubs: it will, in my opinion, be far better to undertake this difficult task than revert to a system under which the licensing of smoking saloons serves to increase the bids for retail monopolies. I am glad to be able to record in this connexion that in a recent letter the Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, has assured me of a gradual decrease in the number of *madak* smokers throughout his district."

17. Resolution of the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, on the excise report for 1893-94.

"The question of still further restricting the use of *madak* has received much attention during the year. The number of shops was reduced from 183 to 137; all temporary licenses in Nagpur were withdrawn, and the whole question of temporary shops is now being dealt with by the Excise Commissioner. Though facilities for smuggling or for illicit sale may occasionally furnish sufficient grounds for the opening of temporary opium shops at fairs or other gatherings, such reasons can very rarely exist in the case of *madak*, and it will probably be the wisest policy to prohibit such temporary shops altogether in the case of this drug. As to the results of prohibiting the consumption of *madak* on the premises of licensed vendors, opinions still differ very widely. The Deputy Com-

missioners of Nagpur, Damoh, Seoni, Mandla and Narsinghpur think that this measure has chiefly resulted in the substitution of private clubs for licensed shops, while in Wardha and Sambalpur the opinion is expressed that the measure has materially diminished consumption, and the Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, has recently given the Commissioner of Excise an assurance to the same effect.

"The total number of *madak*-smokers in the Central Provinces is reported to be between 9,000 and 10,000. In several districts their numbers are said to be diminishing, while in no case is it alleged that *madak* smoking is becoming more common. After considering all that has come before him, the Chief Commissioner sees no reason for changing the opinion expressed by him last year, that the addition of the implied disapprobation of the authorities to the social stigma which already attaches to indulgence in this vice has done and must do good. The fewer the shops for the sale of this drug the less will be the temptation to indulge in it, and persistence in the policy of limiting shops, combined with activity on the part of the police in arresting cases of illegal manufacture, cannot but tend to check any extension of this pernicious habit."

18. Mr. T. D. Mackenzie, Commissioner of Customs, salt, opium, and abkari. (Opium Administration Report, 1893-94.)

"The decrease (3,221 lbs.) in consumption in Bombay is due to the cessation of issue of licenses for the sale of *chandul* and *madat*, but there is reason to fear that the wants of the *chandul* and *madat* consumers are met by illegitimate means, in spite of the efforts of the officers of the department to put a stop to their practices.

* * * * *

"There being reason to fear that the prohibition of the sale of opium preparations for consumption on the premises might be followed by the opening of unlicensed places for the purpose, the attention of collectors was drawn to this danger, and they were asked to issue orders to the excise, revenue, and police establishments to place under surveillance any such unlicensed houses. The reports received show that in some districts unlicensed houses were opened, and the offenders were prosecuted and punished. Mr. Woodburn, Collector of Hyderabad, in reporting on this subject writes: 'There are a few houses in the town of Hyderabad, where it is suspected the illicit consumption of *chandul* and *madat* is carried on, and though these have been kept under strict surveillance during the past year, yet it has not been found possible to detect any of the offenders. This is due to three of the owners having been prosecuted and convicted during the previous year, with the result that it is difficult to get witnesses, who are generally opium smokers themselves, to give evidence against the owners of these opium smoking houses.' The Collector of Ahmedabad reports thus: 'I beg to append a statement showing a case of illegal possession of *chandul* * *. The number of such cases in the preceding year was eight, but the falling off this year must not be understood to show that the people have given up the habit of *chandul* smoking. It is most probable that smuggled opium is being used for these *chandul* smokers to a great extent, and this will continue unless some smoking places can be licensed and kept under control.' There is reason to think that the condition of affairs described above is common to all the districts in which the opium smoking habit is habitual. The practice is easy, its detection most difficult."

19. Resolution of the Government of Bombay on the Opium Administration Report for 1893-94.

"In Bombay on the other hand there was a decrease of 3,221 lbs. which is mainly attributable to the cessation of issue of licenses for *chandul* and *madat* shops, a measure which, in the Commissioner's opinion, while diminishing the demand for preparations of licit opium, has led consumers of *chandul* and *madat* to satisfy their wants by illegitimate means."

Appendix D. to Despatch No. 305 of 1895.

Answers from members of the Consular Service in China and Corea to the three following questions issued by the Royal Commission on Opium:—

- (1) What have you observed to be the effects of opium, moral, physical and social, on its consumers?
- (2) What are the proportions of those who use opium:—
 - (i) without injury;
 - (ii) with slight injury;
 - (iii) with great injury (opium sots)?

(3) Is it correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium?

Mr. N. J. Hannen, Consul General, Shanghai—

*“Answer to question (1).—*The moderate use of opium does not have any appreciable effect morally, physically or socially, so far as my observation goes. Its excessive use up to a certain point is injurious because a man’s faculties need the stimulus of the opium before they are in a normal state; until he has had his pipe, an opium smoker is stupid. I imagine that if opium is used to great excess it may affect the consumer in all these ways, but no case of such excessive use has ever come under my personal observation.

*“Answer to question (2).—*I know of no reliable statistics from which it would be possible to answer this accurately. As a rough guess, I should say that about 80 per cent. use it without apparent injury, about 19 per cent. with slight injury, and 1 per cent. at most become opium sots. I personally have never met one.

*“Answer to question (3).—*There certainly can be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium.”

2. The above represents also the views of Mr. Jamieson, Her Majesty’s Consul at Shanghai.

3. Mr. H. B. Joly, Vice-Consul, Macao—

*“Answer to question (1).—*The effects depend upon the quantity consumed, for excess in opium smoking or eating is as injurious as any excess even in the most harmless necessities of life. No evil effects seem, however, to be felt by persons who can afford to take a due proportion of food and who are wise enough to keep within the bounds of moderation.

*“Answer to question (2).—*I cannot tell what the proportion is of those who use opium without injury, with slight injury, and with great injury; but as far as my experience goes of nearly 14 years in China the proportion of those who consume with great injury is small. Indeed I have seldom seen any opium sots. Of course they could be discovered if one were to hunt in the byways and opium dens.

*“Answer to question (3).—*There is such a thing as moderation.”

4. Mr. T. Watters, Consul, Foochow—

*“Answer to question (1).—*The effects of opium, moral, physical and social, on its consumers vary with circumstances. An English doctor of long experience in this province tells me that the natives ‘who are rich and well-to-do sometimes smoke opium regularly and moderately (from 10 to 30 grains daily) without any apparent injury, morally, physically, mentally or socially. The well-to-do class who use opium immoderately become extremely indolent, which sometimes leads to poverty and disaster. On the poor, who have irregular employment and are badly fed, the deleterious effects of opium-smoking, morally and physically, are well marked.’ A missionary who has resided and travelled much in this province, states as his experience of habitual opium-smokers: ‘Physically, after a few years of opium-smoking the great majority of opium-smokers, especially among the poor, become perfect wrecks and are incapable of doing any hard or continuous work.’ ‘Socially,’ opium smoking he states, ‘works ruin, by reducing families from comparative affluence to extreme poverty. It introduces shame and confusion and misery into the family by the practice of husbands selling their wives and children to procure the means of satisfying their craving for the opium pipe.’

*“Answer to question (2).—*The proportion of those who use opium (1) without injury are, according to one estimate, 70 per cent. of all smokers; (2) with slight injury, about 10 per cent.; (3) with great injury, about 10 per cent. Chinese, however, who know well, state that only 50 per cent. of smokers of opium continue to be such without injury. They calculate also that the ‘opium sots,’ who ‘suffer great injury,’ are at least one-fifth of all smokers.

*“Answer to question (3).—*I am of opinion that it is not correct to say ‘there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium.’”

5. Mr. M. F. Fraser, Consul, Pakhoi—

*“Answer to question (1).—*I believe, from my own observation, that opium refreshes the labouring men (the class who comes most under a European’s observation), such as sedan-chair bearers, boatmen, &c., who require some stimulant, as their work is terribly hard. Unfortunately, as with wines amongst ourselves, the rich, who need stimulants least, take most, and the poor find it hard to buy enough.

I have not observed the moral and social effects, but suppose on moderate smokers these are good (if the man's health is benefited by smoking) or, at least, indifferent; on immoderate, bad.

"*Answer to question (2).*—I believe that of opium-consumers those who thus inflict injury on themselves are in the minority, as is the case with wine-drinkers. * * *. It is impossible to state the proportions of the classes (i), (ii), (iii) with any accuracy.

"*Answer to question (3).*—I believe it is perfectly incorrect to say that there cannot be moderation in the consumption of opium. There can be no doubt, however, I think, that especially with people of so little energy, force of will, moral courage, or ambition, as the average Chinese, the habit is very hard to break off when once acquired, and that a moderate use to begin with often ends in excess [but Dr. Horder says it is easier, nevertheless, to cure a Chinaman of the habit than a European, and I may well be wrong in my opinion]."

6. Mr. P. Warren, Consul, Hankow :—

"*Answer to question (1).*—Opium when indulged in excess produces both moral and physical deterioration; taken in moderation it is often beneficial rather than injurious, and enables the lower classes to support hardships, undergo toil, and resist climatic influences, to which they would otherwise succumb more rapidly than they now do.

"*Answer to question (2).*—Is a question that can only be answered by a medical man.

"*Answer to question (3).*—It is utterly incorrect to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium."

7. Mr. G. Brown, Consul, Kinkiang :—

"*Answer to question (1).*—Excessive consumption of opium undoubtedly causes a deterioration of the individual, morally, physically and socially, but I do not believe its habitual moderate use has any bad effect.

"*Answer to question (2).*—From personal observation, necessarily of a somewhat superficial nature, because in ordinary life it is difficult to distinguish with certainty between those who smoke and those who do not, I should say that probably 80 out of every 100 smokers suffer no injury, 16 per cent. are slightly the worse, and 4 per cent. are seriously affected in health of soul, mind and body.

"*Answer to question (3).*—It is very incorrect to say that there cannot be moderation in opium-smoking."

8. Mr. C. M. Ford, Officiating Consul, Amoy :—

"*Answer to question (1).*—Those who consume opium to excess become utterly degraded, both morally and physically, and, as a consequence, sink in the social scale. When not used to excess no such results are perceptible.

"*Answer to question (2).*—I cannot pretend to give any accurate statistics in reply to this question but I shall judge that of the consumers, who, as I have stated above, are about 10 or 12 per cent. of the adult male population—

- (i) perhaps 30 per cent. use it without any injury;
- (ii) forty per cent. with but slight injury; and
- (iii) thirty per cent. with great injury.

"*Answer to question (3).*—To say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium is not only incorrect, but it is absurd; it would be just as reasonable to assert that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the use of wine, or of tobacco."

9. Mr. O. Johnson, Vice-Consul, Pagoda Island :—

"The Vice-Consul has forwarded a paper by Dr. Underwood, medical practitioner in the district, containing answers to the questions put by the commission, with the remark that, generally speaking, he agrees with them."

He adds :—

"The word 'consumer' seems to give opening for variety in statements of opinion according as the word is understood. 'Consumers' may be divided into three well-defined classes, those who only smoke occasionally as on a festive occasion, those who smoke regularly but in small quantities, and those who have contracted what is called the 'yin' or craving. Dr. Underwood seems to refer to the last class only when he says that 'at least five per cent. of the adult males are consumers.' I should say that, including the second class, 20 per cent. might be taken as a rough estimate, and, including all three, nearly 50 per cent. It is only on the class that have contracted the

craving that bad effects are produced, and, as the doctor says, these effects are often greatly due to the fact the smoker is obliged to reduce his regular food in consequence of his having spent the money that he should have bought it with on opium.

"As a rule, labourers and artisans are more given to the habit than shopkeepers."

The doctor's answers are given below :—

"*Answer to question (1).*—The effects of opium on the consumer depend very much on his social position, means, and the quantity taken. If he is able to live well, and smokes a good quality of the drug in moderation, tolerance is established; it seems to affect him very little in any way, but there is undoubtedly a tendency to increase the dose. On the other hand, if a man is poor, and stints his food and other necessities to enable him to buy opium, he naturally becomes weak and emaciated. He is less inclined to exert himself, works slower, and is not considered so trustworthy generally as a non-smoker. Personally an opium smoker is usually a quiet inoffensive individual, it does not arouse the fiercer passions, and one seldom hears of a confirmed one being a wife-beater, a gambler, or a frequenter of the brothel. The evil, socially, arises from the habit causing a man to neglect his business, and thus bring poverty on himself and family.

"*Answer to question (2).*—It is difficult to say how many can use opium without injury, but I consider that more than half the consumers do so.

"*Answer to question (3).*—Many Chinamen use opium in moderation without harm to themselves."

10. Mr. E. H. Parker, Consul, Hoihow :—

"*Answer to question (1).*—Moral and social, no harm. Physical, deterioration in staying powers.

"*Answer to question (2).*—50 per cent.; 49 per cent. (conjecture).

"*Answer to question (3).*—Yes."*

11. Mr. R. W. Hurst, Consul, Tainan :—

"*Answer to question (1).*—Moderate opium smoking is said to exert a soothing influence on the smoker, and to make him comfortable and contented, but excessive opium smoking deteriorates the race both morally and physically. Morally, I think servants who are opium smokers are more prone to steal, as opium being an expensive luxury, their wages are often insufficient to afford them the indulgence. The effect of the drug on the physique of a confirmed smoker (one who has the 'yin' or craving) is very apparent. He loses flesh, looks pale and emaciated, and he is incapable of prolonged physical exertion. Socially, I do not think the consumer suffers in any way. It is a common practice for merchants when making contracts to meet together over the opium pipe, and its sedative influence is found to conduce to the settlement of differences and to the promotion of business.

"*Answer to question (2).*—I should roughly estimate the proportion of those who smoke—

(1) Without injury, at 70 per cent.

(2) With slight injury, at 25 per cent.

(3) With great injury, at 5 per cent.

"*Answer to question (3).*—The habit of opium smoking is undoubtedly very insidious, and it is difficult to use it within the bounds of moderation. The tendency is gradually to increase the consumption in order to produce an equivalent effect. When a man has once acquired the 'craving' the habit is most difficult to throw off."

12. Mr. L. C. Hopkins, Acting Consul, Tamsui :—

"*Answer to question (1).*—I think that opium smoking *per se* has no moral effect one way or the other. But indirectly, with heavy smokers of limited means, it often becomes the temptation to theft. Compared, however, with the disastrous effects of alcoholic excess, those of opium seem insignificant.

"The physical effects of opium smoking, apart from the temporary stimulus, are of course in proportion to the habitual dose, but these symptoms are the common ones. Dryness of the eyelids, and of the lining membrane of the nose; falling away in flesh to some extent, and sallowness in complexion; considerable sensitiveness to cold and chill;

* This should apparently be 'No,' as he proceeds to give instances of consumers who have taken opium for years without harm to themselves. He adds (1) "My official servant here. (2) The late comprador Shanghai Consulate. Both steady smokers and brainy men. Never saw great injury with own eyes."

more or less constipation; some weakening of the powers of endurance, unless aided by a few whiffs of the opium pipe; gradual disinclination to sexual intercourse, and gradual loss also of procreative powers. On the other hand, both mental and physical powers seem to answer well to all ordinary calls, with ordinary smokers, except, I think, that the call must not be too prolonged. So far as I can see, provided the daily stimulus is given, the effect does not fail, and does not decrease.

"The social effect is of more than one kind. Where the smokers are poor and abuse the practice, there must be a certain number constantly falling into acts of dishonesty and becoming generally worthless and hopeless—useless, but not dangerous—members of the community.

Otherwise, the regular opium smoker is a peaceable and quiet person, disinclined by his habit to take part in stirring or dangerous enterprises and ranging himself on the side of public law and order.

But the most important element in the social effects of habitual opium smoking is its tendency to reduce the birth-rate.

Seeing how extremely prolific the Chinese race is, how almost universal early marriage is, and how large is the proportion of those who have to live on, or only just above, the irreducible minimum required to support life, this tendency to increase check of population might be considered beneficial rather than otherwise.

"*Answer to question (2).*—The answer to this depends on whether occasional smokers are or are not included. Of the very large number of occasional consumers, I should say that practically none receive any injury from such occasional indulgence, probably, indeed, while they remain in that class, some benefit. Coming then to habitual smokers, my answer, based on a careful estimate by Chinese informants, is that of every 100 such habitual smokers, 30 to 35 suffer serious injury; 35 to 50, some, but not grave injury; and 50 no practical injury, this total being made up of 20 who smoke regularly but very lightly, and 10 who derive positive benefit, viz., persons suffering from very serious and wasting complaints.

"*Answer to question (3).*—Certainly it is not correct to say that 'there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium.' Not to mention that all occasional smokers, nearly 60 per cent. of the total here, must be considered 'moderate' consumers, if we take the class of habitual smokers, about 50 per cent. of their number must be reckoned among the moderate consumers

13. Mr. R. W. Mansfield, Consul, Wenchow :—

"*Answer to question (1).*—I have not observed any marked effect either moral, physical, or social on moderate consumers. In the case of a confirmed smoker, his power of resisting temptation to dishonesty should his means be insufficient to gratify the craving would be weakened. For this reason alone, I would not employ a notorious smoker as a household servant. In the case of excessive smokers, the physical effects seem to be in the later stages diarrhœa, an increasing disability to take sufficient nourishment with corresponding wasting of the body and impotency. Smoking as a convivial after dinner recreation is common, and is not regarded as objectionable. It is a breach of etiquette, however, to ask a person with whom one is not intimate if he smokes, and there always seems a delicacy on the part of a smoker about the discussion of the subject.

"*Answer to question (2).*—I cannot say. In a long residence in China I have not come in contact with half-a-dozen 'opium sots.' For this district my writer estimates about 10 per cent. of smokers as 'opium sots.'

"*Answer to question (3).*—Undoubtedly incorrect. I have known hundreds of moderate smokers among officials, lettered men, and merchants with whom I have associated, and many also among the poorer classes."

14. Mr. B. C. G. Scott, Consul, Swatow, states :—

"It was my intention to have answered the questions myself, but on consideration I find that my information and opinions are for the most part second hand. I have never turned my attention directly to the subject of the effects of opium on Chinese. I can only say that during my 28 years' service in China, its disastrous effects on the country have not thrust themselves prominently on my notice."

15. Mr. E. H. Fraser, Acting Consul, Chungking :—

"*Answer to question (1).*—I have met officials who smoked. They looked pallid and emaciated, and the Chinese say that smokers are not fit for legal positions as they get lazy and careless. On the other hand, I knew from 1883 to 1887 a linguist in the Foochow Consulate who smoked regularly. After his morning allowance he was a brisk,

clever fellow; before it a dull, sleepy oaf. The Chinese here hold that confirmed opium smokers never have healthy, and rarely any, children.

"Answer to question (2).—Of the 30 per cent. mentioned above, 5 per cent. smoke little or only occasionally, and do not suffer*

* This refers to the following remark —

"In and about Chungking 30 per cent of the adult males, according to an educated and intelligent Chinese gentleman brought up in the city, consume opium; and the same statement holds good probably of all the province."

evil effects; 15 per cent. smoke regularly, and suffer slight injury; the remaining 10 per cent. smoke to excess, and usually become 'sots,' so says the above Chinese gentleman.

"Answer to question (3).—No. My Chinese informant is positive that 1 or 2 per cent. of the adults keep to small consumption, but usually the amount is increased till, after four or five years, the smoker may either reduce the amount or give it up. After that period, if he makes no stand against the habit, the smoker is apt to degenerate into a sot."

16. Mr. W. R. Carles, Consul, Chinkiang:—

"Answer to question (1).—So far as I have seen the effect of opium-smoking is prejudicial morally, physically, and socially, but in widely different degrees according to the class of the consumer. Physically and morally the poorest classes suffer most, for the cost of the opium necessarily entails a corresponding diminution of their proper food, and a man who is ill-fed suffers far more physically than a man who takes his pipes after a heavy meal. Further, the need of food and clothing, for which no money is otherwise forthcoming, leads to theft, peculation, and general dishonesty. The injurious effect socially appears to be diminishing. While opium-smoking was forbidden by law, and offences against the law were punished, smoking was only indulged in more or less clandestinely, thereby entailing association with low characters, and a certain loss of self and general respect. At the present day opium-smoking is so common that I understand among the well-to-do classes a pipe of opium is offered to a visitor almost as readily as a pipe of tobacco. Among officials there are some of the highest rank who no longer make a secret of the habit, though liable to loss of office if denounced. An 'opium sot' necessarily ruins his health, and entails misery on his family, if he is a poor man. In any case he must fail to fulfil any of the duties of a citizen towards his State. The habit of opium-smoking entails a certain subservience to it, which prevents a man being his own master even when the quantity is not sufficient to injure his health. Those, however, who smoke, but not habitually (and I believe their number to be very large), do not suffer in any way.

"Answer to question (2).—As far as I can learn, about 50 per cent. of smokers suffer no injury; 40 per cent. of smokers suffer slight injury; 10 per cent. of smokers suffer great injury.

"Answer to question (3).—Moderation in opium is very general. Men who smoke moderately are generally regarded as non-smokers."

17. Mr. T. L. Bullock, Consul, Newchang:—

"Answer to question (1).—From my own personal observation I can only say that the effects of opium-smoking are paleness, thinness, languidness, want of energy, and a general appearance of ill-health. But having given a good deal of attention to the subject during my 25 years' service in different parts of the country, I feel justified in adding the following remarks. Morally it is the smokers of the poorer classes who suffer most. If their income be not large enough to supply the quantity of drug required, they cannot be trusted not to steal. They are unquestionably more likely to steal than other Chinese. Whatever harm the poor may suffer physically from the action of the drug, it is less than the effects of the impoverishment caused by its cost. Let the smoker be a strong man, and use so little that the direct effects do not harm him, still he suffers from not having enough money to spend on food and clothing, and his wife and children are in a still worse state. He is just like the frequenter of the public-house in England. The Chinese, so far as I know, are unanimous in agreeing that there is some loss of physical power occasioned by opium-smoking. European writers sometimes note that they have seen opium-smoking chair-bearers and boat-trackers sustain great fatigue and work as well as the other men with them. But the Chinese firmly believe both that such men are less strong than they would otherwise have been, and that they are wearing themselves out more quickly. Ask a Chinese which would win in a fight, a regiment of men allowed to smoke or one of similar men who were prevented from doing so, and he will laugh at the simplicity of the question."

“*Answer to question (2).*—As a conjecture—

- (i.) 5 per cent.
- (ii.) 90 per cent.
- (iii.) 5 per cent.

Of course, if one takes the smokers in China at a given moment, the proportion of uninjured would be very much greater than I have given. But when these uninjured smokers have continued the practice for years nearly all of them will have sunk into class (ii). A really moderate smoker will probably not show ill-effects for at least 10 years. It must be noted that many in class (ii.) will die earlier than they otherwise would have done, by succumbing to some disease which they would, if not smokers, have recovered from, or, if the Chinese opinion be correct, by growing old prematurely.

“*Answer to question (3).*—There can be moderation, but it is difficult to preserve, more so than with alcohol.”

18. Mr. C. F. R. Allen, Consul, Chefoo, sums up his views as follows :—

“I do not agree with those who hold that opium adds to the sum of human happiness in China. I believe, on the contrary, that it increases the sum of human misery. The comfort and pleasure that it gives to the moderate smoker is more than counterbalanced by the harm that it does to the opium sot. . . . I firmly believe that the abuse of opium-smoking is an effect of evil, not a cause; a punishment, not a vice. Consequently the remedies for the evils of opium-smoking to excess will be found, not by restricting or forbidding the opium trade, but by promoting among the Chinese a healthier state of things—material, mental, and moral—and thereby dissipating those feelings of *ennui* and discontent which produce the desire for the delights of opium.”

19. Mr. P. F. Hausser, Acting Consul, Ningpo :—

“*Answer to question (1).*—Morally, the effect of opium is generally deteriorating. Foreigners seldom engage a servant known to be an opium-smoker, experience showing that such mostly prove lazy, slovenly, and dishonest.

“Physically, the effects seem to be loss of appetite, want of energy, dull and sluggish intellect, except when fortified by the drug. Heavy smokers are always known by their excessive pallor and emaciation, and are said to suffer from derangements of the digestive organs.

“Socially, the effect of opium is disastrous for the poor man who can afford neither the time nor the money required for the indulgence. His business suffers, and his family inevitably sinks in the scale of life. As far as the rich are concerned, I do not think that opium has any pernicious effect from a social point of view.”

“*Answer to question (2).*—In some few cases opium may, I believe, be used in moderation, not only without injury, but with positive benefit.

“(ii.) Probably 90–95 per cent. use it with slight injury only, and (iii.) some 2–3 per cent. become ‘opium sots.’

“*Answer to question (3).*—It is certainly not correct to say there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium, but there is a constant tendency to increase the quantity.”

20. Mr. F. S. A. Bourne, Vice-Consul, Canton :—

“*Answer to question (1).*—The regular habit is bad in so far as it hampers a man, making him almost as much dependent on opium as on food. Taken in excess, its moral, social, and physical effects are bad. Its effect is the same, as far as I know, on all men, except that a strong will and moral control are necessary to throw the habit off; and therefore a less civilised people might *a priori* be expected to be more easily enslaved by it.

“*Answer to question (3).*—Certainly it is correct to say so.”

21. Mr. C. T. Gardiner, Consul, Söul (Korea) :—

“*Answer to question (1).*—My observations of the effects of opium are, moral, it always to quietism and calming of the nerves, in excess to indifference, and to the blunting of the conscience; occasionally it leads to theft and the selling of wife and children.

“Physically, when taken in moderation it seems to have a beneficial effect in enabling the consumer to endure hard work on scanty diet. In excess, it leads to a yellow waxy complexion, and sometimes to extreme obesity, sometimes to extreme emaciation.

"Socially, it helps to pass away the time, and to facilitate the enduring the long and tedious conversations, and the dilatory mode of conducting business."

"*Answer to question (2).*—I should say considerably over 90 per cent. of the consumers consume without injury, 1 or 2 per cent. with slight injury, perhaps a half or 4 per cent. with great injury. Not all those who have a craving for opium are injured by indulging.

"*Answer to question (3).*—It is not correct to say there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium."

22. Mr. W. H. Wilkinson, Acting Vice-Consul, Chemulpo (Korea):—

"*Answer to question (1).*—'The effect of opium on the Koreans,' says Dr. Landis, 'is more decided than on the Chinese. It ruins morally and physically at least 90 per cent. of all Koreans who use it. The ruin caused among the Chinese is not so great, but yet it is extensive.' The Korean is more lethargic than the Chinaman, and of less tough fibre. Among the Chinese of Shantung it is estimated (by themselves) that 70 per cent. are injured morally by the practice. Physically, they declare, about the same number become attenuated; some 10 per cent. remain unaffected, while the rest (20 per cent.) are the better—at any rate the stouter—for it.

"*Answer to question (2).*—Dr. Landis refers in his reply to question* 3. My Chinese informant (a Shantung man) states (i) 3 per cent. to 4 per cent., (ii) 20 per cent., (iii) 76 per cent. or 77 per cent. In the entire absence of reliable statistics I should say that the proportions he gives are very wide indeed of the mark. At Wenchow opium is offered as a matter of course at official dinners, and is a constant accompaniment of all large mercantile bargainings. I have never yet even seen an opium 'sot,' but if the proportions here alleged were true, one half of the male population of Wenchow would be 'sots,' and three-fourths of those of Western China. In taking the evidence of natives in responsible or respectable positions very large allowances must be made for (a) the effect of the old fulminations against opium [due primarily to the dread of the drain of silver from the country] has not yet evaporated; (b) it is a fact that an opium-smoker is, by reason of the thefts he is tempted to commit to raise the means for smoking, less trusted than a non-smoker. Hence Chinamen in the employment of others (particularly of foreigners) are tempted to paint the practice in the darkest possible colours, so that they may not themselves be suspected of addiction to it.

"*Answer to question (3).*—Says Dr. Landis, 'I have never seen a single case of "moderation" in the use of opium. The ultimate end is the same in every case which I have seen, although the rapidity of the course varies. During last year there were 15 cases of attempted suicide by opium, in 14 of which, the unfortunate people were opium habitués who had been made desperate by inability to get rid of the habit, or by having no means to purchase the drug. The 14 cases were all Korean.' I would draw attention to Dr. Landis's last sentence. The Korean has not the stamina to resist or rather to successfully practise vice possessed by the Chinaman. As regards the latter, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that there must be a very large number of cases of 'moderation.'"

23. Mr. H. Cockburn, Acting Assistant Chinese Secretary, Her Majesty's Legation, Peking:—

"*Answer to question (1).*—I have not observed any particular moral effects produced by opium when not habitually taken to excess. When so taken, the moral effects seem the same as those of similar addiction to other narcotics or stimulants, that is, there is complete moral degradation. Of the physical effects I need not speak, as they will no doubt be described by medical witnesses. I may remark, however, that it is not possible (at least for the non-professional observer) to detect a moderate opium-smoker by his outward appearance. This fact explains, I think, to some extent the wide differences in estimates of the proportion of consumers. The 'opium sot,' the man who habitually smokes to excess, is easily recognisable. As to the social effects, so large an unproductive expenditure as that on opium in China affects both individuals and society in numberless ways, not possible to trace.

"*Answer to question (2).*—If for 'without injury' be substituted 'without apparent injury,' I should say that the great majority of those who smoke opium do so without apparent injury. Where without excessive indulgence in the habit injury to the constitution is nevertheless apparent, it is, I think, commonly due to inability to afford both opium and sufficient nourishing food, just as an Englishman out of work and hard up will commonly spend on tobacco and alcohol an undue proportion of what money he has.

My impression is that the proportion to the whole body of opium-smokers of those who habitually smoke to great excess is smaller than the proportion of habitual drunkards to moderate drinkers in Great Britain. But I also believe that the number of those who smoke much more opium than is good for them is much larger in proportion than that of the corresponding class amongst consumers of alcohol at home.

“Answer to question (3).—It is certainly not correct to say that there cannot be such a thing as moderation in the consumption of opium. I have met several men who have told me they had smoked for from 10 to 15 years, and who certainly had not taken to smoking in excess. But I cannot say that they had smoked ‘without harm to themselves,’ though neither can I assert the contrary. It is as difficult for the ordinary unprofessional observer to ascertain the effects of opium-smoking (in moderation), as it is for the same observer to ascertain the effects of moderate indulgence in alcohol on Europeans. One cannot cross-examine casual acquaintances on the state of their insides. But though I am convinced that there is such a thing as moderation in the use of opium, I think there is a strong tendency to its use in more than moderation, to which many consumers yield. They do not become ‘opium sots,’ but they smoke much more than can possibly be good for them.”

24. Mr. B. M. Perkins, Her Majesty’s consular service, Tainan :—

“Answer to question (1).—I have seen opium-smokers of various kinds, but have never noticed any ‘moral’ deterioration, unless in the case of an inveterate smoker suddenly deprived of his pipe, who might not improbably be thereby tempted to steal.

“This does not apply to ‘opium sots,’ a class that I have never come across except in missionary literature, where the smoker is represented smoking in an erect position.

“Physically the effects of opium seem to depend entirely on the quantity consumed, being, on the whole, beneficial up to a certain point; and, in the case of the poor, who are just able to smoke a little, appears to be a comfort and benefit, similar to but greater than the virtues which the ‘poor man’ in England ascribes to his pipe.

“Socially, have always found opium-smokers sociable and pleasant, and the effect of the drug has always seemed to be a humanising one. An opium-smoker will never cause a riot.

“Answer to question (2.)—(i) and (ii), but chiefly (i) comprise, so far as I am concerned, all the smokers I have ever seen.

“Answer to question (3).—Certainly not.”

Mr. B. Brennan, Consul, Canton, and Mr. E. L. B. Allen, Acting Consul, Wuhu, sent no replies to the interrogatories and expressed no opinions upon the subject.

A.—List classifying the EVIDENCE of MEMBERS of the consular service in CHINA, to whom the interrogatories issued by the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM were sent.

Name and Designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.
I.—Those who have expressed no opinion as to the effects of opium-smoking in China—	
1. Mr. B. Brennan, Consul, Canton	Page. 216
2. Mr. E. L. B. Allen, Acting Consul, Wuhu	332
3. Mr. B. C. G. Scott, Consul, Swatow	212
II.—Those who regard opium-smoking as a serious evil—	
1. Mr. E. H. Fraser, Acting Consul, Chungking	338
2. Mr. W. R. Carles, Consul, Chinkiang	262
3. Mr. T. L. Bullock, Consul, Newchang	266
4. Mr. F. S. A. Bourne, Vice-Consul, Canton	216
5. Mr. P. F. Hausser, Acting-Consul, Ningpo	308
Of the above 1, 2 and 5 admit that moderation is possible.	

Name and designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.
III.—Those who give evidence which is generally condemnatory of the habit but not strongly so—	
1. Mr. T. Watters, Consul, Foochow - - - - -	276
2. Mr. R. W. Hurst, Consul Tainan - - - - -	322
3. Mr. L. C. Hopkins, Acting Consul, Tamsui - - - - -	320
4. Mr. W. H. Wilkinson, Acting Vice-Consul, Chemulpo (Korea) - - - - -	318
5. Mr. C. F. R. Allen, Consul, Chefoo - - - - -	277
IV.—Those who, while holding that the immoderate use of the drug is deleterious, consider that moderation among Chinese opium-smokers is the rule, that the percentage of men who smoke to excess and suffer great injury in consequence is small, and that moderate opium-smokers suffer no apparent injury from indulgence in the habit.	
1. Mr. N. J. Hannen, Consul-General, Shanghai - - - - -	250
2. Mr. Jamieson, Consul, Shanghai - - - - -	250
3. Mr. H. B. Joly, Vice-Consul, Macao - - - - -	263
4. Mr. M. F. Fraser, Consul, Pakhoi - - - - -	288
5. Mr. P. Warren, Consul, Hankow - - - - -	290
6. Mr. G. Brown, Consul, Kinkiang - - - - -	298
7. Mr. C. M. Ford, Officiating Consul, Amoy - - - - -	309
8. Mr. O. Johnson, Vice-Consul, Pagoda Island - - - - -	314
9. Mr. E. H. Parker, Consul, Hoihow - - - - -	316
10. Mr. R. W. Mansfield, Consul, Wenchow - - - - -	335
11. Mr. C. T. Gardiner, Consul, Soul (Korea) - - - - -	336
12. Mr. H. Cockburn, Acting Assistant Chinese Secretary, Her Majesty's Legation, Peking. - - - - -	232
13. Mr. B. M. Perkins, Consular service, Tainan - - - - -	323

B.—LIST classifying the EVIDENCE of PRIVATE MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS and MERCHANTS resident in CHINA who replied to the interrogatories issued by the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

Name and designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.	Nature of Evidence classed for the sake of brevity as favourable or unfavourable to the use of Opium, and doubtful.
1. Mr. J. D. Monro, Merchant, Swatow - - - - -	Page. 215	Unfavourable.
2. Dr. H. Layng, Private Medical Practitioner, Swatow - - - - -	215	Do.
3. Dr. A. Rennie, Private Medical Practitioner, Canton - - - - -	216	Favourable.
4. Dr. J. M. Young, Private Medical Practitioner, Peking - - - - -	232	Doubtful.
5. Dr. F. J. Burge, Private Medical Practitioner, Shanghai - - - - -	245	Unfavourable.
6. Mr. W. S. Wetmore, Merchant, Shanghai - - - - -	246	Doubtful.
7. Mr. J. McKie, Merchant, Shanghai - - - - -	252	Favourable.
8. Dr. W. J. Milles, Private Medical Practitioner, Shanghai - - - - -	252	Do.
9. Mr. R. Francis, Merchant, Shanghai - - - - -	253	Do.
10. Dr. C. Lalcaca, Private Medical Practitioner, Shanghai - - - - -	253	Do.
11. Messrs. Jardine, Matheson & Co., Merchants, Shanghai - - - - -	254	Do.
12. Messrs. David Sassoon Sons & Co., Merchants, Shanghai - - - - -	255	Do.
13. Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., Merchants, Shanghai - - - - -	255	Do.
14. Mr. T. W. Duff, formerly a merchant, Chinkiang - - - - -	259	Do.
15. Mr. E. Starkey, Merchant, Chinkiang - - - - -	261.	Unfavourable.
16. Mr. T. Weatherston, Merchant, Chinkiang - - - - -	262	Favourable.
17. Mr. W. Des Troix, Merchant, Newchang - - - - -	268	Do.
18. Mr. P. F. Lavers, Merchant, Chefoo - - - - -	281	Doubtful.
19. Dr. Charles Begg, Private Medical Practitioner, Hankow - - - - -	291	Favourable.
20. Mr. T. Gillison, in charge of a Hospital, Hankow - - - - -	296	Unfavourable.
21. Mr. C. Schlee, Merchant, Kinkiang - - - - -	300	Favourable.
22. Mr. C. Milisch, Merchant, Macao - - - - -	304	Do.
23. Mr. H. F. Mirrill, Ningpo - - - - -	306	Unfavourable.
24. Mr. F. Cass, Merchant, Amoy - - - - -	310	Do.
25. Mr. F. Leyburn, Merchant, Amoy - - - - -	311	Favourable.

Name and designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.	Nature of evidence, classed for the sake of brevity as favourable or unfavourable to the use of opium, and doubtful.
	Page.	
26. Mr. G. W. Price, Merchant, Amoy - - - - -	311	Favourable.
27. Mr. P. M. Sanger, Merchant, Amoy - - - - -	312	Do.
28. Mr. L. Jüdel, Merchant, Hoihow - - - - -	316	Do.
29. Dr. C. S. Tenill, Private Medical Practitioner, Hainan, has not answered the questions himself, but observes that the Rev. Mr. Jeremiassen, who holds strong anti-opium views, has rather underestimated than over-estimated the evil effects of opium-smoking.	318	Unfavourable.
30. Mr. F. Ashton, Merchant, Tamsui - - - - -	322	Favourable.
31. Mr. J. Mannich, Merchant, Tainan - - - - -	329	Do.
32. Dr. B. C. Atterbury, Peking - - - - -	231	Unfavourable.

C.—List classifying the EVIDENCE of MEDICAL OFFICERS of HER MAJESTY’S CONSULATES and the CHINESE IMPERIAL MARITIME CUSTOMS who replied to the interrogatories issued by the ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

Name and designation.	Reference to page of Vol. V. of the Proceedings of the Commission.	Nature of evidence, classed for the sake of brevity as favourable, unfavourable, and doubtful.
	Page.	
1. Dr. E. Henderson, Surgeon, Her Britannic Majesty’s Consulate, Shanghai.	244	Favourable.
2. Dr. R. A. Jamieson, Consulting Surgeon to Imperial Maritime Customs and Surgeon to St. Luke’s Hospital, Shanghai.	244	Do.
3. Dr. J. A. Lynch, Medical Officer to the Consulate and to the Imperial Maritime Customs.	260	Unfavourable.
4. Mr. DeB. Daly, Medical Officer to Consulate and Imperial Maritime Customs, Newchang, and in charge of the Church Missionary Society’s Hospital, at Ningpo.	269	Do.
5. Dr. VonTunzehmann, Medical Officer, I. C. Customs and Consulate, Chefoo, and in charge of Anglican Mission Hospital.	282	Favourable.
6. Dr. G. R. Underwood, Medical Officer, Kinkiang - - - - -	302	Unfavourable.
7. Dr. J. F. Molyneux, Surgeon to Her Britannic Majesty’s Consulate Ningpo.	305	Doubtful.
8. Dr. J. J. Underwood, Medical Attendant to Vice-Consulate, Pagoda Island.	315	Do.
9. Dr. W. W. Myers, Medical Officer, I. C. Customs, Tainan - - -	324	Favourable.
10. Dr. W. Cox, Medical Officer, Imperial Maritime Customs, Wuhu -	332	Doubtful.
11. Dr. J. H. Lowry, Surgeon, Imperial Maritime Customs, Wenchow -	336	Do.
12. Dr. McCartney, Medical Officer, Imperial Maritime Customs, Chungking, and a member of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission.	339	Unfavourable.

Appendix E. to Despatch No. 305 of 1895.

CORRESPONDENCE referred to in PARAGRAPH 26 of the DESPATCH.

LETTER from the Right Honourable LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B., to the Honourable F. WESTLAND, dated 8th December 1893.

We have been looking over the list of witnesses whose evidence has been tendered on behalf of the Government. I write to say that we shall not be able to give more than one day and a half to the hearing of the case, as you desire to present it in its special connexion with Assam.

Mr. Prescott Hewett can give full explanation of our proposed arrangements.

LETTER from the Honourable F. WESTLAND to the Right Honourable LORD
BRASSEY, K.C.B., dated 9th December 1893.

I am in receipt of your note of yesterday, in which you inform me that the Royal Commissioners will not be able to give more than one day and a half to the hearing of the evidence tendered on behalf of the Government in connexion with Assam.

I trust your Lordship will permit me to demur altogether to the view that Government are engaged in merely tendering evidence on their own behalf before the Royal Commission. The Government have hitherto understood in a quite different light the position which they are to occupy with reference to the labours of the Royal Commission.

In pursuance of the wishes expressed by your Lordship in telegrams received through Her Majesty's Secretary of State, the Government of India arranged for the consideration of the Royal Commission a proposed "course of inquiry, places to be visited and witnesses." The Government of India, as they expressed in their telegram of August 15th, understood this to include non-official witnesses who would give independent evidence, and in the instructions they issued to Local Governments they have kept before them as their principal object that of enabling the Commissioners to make as full inquiry as is possible into the subjects committed to them; and they have regarded as only a small part of the question the answering of attacks upon their own system, or the producing of evidence bearing upon changes which might be proposed. These papers have been communicated to the Royal Commission.

As regards the intention of the Commission to limit to one day and a half the reception of the evidence relating to Assam, which the Government have brought together at the desire of the Commission, I can only say that the matter is one of which the decision necessarily rests with the Commission. But Assam is a far from unimportant province, as regards its relations to opium. Throughout the northern parts of it opium was, till of recent years, largely cultivated, and it is still consumed in comparatively large quantities. The importance of Assam, in the view of the Government, was such that, in their letter of 1st November, to the address of the Royal Commission, they suggested a visit to that province even at the cost of a fortnight of time.

The Government have no desire to press upon the Commissioners the hearing of evidence on matters which they consider redundant, or regarding which they are already sufficiently informed. But the newspapers show that the representatives of the Anti-Opium Association have been collecting evidence in Assam, and until they are heard before the Commission it is impossible to say what statements they may put forward that may require at the hands of the Government elucidation or contradiction, with a view to the ascertainment of the facts.

In any case the ground to be covered may prove more extensive than anticipated, and so far as my own opinion is concerned, therefore, I can hardly say that I think it probable that the Commission will find after a day and a half of inquiry that they have exhausted the subject.

MEMORANDUM of an interview on the 11th December 1893 between the Right
Honourable LORD BRASSEY and the Honourable MR. WESTLAND.

Mr. Westland was anxious that the position of the Government in respect of the production of evidence before the Commission should be made quite clear. At the request of the Chairman the Government had arranged for the consideration of the Commission a proposed "course of inquiry, places to be visited and witnesses," including not only official witnesses, but also "non-official witnesses who would give independent evidence." The duty they undertook was that of enabling the Commissioners to make as full inquiry as possible into the subjects referred to them. They have observed, however, that it appears in some quarters to be imagined that the inquiry is merely a hearing of an attack made by the Anti-Opium Society on the Government and of the answer of the Government to the charges of that body. Such a position the Government decline to accept. Of course the representatives of that Society are at liberty to lay before the Commission what evidence they please. The Government, however, will not answer these charges as a defendant, but will merely pursue their course of enabling the Commission to fully ascertain the actual facts.

As regards the witnesses to be examined, therefore, the number depends very little upon the evidence produced on behalf of the Anti-Opium Society. The Government

have no desire to press on the Commission the hearing of evidence which the Chairman and members consider redundant or relating to matters on which they are already sufficiently informed; and the Government accept the view that a trustworthy witness to matters fully within his own knowledge does not require confirmation by additional evidence. But there is no doubt that the evidence before the Commission will be taken as a standard of reference on the whole subject; and there is a risk that people who interest themselves in the subject may overlook the mass and weight of the evidence, and may construe the omission to state fully the facts of some unimportant part of the subject as a proof of the general unsoundness of the policy of the Government of India regarding opium.

The Government, therefore, desire that, if the Commission do not wish to have further evidence on any subject, they should issue directions to that effect. Lord Brassey had alluded to the question of the Bengal monopoly as being in this category, as he understood that the Anti-Opium Society had withdrawn their opposition to that system. On this point, therefore, if the Commission so direct, the Government will not press for the hearing of evidence to show that, for opium grown in British territory, the monopoly system is to be preferred to the Malwa system; but the Government rightly or wrongly believe that, unless the Commission accept the responsibility of saying that they do not wish to hear further evidence on the matter, a large party in England will conclude, not that the Anti-Opium Society have changed their views on the subject, but that the Government have found the system indefensible.

Mr. Westland also wished to explain, as regards the witnesses brought before the Commission by the Government, in compliance with the Chairman's request above mentioned, that officials will be produced who will state fully the facts so far as they fall within their official experience, but that the Government cannot be in any way responsible for the statements of personal opinion by officials or for the statements of fact or opinion of non-official gentlemen, though these may have been named by the Government as representatives of the non-official community.

As regards Assam, the Government regarded it as in some respects an important province from the opium point of view, as the consumption of opium in some parts of it was considerable. They believed that the Commission, when the evidence was before them, would find it desirable to give somewhat more time to it than they at first estimated. The representative of the Local Government would be instructed to reduce the amount of the evidence as far as was consistent with a full explanation of the facts. But it was known that a gentleman had within the last few days been collecting evidence from Assam; and as it was impossible to tell beforehand what allegations might be made, it was also impossible for the Government to estimate beforehand what amount of evidence it might be found advisable to add on this account.

As regards Madras, Mr. Westland mentioned that he had communicated to the Local Government the direction of the Commission that the Madras evidence should be heard in Bombay, and had requested them to reduce the amount of the evidence as far as possible, especially that bearing on the medical aspect of the case which had been very fully elucidated in Calcutta.

No. 5557-Ex., dated 21st December 1893.

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

I am directed to forward a copy of a letter from the Government of Bombay, No. 8990, dated the 7th December 1893, together with the list of witnesses nominated by that Government to give evidence before the Royal Opium Commission.

2. I am to explain that the Government of Bombay have prepared the list on the assumption that the Commission desired to make a very full and exhaustive inquiry into the facts regarding each province relevant to the inquiry entrusted to the Commission.

3. It is manifest, however, from the programme of tour issued by the Commission that they will not have time to inquire into the facts regarding Bombay in nearly so full a manner as the Government of Bombay contemplate. It appears therefore to be absolutely necessary that the Government of Bombay should reduce as far as it can the number of witnesses proposed for examination, but before any intimation to this effect is made by the Government of India to the Local Government, they would be glad to receive, as a guide to the Government of Bombay, an indication from the Commission of

the class of evidence of which the Commission think it is unnecessary for them to hear more, and of the subjects to which they are disposed to attach the greatest importance. The Government of India would be reluctant to take upon themselves the responsibility of ordering the Government of Bombay to reduce the number of witnesses which that Government consider desirable for a complete presentment of the facts regarding Bombay without a specific authority from the Commission to omit or reduce the evidence relating to some particular set of facts.

Dated 12th January 1894.

From J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium, to the
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Finance and Commerce Department.

In reply to your No. 5557-Ex., dated the 21st December 1893, enclosing a list of witnesses whom the Government of Bombay propose to place before the Royal Commission on Opium, I am directed to say that the Commissioners would be obliged if copies of the abstracts of the evidence of the witnesses included in this list could be forwarded direct without delay to my address. The Commissioners will, after perusing these abstracts, be prepared to indicate to the Governments of India and Bombay what witnesses they consider it desirable to examine. It will be for the Government of Bombay to suggest any additional witnesses besides those selected by the Commission.

No. 293 Ex., dated 16th January 1894.

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL OPIUM COMMISSION.

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter, dated the 12th instant, regarding the evidence collected for the Commission by the Government of Bombay.

The Government of India have in more than one case, at the instance of the Commission, issued instructions to the local governments to reduce the number of witnesses which they had at first proposed to present for examination. Recent events, however, have made it obvious that unless the reduction is effected by retaining every witness who is prepared to speak against opium and the opium administration, and eliminating as many as possible of those whose evidence is in favour of opium, the action of the local governments is sure to be made the subject of challenge. The Government of India are, therefore, glad to learn that the Commission will in future itself undertake the responsibility of reducing the lists of witnesses drawn up by the local governments.

There is, however, one important reservation which the Government of India consider that they are bound to make. Neither the Government of India nor the local governments can accept responsibility for the lists as finally reduced by the Commission, and while fully admitting that the Commission is the sole director of its own proceedings, the Government cannot consent that the lists, when altered by the Commission, should be in any way put forward as the lists of witnesses presented on the responsibility of the Government.

The Government therefore wish it to be understood that every witness of whose evidence an abstract is delivered to the Commission by the Government under the present or under former instructions from the Commission, is a witness presented by Government for examination. The Government do not in any way challenge the right of the Commission to declare in the case of any such witness that his evidence is not required or will not be taken, but they strongly urge that if the witness is not examined the order of the Commission that he should not be examined be brought upon the minutes of evidence.

The Government understand that the Commission have accepted and recorded the evidence of every witness, however limited his knowledge, who has been put forward by the representatives of the anti-opium party, and it is partly on this account that the Commission find it necessary to cut down the lists of witnesses selected by the Government at their instance, by reason of their experience in administration, their knowledge of the subject or their independence of position. This procedure is possibly expedient and even inevitable, and the Government do not wish to be taken as in any way impugning it. But it is obvious that the record of evidence selected on this principle

will give undue prominence to one side of the case, unless the facts appear on the proceedings. Now, quite independently of any conclusions at which the Commissioners may arrive on the general question, the Government and the people of India have a strong interest, as Mr. Westland pointed out in his conference with the chairman in December, in making the record of evidence as complete and accurate as possible. On this ground also the Government desire that the names of the witnesses put forward and not heard should be stated on the records of evidence as dismissed without hearing by the Commissioners.

The Government have directed compliance with the desire of the Commissioners expressed in your letter that the abstracts of the evidence of the Bombay witnesses should be laid before them as soon as possible.

Dated 23rd January 1894.

From J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium, to the
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Finance and Commerce Department.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 293-Ex., dated 16th instant, regarding the selection of witnesses from Bombay to give evidence before the Royal Commission.

2. In your letter under reply it is stated that the Government of India are glad that the Commission will in future itself undertake the responsibility of reducing the lists of witnesses drawn up by the local governments. The Government of India cannot, however, consent that the lists of witnesses as altered by the Commission shall be in any way put forward as the list of witnesses presented on the responsibility of the Government, and wish it to be understood that every witness, of whose evidence an abstract is tendered to the Commission by the Government, is a witness presented by the Government for examination. The Government of India would, therefore, strongly urge that if any such witness is not examined, the order of the Commission that he shall not be examined should be brought upon the minutes of evidence.

3. The Royal Commission, I am to say, fully recognizes the justice of the contention of the Government of India that the Government and the people of India have a strong interest in making the record of evidence as complete and accurate as possible, and has no wish to exclude from its minutes of evidence any testimony, whatever may be the point of view from which it is tendered. The time of the Commission in India is, however, necessarily limited, and unless it takes special care to hear those witnesses who appear to give evidence against the present system, the report of the Commission will not be accepted as a conclusive pronouncement upon the questions made over to them for inquiry. The work of the Commission has been carried on, especially during the period for which it has been on tour, under circumstances of great, and sometimes of extreme, difficulty, and the close and continuous attendance at the sittings, which has been required of the Commission, is not only unprecedented in the case of a Royal Commission, but also interferes with the proper study of the papers presented to them for consideration. Under these circumstances the Commission has felt bound to press for the reduction of the numbers of the witnesses presented by the Government, but it will record in the minutes of evidence in the case of each such witness, whose abstract has been, or may in future be, delivered to the Commission, and who has not been, or may in future be, actually examined, the fact that the witness was presented and was not examined, and also, if the Government of India would prefer it, in any cases embody in the appendices to the Report the abstract of the evidence which that witness proposed to give. The Commission trusts that this arrangement will satisfy the Government of India that the necessity for shortening the proceedings is its only reason for not hearing some of the witnesses presented by the Government.

No. 530, dated 29th January 1894.

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce
Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL OPIUM COMMISSION.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 23rd January 1894, regarding reduction of the lists of witnesses tendered by Government for examination by the Commission.

2. The Government of India gladly accept the proposal of the Royal Commission to bring upon the appendices of their Report the abstracts of the evidence of the witnesses whom they note in their minutes of evidence as presented and not examined.

No. 5023-Ex., dated 20th November 1893.

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department, to the SECRETARY to the GOVERNMENT of MADRAS, BOMBAY, N.-W. P. and OUDH, and PUNJAB, the CHIEF COMMISSIONER, BURMA, CENTRAL PROVINCES and ASSAM; the AGENT to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL, CENTRAL INDIA and RAJPUTANA; the RESIDENT at BARODA and HYDERABAD.

I am directed to inform you that the Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium has informed the Government of India that the Commission desire to have sent to them before each witness is examined an abstract from the evidence which the witness intends to give before them.

2. I am to request that you will procure, and forward to me, such an abstract from each of the witnesses included in the lists, which had been or are being prepared, of witnesses to be proposed by the Government for examination. The abstracts will be sent to the Commission by this department, and three copies of each abstract should be sent to me.

3. Some Local Governments were instructed to send the lists of witnesses direct to the Secretary to the Commission. In supersession of those instructions I am now directed to request that the lists from all provinces may be sent to this department, by which they will be forwarded to the Commission.

4. It is possible that the Commission may wish to reduce the number of the witnesses to be examined. In view of this, I am to request that you will give some indication of the relative importance of the witnesses included in the list forwarded by you, each class (medical, &c.,) being taken separately for this purpose.

5. Three copies of the programme of the tour of the Commission, as at present arranged, are enclosed. Fifty copies are being sent in a separate cover.

Copy forwarded to the Government of Bengal for information, arrangements regarding the lists and abstracts of that province having been made separately.

No. 4063-I., dated 29th November 1893.

From A. WILLIAMS, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the RESIDENT at HYDERABAD.

In continuation of the letter from the Finance and Commerce Department, No. 5023-Ex., dated the 20th November 1893, I am directed to inform you that the Royal Commission on Opium have requested that the "abstracts" of evidence called for in paragraph 2 of that letter may be, as far as possible, accurate reproductions of the exact evidence to be given so that printed cuttings may be used by short-hand writers for answers to questions put to witnesses by the Chairman and Members of the Commission.

I am to request that the abstract of Mr. Dunlop's evidence, forwarded with your letter No. 255, dated the 30th October 1893, may be altered by Mr. Dunlop so far as may be necessary, and that the other Hyderabad and Berar witnesses may be requested to prepare abstracts of their evidence in accordance with the request of the Commission as stated in this letter.

3. I am also to request that it may be ascertained whether Dr. Lawrie is willing to give evidence before the Royal Commission.

No. 303, dated 4th December 1893.

From T. CHICHELE PLOWDEN, Esq., C.S.I., Resident at Hyderabad, to the SECRETARY
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Finance and Commerce Department.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Finlay's letter No. 5023-Ex., dated the 20th November 1893, regarding the Royal Commission on Opium, and with reference to paragraph 2 to say that abstracts of the evidence of the witnesses selected by His Highness' Government to give evidence before the Commission have already been furnished to the Foreign Department of the Government of India under cover of the Resident's letters Nos. 255, dated the 30th October 1893, and 287, dated the 21st November 1893.

2. A list showing the names of these witnesses is attached.
3. Mr. Dunlop will give evidence in a dual capacity, *i.e.*, on behalf of both the British, and His Highness the Nizam's Governments.
4. The following witnesses have been added to the list, and abstracts of their evidence will be submitted on receipt :—
 - (1.) Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel E. Lawrie, Resident Surgeon, Hyderabad.
 - (2.) Nawab Mahabub Yar Jung Bahadur, A.-D.-C., to His Highness the Nizam
 - (3.) Nawab Jellal-ud-Doula Bahadur, Superintendent of His Highness' Fill Khana.
5. The evidence of Mr. Dunlop and Dr. Lawrie may be classed as important : that of the other witnesses being less so.

List of official and non-official witnesses selected by His Highness the Nizam's Government to give evidence before the Royal Commission on Opium.

Officials.

1. A. J. Dunlop, Esq., Inspector-General of Revenue.
2. Nawab Imad Nawaz Jung Bahadur, Abkari Commissioner.
3. Doraji Dosabhai, Customs Commissioner.

Non-officials.

1. Sett Shewlal Motilal.
 2. Sett Bhagwan Dass.
-

No. 5425-Ex., dated 13th December 1893.

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department, to the RESIDENT at HYDERABAD.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 303, dated the 4th December 1893, I am directed to enclose a copy of letter, dated 8th December, from the Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium, and of the reply sent thereto.

2. You will observe that the Commission desire to take in Bombay all evidence regarding His Highness the Nizam's Dominions and the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, and that the Government of India have requested them, if possible, to arrange to hear in Hyderabad the evidence of the witnesses named by His Highness the Nizam, but have informed them that witnesses giving evidence relating to the assigned districts will be sent to Bombay.

3. The Commission desire that only such witnesses as are considered to be specially important should be deputed to Bombay. I am therefore to request that you will obtain and forward the abstracts of the evidence of the witnesses named in the list forwarded with Mr. Tucker's letter No. 387, dated 1st December 1893, and state which of them are in your opinion of special importance. The abstracts should be prepared as requested in Foreign Department's letter No. 4063-I., dated the 29th November 1893.

4. As the Commission will probably comply with the requests of the Government of India to take in Hyderabad the evidence of the witnesses named by His Highness the Nizam, the list forwarded with your letter No. 303, dated 4th December, and added to in paragraph 4 of that letter, need not be reduced. I am to request that the abstracts of the evidence of those witnesses may be forwarded when ready.

Dated 8th December 1893.

From J. P. HEWETT, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Royal Commission on Opium, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Finance and Commerce Department.

I am directed to say that, owing to the large amount of evidence which still remains to be taken in Calcutta, it has been found impossible to carry out the projected visit of a section of the Royal Commission on Opium to Madras and Hyderabad. His Excellency the Governor of Madras has concurred in this decision, and Lord Brassey understands that the Local Government does not consider it necessary that the Commission should visit the Madras Presidency for local inquiry. Arrangements can be made (probably during the stay of the Commission at Bombay in February) for the examination of any witnesses whom it is considered essential to put forward from Madras and Hyderabad, and any statistical or other statements which the Government of Madras or the Hyderabad State may wish to place before the Commission could be forwarded officially by letter without requiring the attendance before the Commission of the officer charged with the duty of presenting such statements. The Chairman would, however, if this is necessary, be prepared to go to Hyderabad from Bombay.

I am directed to inquire how many witnesses (1) the Madras Government and (2) the Hyderabad State consider it essential, subject to the understanding stated above, to bring before the Commission for examination. It is understood that the Anti-Opium Society will tender three witnesses from the Madras Presidency, and it is proposed to examine them in Calcutta on 21st instant.

No. 5424-Ex., dated 13th December 1893.

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON OPIUM.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant, regarding the evidence to be placed before the Royal Commission on Opium relating to Madras and Hyderabad.

2. In reply I am directed to say that the Government of Madras and the Resident at Hyderabad have been requested to arrange for the appearance before the Commission of the Madras and Berar witnesses in Bombay in February. They have been informed of the wish of the Commission indicated in your letter, that they should send to Bombay for the purpose of giving evidence, only those witnesses whose evidence will be specially important, and they have been requested to inform the Government of India what names should be struck out of the lists already prepared by them in order to reduce the number of witnesses. Copy of a telegram and a letter to the Government of Madras and a letter to the Resident, Hyderabad, are enclosed for your information. On receipt of their replies a further communication will be addressed to you on the subject.

3. With reference to the witnesses selected by His Highness the Nizam to give evidence before the Commission, I am to say that, in view of the status of the Hyderabad State and the willingness of His Highness the Nizam's Government to further the inquiry of the Commission, the Government of India strongly urge that arrangements may be made to hear their evidence, which is not voluminous, at Hyderabad. The list includes three noblemen and two bankers, who may be unwilling to proceed to Bombay.

No. 428, dated 28th December 1893.

From A. L. P. TUCKER, Esq., Secretary for Berar to the Resident at Hyderabad, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, Finance and Commerce Department.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 5425-Ex. of the 13th instant, regarding the Royal Commission on Opium. It has been noted that the evidence of Berar witnesses will be taken at Bombay in February next, and the Commissioner has been desired to instruct the witnesses* to be in attendance there on February 8th. If any further modification of these arrangements is probable, I am to ask that intimation may be sent by telegram.

* Names given below.

2. With regard to paragraph 3 of your letter under reply, I am to say that as the date for the examination of Berar witnesses has now been put forward to February, the two non-official gentlemen named in the margin, who were unable to attend in December, will now be available. Their evidence is regarded as important. On the other hand, the evidence of Mr. Nizam Khan of Akola (see list forwarded with my No. 387 of December 1st, 1893) is less important than that of other witnesses and he need not be summoned to Bombay. The list of witnesses finally selected for Berar will be as follows :—

- (1) Rao Saheb Deo Rao Vinayak of Akola.
- (2) Mr. Ganesh Srikrishna Khaparde, of Amraoti.

- (1) Mr. Rambilas, of Amraoti.
- (2) Nawab Salamulla Khan, of Buldana.
- (3) Rao Saheb Deo Rao Vinayak, of Akola.
- (4) Mr. Ganesh Srikrishna Khaparde, of Amraoti.

All these four gentlemen are non-official and are good representative men.

3. Printed copies (3) of the abstract of the evidence of these four witnesses are enclosed. It has not been found possible to give entire effect to the wishes of the Commission as indicated in paragraph 1 of Foreign Department letter No. 4063-I. of the 29th November last. Some of the witnesses do not know English sufficiently well to be able to abstract their evidence, and others have left Berar for a time. The abstracts now sent, prepared by the Commissioner, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, from the written statements of the witnesses, give the gist of what each witness will say.

No. 354-Ex., dated 18th January 1894.

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL OPIUM COMMISSION.

IN continuation of my letter No. 5424, dated the 13th December 1893, I am directed to enclose list of the witnesses, tendered by the Government from Madras to give evidence before the Royal Opium Commission, also a printed statement of the nature of the evidence these witnesses will give. Mr. C. S. Crole, whose evidence is not sketched in the statement, will put in an account of the opium excise arrangements in the Presidency, with an account of their growth and necessary statistical information, and answer any questions that may be asked regarding the arrangements.

2. I am to say that, for the reasons explained in my letter No. 293-Ex., dated the 16th instant, regarding the evidence offered by the Government from Bombay, the Government of India consider it desirable that the selection of the Madras witnesses also should be made by the Commission, and to request that you will be so good as to inform me which of the witnesses named in the list enclosed the Commission wish to examine and which they do not desire to hear.

3. As the time is short, it would also be convenient if you would, when you reply, also telegraph direct to the Government of Madras the names of the witnesses whom the Commission wish to examine in Bombay. The Government of Madras have been requested to warn *all* the witnesses to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Bombay about the 12th February.

No. 355-Ex., dated 18th January 1894.

From J. F. FINLAY, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department, to the SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, Revenue Department.

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 4883, dated the 28th December 1893, and in continuation of my telegram No. 353-Ex., dated 18th January 1894, I am directed to forward a copy of a letter sent to-day to the Secretary, Royal Opium Commission, with a copy of its enclosure.

I am to request that you will now, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, obtain from the witnesses named in the list forwarded to the Royal Opium Commission statements of the evidence they propose to give. These statements should be the compositions of the witnesses themselves and should contain the evidence to be given written out in full—not merely a sketch or abstract of such evidence. Endeavours should be made to obtain the statements without delay, as there is no time to lose, and it is possible that the Commission will wish to see them before complying with the request in my letter of this day's date. Three copies of the statements should be sent to this Department as soon as they are ready and 30 copies to Mr. R. M. Dane addressing him "With Royal Commission on Opium."

* To Secretary, Royal Opium Commission, No. 5557-Ex., dated 21st December 1893.

From Secretary, Royal Opium Commission, dated 12th January 1894.

To Secretary, Royal Opium Commission, No. 293, dated 16th January 1894.

To Government of Bombay, No. 320, dated 17th January 1894.

3. The enclosed correspondence* with the Commission regarding the evidence collected by the Government of Bombay will explain the reason of the orders now issued.

4. According to the present programme of the Commission, they will begin to take evidence in Bombay on the 12th February; and I am to suggest that pending the reply and final selection of witnesses by the Commission, all the witnesses in the list should be warned to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to Bombay about that date.

Despatch from the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA in Council.

(No. 139, Revenue, December 12, 1895).

MY LORD,

I HAVE considered in Council your Excellency's letter, No. 305, dated the 19th October 1895, conveying the views of your Government upon the Report of the Royal Commission on Opium.

2. You regard the majority report, from which one out of the eight members dissented, as a vindication of the past action of the Government of India on the opium question. You agree generally in the conclusions of the Royal Commission, and you record your special concurrence in what the Report says in regard to—

- (1) the generally moderate use of opium in India and the effects thereof;
- (2) the impolicy of any general prohibition of opium for any purpose other than medicinal;
- (3) the position of the Indian Government in relation to Malwa opium, and the States and people who produce it;
- (4) the practical impossibility of prohibiting the use of opium in the Native States;
- (5) the advantages of the Bengal monopoly system of managing the opium revenue;
- (6) the principles by which and the restrictions under which the cultivation of opium in the Ganges valley should be regulated;
- (7) the desirability of leaving the recent arrangements in Burma for restricting opium consumption to be tested by actual practice.

3. You confirm the view, taken in Sir D. Barbour's evidence before the Commission, that the Indian Treasury cannot, in the present circumstances, forego the opium revenue, which during recent years has averaged about Rs. 60,000,000 net yearly; that India could not supply a similar sum from any new source of revenue; and that the people of India would be altogether unwilling to endure additional taxation to make good a deficit caused by the abolition of the opium revenue.

4. You report that, in accordance with the advice of the Commission, you are arranging that the Behar Opium Agency shall, as the Benares Agency already does, deal direct with the cultivators of opium, instead of dealing through middlemen. The Commission consider that no licenses should be granted for the sale of opium prepared for smoking; this recommendation has been anticipated by action taken during recent years in the Punjab and some other provinces, and you are taking steps to secure that the same course shall be followed in all provinces. The Commission further suggest that special measures might be taken against the use of rooms as smoking saloons by the public or by so-called clubs. At present there is no law under which such prohibition could be enforced, but you are consulting the local governments as to the expediency of conferring such power by special legislation.

5. The whole subject has now been most exhaustively treated, and the Report of the Commission has been carefully and impartially reviewed by your Excellency's Government. I agree in the conclusions which you hold to be established by the labours of the Royal Commission, and I approve the action you are taking on the three points mentioned in the foregoing paragraph. I desire to be informed hereafter of the results of the measures that have been or may be adopted on these points.

I have, &c.

GEORGE HAMILTON.



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